

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

११०४९९

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी

"Everybody can afford the Convertible Whole Life Policy"

"Take me. With my earnings, I never thought I could afford life insurance. I had barely enough to meet my growing responsibilities.

Then an LIC agent told me about the Convertible Whole Life Assurance Policy. And what a wonderful policy! Right from the start, you get sufficient insurance cover. And at the end of five years, when you're probably earning more, you can convert it into an Endowment Assurance Policy that gives you the money in your own lifetime.

Let me tell you how the policy helped me.

Three years ago when I was 22 years old, I took a Convertible Whole Life Assurance Policy for Rs. 10,000. I pay only about Rs. 20 a month for it. If my family loses me, the entire sum of Rs. 10,000 will be theirs, with accrued profits.

Two years from now, I can convert this policy into an Endowment Assurance Policy that gives me the money in my own lifetime. If I should die earlier, naturally my family gets the money right away. The premiums, of course, will increase when I convert the policy. But by then, I'll be able to afford them !"

There is no substitute for **LIFE INSURANCE.**



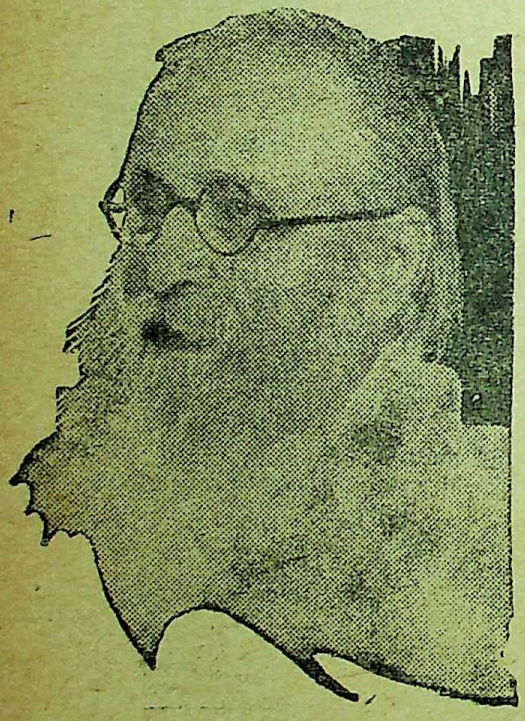
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. CXVII. No. 1 CONTENTS FOR JANUARY, 1965 WHOLE No. 697

	Page
NOTES	1
CURRENT AFFAIRS—Karuna K. Nandi	8
UGANDA : A GEOPOLITICAL STUDY—Ramesh Dutta Dikshit	17
TILAK AND THE REVOLUTIONARIES—V. S. Joshi	29
THE ROLE OF ZAIBATSU IN PRE-WAR JAPAN —Purushottam Prabhakar	34
TRADE UNIONISM IN INDIAN RAILWAYS—Prof. Mahesh Kumar Mast	45



ভারতমুক্তিসাধক

রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় ও অর্দ্ধশতাব্দীর বাংলা

শ্রীশান্তা দেবী প্রণীত

প্রাপ্তিস্থান : সিটি বুক সোসাইটী

৬৪, কলেজ ষ্ট্রীট কলিকাতা

সিলেক্ট পাব্লিকেশন্সের

একটি অপূর্ব্ব উপহার-গ্রন্থ

অনেকগুলি তিনরঙা পাতাজোড়া ছবি এবং প্রায়

পাতায় পাতায় একরঙা ছবি সঙ্কলিত

খাঁচা নেই

যে চিড়িয়াখানায়

(লেখক—শ্রীসুধাংশুকুমার চৌধুরী)

গল্পের মতই চিত্তাকর্ষক এবং জন্তুজানোয়ারদের

শিক্ষাপ্রদ বিবরণ।

দাম —সাড়ে তিন টাকা।

প্রাপ্তিস্থান : সিটি বুক সোসাইটী

৬৪, কলেজ স্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা-১২

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A UNIQUE PUBLICATION

Rare Photographs

and

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

of

Dr. B. C. Roy

500 Page Volume in

Beautifully Bound

Art Paper

Price : Rs, 20/- only.

●

To keep yourself well-informed

READ

WEEKLY WEST BENGAL

Subscription :

Yearly Rs. 6/- : Half-yearly Rs. 3/-

ENQUIRE:

BUSINESS MANAGER

Home (Publicity) Department

Writers' Buildings,

Calcutta - 1.

W. B. (P) Adv-D 7716/64

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
REFINED REALISM—A NEED IN MODERN HINDI POETRY—R. C. Maheshwari	54
THE FOURTH PLAN MEMORANDUM—Karuna K. Nandi	57
CRIME, CRIMINAL AND SOCIETY—Ram Ahuja	67
THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON INDIAN LANGUAGES : —V. S. Kumar	71
INDIAN PERIODICALS—	76
FOREIGN PERIODICALS—	78
BOOK REVIEWS—	79

LEUCODERMA

Is an ugly skin-disease indicated by white spots can be made to disappear rapidly and permanently by the well tried external and internal medicines. Also treatment of Eczema Psoriasis, Dermatitis and other obstinate skin-diseases is made with success. Ask for particulars and interesting free booklet.

HOWRAH KUSTHA-KUTIR, HOWRAH.
Founder : Pt. RAM PRAN SHARMA
Phone 67-2859
Branch 36, MAHATMA : GANDHI RD., CALCUTTA-9

Please Note Our
CHANGE OF ADDRESS

'THE PRABASI', 'THE MODERN REVIEW'
77/2/1 Dharamtala Street,
Calcutta-13
Phone : 24-5520

Please send :
All correspondence, M.O.s, Advt. orders etc., to the above address.

Manager.
The Prabasi Press Private Ltd.
77/2/1 Dharamtala Street,
Calcutta-13

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

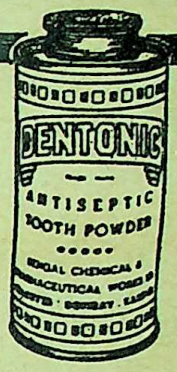
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

How Sparkling

Pearly white teeth give charm and glamour to a winning smile. You, too, can be the proud possessor of beautiful shining white teeth and healthy gums by following the simple 'DENTONIC' habit.

Chlorophyll added to Dentonic helps in curing Pyorrhea.





Dentonic

ANTISEPTIC TOOTH POWDER

Available Plain and with Chlorophyll.

For your Smile of beauty

BENGAL CHEMICAL

CALCUTTA • BOMBAY • KANPUR



PRO/SW—18

MILES AHEAD

in quality and performance

Commanding the highest sale in India, *Sulekha* to-day, caters to an expanding export market earning thereby valuable foreign exchange for the country.

SERVING AT HOME AND ABROAD

Sulekha **range of products includes:** ADSOL **Paste & Gum, Sealing Wax** (SIKURITI), PENSOL, STAMP PADS, INKS **for writing, stencilling, stamping, marking, etc.**

Sulekha

FOUNTAIN PEN *Special* INK

Available in

BLUE BLACK • ROYAL BLUE • BLACK & BROWN

a product of **SULEKHA WORKS LTD.**

Sulekha Park, Calcutta : 32

INDIA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CALCUTTA RESEARCH STUDIES

General Editor : **Dr. Leslie Green**

Now Available :

1. **Government in Metropolitan Calcutta : A Manual** — Rs. 15 (tent.)
   M. Bhattacharya, M. M. Singh and Frank J. Tysen

2. **Municipal Government in the Calcutta Metropolitan District : A Preliminary Survey** — Rs. 2.50
   M. M. Singh

3. **Municipal Finances in the Calcutta Metropolitan District : A Preliminary Survey** — Rs. 4.95
   Abhijit Datta and David C. Ranney

4. **District Administration in Metropolitan Calcuta** — Rs. 2.25
   Frank J. Tysen

5. **Rural Self-Government in Metropolitan Calcutta** — Rs. 4.75 (tent.)
   M. Bhattacharya

6. **Ancillary Industries in Asansol-Durgapur : A Preliminary Study** — Rs. 3.25
   John MacDougall

Add Re. 1 on out-station cheques.

Studies to be published : The Economic Hinterland of Calcutta, Special Agencies in Metropolitan Calcutta : A Comparative Study, The City Government of Calcutta, Inter-Governmental Grants in Metropolitan Calcutta, The West Bengal Legislature, and Interest Groups in Calcutta.

Copies available from :

Institute of Public Administration, New York

8, Merlin Park, Ballygunge, Calcutta.

Outside India, order from the Institute at 55 West 44th Street, New York, N.Y.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

110899
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Advertise in

THE MODERN REVIEW

for

BEST

RESULTS

for Rates & other Particulars

Contact :

THE MANAGER

MODERN REVIEW

77/2/1 Dharamtalla Street,

CALCUTTA-13.

1965

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

—Advertisement Rates—

ORDINARY POSITION

	Rs. P.
Full Page	150.00
Half-page or one column	80.00
Quarter page or half-column	50.00
One-eighth page	30.00
One-eighth column	20.00
Page next to and or opposite contents	180.00
Ditto half-page	100.00
Ditto quarter-page	60.00
Ditto one-eighth page	40.00
Ditto one-eighth cloumn	30.00

SPECIAL POSITIONS

Full Page facing second page of the cover	200.00
„ Page facing third page of the cover	190.00
„ Page facing last page of the reading matter	195.00
„ Page facing back of the Frontispiece	210.00
Ditto half-page	110.00

POSITION WITHIN READING MATTER

Full Page	220.00
Half-page	120.00
Quarter page	70.00
„ col.	50.00

Space within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

COVER PAGES

Second page of the cover	220.00
Third page of the cover	200.00
Fourth page of the (*One-colour*)	250.00
(*Bi-colour*)	300.00
(*Tri-colour*)	350.00

SUPPLEMENT size $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$ (to be printed and supplied by the advertiser)

8 pages (or 4 slips) ..	450.00
4 pages (or 2 slips) ..	300.00
2 pages (or 1 slip) ..	225.00

MECHANICAL DETAILS, Etc.

Type area of a full page	$8'' \times 6''$
„ „ „ half page	$4'' \times 6''$
Number of columns to a page	2
Length of a column	8″
Breadth of a column	3″
Type area of half-column	$4'' \times 3''$
„ „ „ quarter-column	$2'' \times 3''$

Only Mounted Stereos & coarse screen blocks (65 screen) are accepted.

Subscription Rates 1 year Rs. 15.00. Half yearly Rs. 8.00

Single copy Rs. 1.25P. including postage.

Prabasi Press Private Limited

77/2/1 DHARAMTALA STREET,
CALCUTTA-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



INDIRA ON THE BANK OF "KALIDIGHI"

Prabasi Press

By Courtesy of the Artist :
Shilpacharya Nandalal Bose

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

RT-0818

JANUARY 1965

VOL. CXVII, No. 1 WHOLE No. 697

NOTES

The World

World tensions are being enhanced as the year closes, due to the reintroduction of cold war policies by the Soviets in answer to the stepping up of American Warlike measures in South Vietnam and aid to the Congo Government's anti-rebellion campaign. The belligerent attitude of China has become openly aggressive about the same time, whether because of the apparently more placating attitude of the new Soviet leadership or not, being an open question. Outwardly there has been no declaration regarding a Sino-Soviet **rapprochement** but much is implied by the indirect gestures made through similar moves in world affairs being made by both. Some "Specialists" in such matters are inclined to think that the anti-American and generally anti-West moves by the Soviets are indications of attempts being made by Russia to re-capture ground lost to Red China in Asian and African spheres of political influence.

China's attitude is now openly warlike and expansionist. It is evident that the attitude of our Government towards the development of nuclear bombs has been taken as a sign of defeatism in India by both China and Pakistan. And, despite the very few laudatory remarks, made by foreign luminaries about our "No A. Bomb" attitude that have been laboriously culled by the powers that be and duly publicized in our press, it is becoming more and more apparent that India has come down in her international status **vis-a-vis** China due to this negative and thoroughly passive attitude in this respect. The following statement made by a spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry is a clear indication of China's attitude :

The spokesman said : "The Government of India has seen reports of Mr. Chou En-lai's speech at the National People's Congress at Peking. The tone and content of the Chinese Prime Minister's references to India is a demonstration of China's aggressiveness and arrogance.

By refusing to accept the Colombo proposals China had long ago slammed the door to all prospects of negotiations on the border question. What Mr. Chou En-lai has now done is to bolt and bar the door completely.

"The Chinese Premier has asserted that the suggestion to hold talks between the two countries on the basis of no posts of either side in the de-militarized zone in Ladakh is an 'unreasonable Indian pre-condition' and that China would never withdraw its posts from this area. This is to put facts upside down and reflects an attitude of total intransigence and determination to hold on to the fruits of aggression.

"It is well-known that the suggestion about the withdrawal of posts was not made by India but by an impartial third party.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

India reacted to it positively because of her desire to enter into negotiations with China, Mr. Chou En-lai has now finally killed this constructive suggestion and turned his back upon the Colombo proposals. His speech seems to be Peking's coup de grace to the Colombo proposals formulated by the six non-aligned nations.

"It should be clear to the whole world that what stands in the way of talks on the border problem are not Indian preconditions, so-called, but China's truculence and arrogance. The Chinese Prime Minister has gone further and once again raised the spectre of China's fantastic claim to 90,000 sq. kilometers of Indian territory in the Eastern sector, over and above the 14,500 sq. miles of territory in Ladakh illegally occupied by China.

This shows that China's territorial appetite is not yet satisfied and that she has no desire for a peaceful solution.

India will not be cowed down by these aggressive demands which she categorically rejects. The Government of India are, however, willing to talk with China, at any time when the Chinese give up their obstinate stand and agree to talks on the basis of the Colombo proposals."

Further at the same time it was revealed that the Chinese were becoming active on our frontiers. The following news gives a clear indication of that :

The Government of India in a note to the Chinese Embassy here today has lodged "a vehement protest against these provocative intrusions."

The note said : "On December 25 at 17-10 hours two armed Chinese personnel violated the border of Sikkim and intruded 800 yards into Sikkim, about one and a half miles east south-east of Nathu La. Again at 17-20 hours on the same day a larger group of 15 Chinese military personnel were seen about 800 yards inside the border in the same area. The Chinese intruders took up firing position on observing an Indian patrol. On December 26 at 17-30 hours another group of three armed Chinese intruders were seen approximately 50 yards on the Sikkim side of the border, about two miles east south-east of Nathu La. Seeing an Indian patrol they withdrew into Tibet and after crossing the border fired one green very light into the sky.

"The Government of India lodge a vehement protest against these provocative intrusions by Chinese troops into Sikkim territory. The boundary between Sikkim and Tibet is well-defined and well-recognised. The violations of this border cannot, therefore, be anything but calculated aggressive moves by China. In the context of the large concentration of Chinese troops in the Chumbi Valley and the resolute refusal of China to accept the Colombo proposals, these frequent intrusions into Sikkim cannot be ignored by the Government of India."

The Chumbi Valley is like a dagger aimed at the heart of India. It poses a threat to the whole of Eastern India inasmuch as it is at the head of a Chinese Army depot that is barely 300 miles in a straight line to the Sub-Himalayan plains of North-Bengal and about a hundred miles more onto a junctio point with East Pakistan. All Assam lies to the East of that line.

The American Government has ordered "Polaris" nuclear missile bearing submarines to the Eastern Pacific. It is reported that the Chinese are taking all possible precautions over the entire coastal area in order to guard against the threat posed by these submarines. Whatever be the real significance of all that, it is clear that the Americans now regard Red China as a potential nuclear power and as such are moving betimes to match force with fore. This means that the tension that was once so menacing in the Soviets area, may rise to same critical limits in the Far East.

Over the rest of the World the menace of China's bid for a stockpile in nuclear weapons is hanging like a time bomb, coupled as it is with Chinese intransigence and duplicity. The Chinese Premier Chou En-lai has addressed letters to Heads of Governments suggesting the holding of a World Conference to discuss a ban on nuclear weapons, after bursting a nuclear device and making preparations for the massing of a nuclear stockpile !

The reaction to the Chinese Premier's letter to the Heads of Governments has been

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

variously reported. Coming as it does after China herself had openly flouted the International Test Ban Treaty and had exploded a nuclear bomb herself, it has been regarded more or less as a typical Chinese diplomatic stunt. President Nkrumah of Ghana has reportedly replied in terms conspicuously critical of Peking. The following extract from the **Statesman** gives a summary of the Ghanaian President's letter as also a report on the Soviets' reply :

It is learnt that Dr. Nkrumah began his letter by reminding Mr. Chou that during his recent visit to Accra he (the Chinese Premier) had talked of releasing the world completely from the threat of offensive nuclear weapons but had said nothing about exploding a Chinese nuclear bomb.

The Ghanaian President also pointed out that China's own action had inevitably generated a "certain measure of resistance" to the "excellent idea" of a world conference to discuss complete nuclear disarmament.

In this connection, President Nkrumah suggested that President Tito, President Soekarno, President Nasser and Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri should be asked to sponsor a world conference on nuclear disarmament.

Another Afro-Asian country which has also been critical of the Chinese explosion of a nuclear bomb is Ceylon. In a letter to the Chinese Premier, Mrs. Bandaranaike suggested that any conference on nuclear disarmament should be organized under the auspices of the U.N., a point which irks Peking greatly.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union today informed China that it supports the Chinese Prime Minister's suggestion for a world conference on disarmament. A.P. reports.

The Soviet reply to Mr. Chou's letter was reported in a Japanese language broadcast by Radio Moscow monitored in Tokyo.

Radio Moscow said Russia favoured a resolution adopted at the recent Afro-Asian non-aligned 'summit' in Cairo expressing conviction that convening of a world disarmament conference would be in the interests of world peace and would set in motion the process of disarmament.

No clear report has been forthcoming from the Western capitals regarding the reception of this letter. There is some speculation about the attitude of France. France recognised Communist China on January 27, last year. As a reaction, the Nationalist China (Formasa) broke off diplomatic relations with France.

In South-East Asia, Indonesia's confrontation policy with Malayasia is likely to flare-up as Indonesia has withdrawn from the U.N.O., because Malayasia has been elected to the Security Council as a non-permanent member—one of the four elected to fill the four vacancies caused by rotation, once every two years, of the non-permanent members.

In Saigon the position is as unstable and tense as ever, due to the internal jealousies and feuds, between the army Chiefs and between the Buddhists and the Christians. The Viet Cong guerillas have stepped up their campaign and, with new supplies coming in, are attacking in battalion strength. The American "Advisors" are hard pressed, what with the civilian base crumbling and the army command being disturbed periodically by coups.

The Old Year and the New

1964 has been a year of tribulations for India and of ominous turns in World affairs in terms of peace and amity amongst the Nations. Two Titans have disappeared from the World stage, first, Jawahalal Nehru, the Man of Destiny for India, has passed on to his forefathers and the second, Khrushchev has been deposed and sent into the oblivion of "retirement" by his colleagues of the Soviets' Supreme political council. The removal of these two powerful proponents of World Peace has shaken the balance of World tensions severely and as yet there is no indication as to whether the violent tremors would finally settle down into the measured pulsations towards peaceful co-existence as before, or whether they would rock the World out of balance altogether toward total desstruction.

For the people of India, this year has been a year of shortages, which have been magnified by the population explosion.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

These shortages, in foodgrains, edible and cooking fats and various essentials of life, have been exploited by the traders of India by the most ruthless and rapacious campaign of hoarding and profiteering—since the advent of Independence. The Administration has utterly failed to curb and control these unscrupulous moves by those who have secured command over the trade and commerce of the Union through the possession of "unaccounted moneys"—that is ill-gotten money obtained through nefarious means. The Administration cannot be blamed, even though there be a lot of corruption amongst its officers, for it has been virtually tied hand and foot by the measures laid down by our Constitution, and the laws for the trial of such anti-social crimes, which are tortuous, full of loop-holes for escape of the guilty and totally ineffective as deterrant punishment.

The sudden demise of Pandit Nehru has caused a certain uncertainty about the handling of the Indian Government's affairs, both at home and abroad. The actual transition from the old to the new ministry was smooth enough—contrary to the expectations of the outside world—but Mr. Shastri, our new Premier, seems to be still feeling his way about certain things which has given a handle to certain interests to manipulate public opinion in a way adverse to the present ministry. The Opposition—particularly the S.S.P.—have tried to bring about disorder in the Parliament on the belief that the ministry can be discredited and overthrown by rush tactics on the grounds of their errors of omission and commission— as alleged by their opponents—in the tackling of crucial problems affecting the well-being and safety of the Nation. The so-called "Leftists" of the C.P.I. were emboldened by the apparently hesitant attitude towards the firm handling of treacherous moves by the active agents of the Red Chinese in the C.P.I.

The recalcitrant elements of the S.S.P. in the Lok Sabha have been firmly dealt with by the Speaker with the help of the majority of the House. The so-called Leftists in the C.P.I. are being tackled by the Administration in a firm manner at last. Large scale arrests have been made of those who were, according to Government sources, actively creating a powerful fifth column of the Chinese inside India, for the purpose of causing widespread disorders and disruption of administration inside the country to aid and accelerate the Chinese take-over of the country, if and when a fresh wave of aggression materializes. We hope the Government will also pay attention to the amendment of the most ineffective laws against such treasonable and major criminal activities as have been unfolded by the investigation into the traitorous activities of these depraved elements inside the C.P.I.

The following extracts are from the **Statesman.** In its first report on the country-wide arrests of "Left" C.P.I. leaders it is stated that :

In deciding on the crack-down on "Left" Communists, the Government took into account several factors, including the past record of the leaders, the brazen display of Mao Tse-tung's photographs at their *rallies* and fairly reliable evidence that they were being sustained not only emotionally and ideologically but also financially by China.

Official sources here said that the Government was driven to this course of action because the activities of the avowedly pro-Peking "Left" C.P.I. had reached a stage when they had become a "threat to the country's security".

A source which did not want to be identified said : 'In one word there has lately been no doubt that the "Left C.P.I." has become a veritable fifth column of China.'

Mere membership of the "Left C.P.I." or even positions of eminence in its leadership, has by itself not been the determining factor in the arrests and detentions. The fact that Mr. Namboodiripad and Mr. Basu are still free men is cited by officials to show that only those whose activities rather than affiliations were assuming dangerous proportions have been arrested.

Although some arrests have taken place in all parts of the country, from Kashmir to Kerala and Assam to Gujarat, they are naturally concentrated in three or four States where the "Left" C.P.I. is especially strong.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Official sources indignantly denied that the "Left C.P.I." arrests had anything to do with the coming elections in Kerala. In the interest of the country's security, they said these arrests were essential in spite of the Kerala elections.

And further :

Evidence had lately been accumulating in the Union Home Ministry that the active workers of the party were not only indulging in unashamedly pro-Peking propaganda and distributing objectionable, as well as proscribed, documents emanating from China and other hostile countries but also making plans which boded ill.

A preamble to the undivided C.P.I's ideological programme envisaging peaceful and parliamentary road to Socialism was dropped by the Calcutta convention of the Left C.P.I. and replaced by a declaration of faith only in "revolutionary methods".

Behind the shelter of this euphemism the party cadre began to talk secretly of "Telengana-type revolts". Party documents, now in possession of the Government, revealed that the Left C.P.I. had only one fault to find with the Telengana revolt : that it was engineered in an area far away from a Socialist border.

A powerful Socialist Power in India's neighbourhood, the document gleefully said, was now in a position to help the revolutionary forces in India.

According to official sources, the Left C.P.I. gloated over the explosion of the Chinese nuclear bomb. It also carried on a whispering campaign that the Chinese Army had been "let down" in 1962, and that next time the arrival of the Chinese troops in India should be a signal for a campaign of "uprising, sabotage and subversion".

Regarding the Kerala elections and the reaction of these arrests, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, the Home Minister, said at Hyderabad that it is possible that the effect might be disadvantageous to the Congress in the forthcoming elections in Kerala as the "Left" candidates might get a "hero" treatment from the less intelligent sections of the electorate. Mr. Nanda said the Congress was willing to take the risk as that was a small factor compared to the security of the nation.

At the time of writing these, further arrests were being made on a countrywide basis, the totals were said to be over 600 by then.

The Chinese threat to our northern territories continues unabated and a statement by Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier, that the Chinese will not on any accounts shift her advanced military posts on our Western Himalayan territories has clearly indicated that the Colombo proposals are as nought where Red China is concerned. China's new satellite, Pakistan, has continued her incessant border incursions in Kashmir and Tippera areas and at Latitilla in Assam. She has kept firing across the border into Assam territories for hours at a time. Arms and ammunition obtained gratis by fooling the trustful Americans is undoubtedly thought to be of small account by the great men of Pakistan as are human lives, be they Indians, be they Pakistanis.

The explosion of a "nuclear device" by China on October 16th last has evidently raised high expectations of large scale territorial gains through the grace of Chinese charity in the hearts of those who hold Pakistan in their grip and has likewise generated high hopes in the depraved minds of some traitorous elements inside the nation !

Calamities and disturbances causing immense difficulties for our Government and the people have also been prevalent during this year that is passing as we write. A sacred relic of the Prophet kept in a mosque in Kashmir—Hazratbal—was stolen by some miscreants who were out to make trouble for India at the instigation of Pakistan. The relic was traced by vigorous police intelligence work and restored to the shrine by one of the miscreants on January 5. But Ayub Khan's Government used this theft as a pretext for whipping up anti-Hindu feelings by radio, newspaper articles and fiery speeches. A reign of terror with genocide, rape and loot was let loose on the helpless Hindu, Christian and Buddhist minorities in East Pakistan, resulting in a mass exodus on to Indian territories. Six lakh refugees have streamed into West Bengal, Assam and Tippera as a consequence.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As a repercussion riots broke out in Calcutta and its neighbourhood but they were put down with a firm hand.

Floods also played havov with crops and low lying village areas in Assam, North Bengal, Bihar and Punjab. The most terrible disaster of that nature came about the end of the year, through cyclone and tidal wave at the Southern tip of the peninsula, where Dhanushkuti and Rameswaram areas were ravaged with immense loss to life and property. This calamity in which over 500 persons lost their lives in India and perhaps a larger number in Ceylon, could only be compared to the devastation, on the Midnapore coast during the War, caused by a similar tidal wave.

On the positive side, our relations with Nepal were distinctly improved during this year, the Gandak barrage and Hydel project made a good deal of progress and helped a great deal towards increasing mutually amicable feelings. The India-Ceylon differences, over the large number of "Stateless" persons of Indian origin, who were under threat of expulsion and absolute ruin, were substantially resolved by direct negotiations between the Ceylonese Premier Mrs. Bandaranaike and our Prime Minister. The subsequent events, inclusive of the fall of the Bandaranaike Government have somewhat affected the certainty of the solutions.

Our Prime Minister attended the Cairo Conference of non-aligned nations and took a substantial part in the talks. Later he visited London and thereby caused considerable speculation and some amount of censure from the Lok Sabha Opposition, regarding the why and wherefore of the London visit. His reception at the air port was extremely casual and very little in the way of official statement has been issued regarding the actual talks held between him and the British Premier. The British Press response has been "favourable" and somewhat patronizing in tone.

Lastly there was the Pope's visit to our shores on the occasion of the International Eucharistic Congress at Bombay. A more welcome visit there has not been in centuries, nor has there been such a warm response to our welcome, so beautifully expressed, in our memory. It was indeed a happy adventure!

The Dhanushkodi Train Disaster

The Cyclone havoc and the damage caused by the tidal wave at Dhanushkodi are in that category of major disasters that could be verily termed "Acts of God" inasmuch as human brains or skills were neither responsible for the occurence nor could they have prevented it. But all the same one particular incident, that caused the loss of 115 lives, might have been prevented, if only those, in whose hands lay the power to prevent the initial move, had taken the initiative to weigh the consequences of the choice either way and taken the chance that would ensure safety. We refer to the higher Station Staff in whose hands lay the discretion to stop the train before it left Pamban station and went on to its destruction, carrying with it the lives of 115 people who were on board.

The **Hindu** report on the train disaster carries the following eye-witness report:

MADRAS, Dec. 26.

The Pamban-Dhanushkodi passenger train with 115 people on board which was swallowed up by the tidal waves at Dhanushkodi at midnight on Tuesday was stopped at the outskirts of the station a few minutes before the cyclone hit the station. The semaphore did not function and the green signal could not be given.

G. Krishnan, a railway worker on duty at the time, who narrated the story to our special correspondent at Mandapam added that he then heard a long whistle from the train and that was the last he saw it.

For then the storm broke and people rushed to the station yard for shelter. Next morning he saw the carriages of the train swept away by the sea and smashed to smithereens and pieces were floating in the waters which inundated the station. The engine was seen broken in two.

The same report also contains a bulletin issued by the Public Relations Officer of the Southern Railway at Madras which contains the following paragraph:

The bulletin stated: "Information has

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

been received from the Marine Superintendent, Mandapam, that No. 653, Pamban-Dhanushkodi passenger, which left Pamban at 23-55 hrs., on December 22 with six coaches and which was on the run to Dhanushkodi was caught in the cyclonic storm and was presumably hit by high tidal waves as a result of which the whole train got submerged in water, while entering Dhanushkodi station. It is reported that while the train left Pamban, there were about 110 passengers in the train in addition to five train staff. Information has been received that a portion of the engine is visible six inches above water. It is feared that all the passengers of the train and the train staff are lost."

The weekly **Link** gives a more graphic account of the train disaster, although the sources from which the information, on which the account is based has been obtained is not clearly given. The **Link** says :

"In retrospect the train tragedy does not seem wholly an act of the angry Gods. It even appears that the human element was responsible. The cyclone hit the land-point at Dhanushkodi in the small hours of December 23. The Pamban-Dhanushkodi passenger left the starting point in the forenoon—at least five hours after the cyclone had set in. With a little imagination and use of commonsense the trip could have been cancelled. But it was not."

"The driver of the train, it is said, was most reluctant to start on the journey when forebodings could not be misread or ignored. The local authorities would not, however, agree to his request. The train started on its journey to doom."

"Again, it is said, that at the Dhanushkodi outer point there was no signal. Evidently the cyclone had played havoc with it. But the train did not stop there in the absence of clearance."

It seems from both accounts that the "local authorities," whatever their status, had acted in the typical brainless and soulless fashion which is traditional practice with our railways. The semaphore did not work, the signal could not be given, yet the train had to go—and, of course, the authorities cannot be blamed

Similarly at the time of the train disaster in the Southern Railways, when a whole train plunged into a river because of the bridge—which had been declared unsafe long before—collapsing, the "authorities" who had acted with the same brutish disregard for human lives escaped censure and punishment. Only the Railway Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri resigned—because he had a conscience, which made him unfit to hold the supreme command over the Indian Railways !

It should be made compulsory that on such occasions and under such circumstances, the "railway authority" responsible must accompany the train. Then, if a disaster follows, at least the main contributory factor would be permanently removed, unless, that is, the brains of the authorities commence to function because of the element of personal danger.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

1964

It is customary, on the eve of each new year, to review the events of the past twelve months and to forecast the trends that may be calculated to eventuate during the emerging year. We do not wish to merely concede to custom hallowed by tradition. Nevertheless, a passing evaluation of the highlights of the dying year may, one hopes, yield indications which may prove to be valuable guides for the immediate future.

1964, one must admit, has been a year of extraordinary stresses and strains in this country, especially so on the economic scene. The Third Plan had been in the doldrums and a mid-term appraisement of Plan performance yielded the rather dismal conclusion that although in physical and financial terms the employment of capital allocations had followed more or less fully the pattern envisaged in the Plan proposals, achievements have been substantially below the estimated anticipations in this behalf. Indeed, it has now been estimated that the gross increase in the national product, as reflected in the increase in national income, has only been of the order of 10 per cent over the first three years of the Plan. Later estimates made by the Planning Commission indicate that the Plan will close with hardly more than a gross 20 per cent increase of the national income over the entire Plan period or, in other words, with only about a 60 per cent realization of Plan targets.

It is on this background that the broad outlines of the Fourth Plan proposals have now been formulated. In the formulation of the tentative framework of this Plan a certain measure of sanity appears to have guided the counsels of the Planning Commission, and its size has been confined to the comparatively more modest outlay allocation of between Rs. 21,500 crores and Rs. 22,500 crores at 1963-64 prices as against the earlier far more extravagant proposals of the Perspective Division of the Planning Commission, envisaging a gross outlay of between Rs. 24,000 crores and Rs. 25,000 crores at 1960-61 prices.

On the whole, 1964 must be admitted to have been the dismalest year on record since independence. People have suffered hardships, especially through a continuously spiralling price pressure and policy-makers have been dispirited, confused and wholly unable to cope with the situation. In fact the incipient signs of initiative and realistic action shewn earlier in the year by the Central Government, especially in respect of the critical food situation in the country, appears later to have been entirely lost. Virtually, now, the initiativ lies with the State Governmnts, where it has always been, who have decided through a consensus arrived at in a Chief Ministers' Conference, to deal with the situation each in its own particular way with the Centre as more or less a helpless onlooker except in the matter of assuming responsibility for importing substantial quantities of foodgrains and making them available, when required, to any State that may be in difficulties.

One of the principal shortcomings of planning as it has been progressively emerging over the years would appear to be that the counsel of the Planning Commission are dominated by a group of Western educated intellectual elit whose knowledge of and acquaintance with th way of life, aspirations and reactions of the over whelming majority of our people, are remote and only rudimentary. The only saving grace in this rather dismal atmosphere seems to be that the present Prime Minister has been a man of th people and should know their wants and motiva tions intimately and with a sense of realism Whether, however, he will be able to sufficiently in fluence the thnking of the Planning Commission and such of his Cabinet colleagues as are capable o making vital contributions to planning in a mor realistic way, is a question, the answer to whic can alone be provided by the future.

As we emerge into the new year, we feel th

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the nation is much sadder. But whether we are also wiser by virtue of the tragic experiences that we have been passing through is a question the answer to which can only be provided by the course of future events. If we have really learnt our lessons from the experiences of the past year, all has not been lost and if we are able to apply these lessons in shaping future policy, 1964 may yet come to be regarded as the Great Divide.

(28.12.64)

T. T. K. On The State Of The Economy

In a recent statement ascribed to Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, Union Finance Minister, the division of the country into separate food zones was said to have been vigorously defenced with the words that "at its present stage of economic development India could not hope to tackle the food problem except through the maintenance of food zones." By eliminating the food zones and without entering into a system of controls—a position vigorously pleaded for by even some members of the ruling party—the Finance Minister was reported to have averred, "they only wanted misery to be distributed."

The Finance Minister's statement in this connection would appear to be rather vague and indeterminate as he does not seem to specify as to how the present food zones—it would be recalled that at the last Chief Ministers' Conference it was decided to treat each State as a separate *rice* zone—may be regarded as being conducive to a more wholesome position in the supply and price situation in respect of food. On the contrary there is clear indication, if Government's estimates of the quantum of production of foodgrains in the country were to be regarded as realistic, that physical supplies on the whole would appear to be just about marginally adequate to cover the requirements of the country even from her own rather scarce resources. One does not mean, of course, that if the whole country were to subsist only on the finer grains like rice and wheat, our present production would be adequate. But when all our production of food cereals is taken into account as a whole, coarse and finer grains together,—and in a situation of national scarcity, there can be no question that both coarser and finer grains together should be made to serve the basic primary requirements of the people,—production, even at the present level, should be deemed to be just about sufficient to cover basic needs. This does not, of course, imply that there is no need to import foodgrains as it has been decided to be done. Such imports, especially those covered by the P.L. 480 agreement with the U.S. Government where there is no question of any large foreign exchange outlays, should enable the Government to build up, in course of the next few years, a sufficiently large buffer stock, to cover shortfalls arising out of seasonal shortfalls due to bad harvests.

The whole question relating to the national food situation, as we have endeavoured to demonstrate on several occasions in the recent past in these columns, would seem to pivot around the speculative pressures upon the foodgrains markets in the country affecting both prices and supplies and which have been primarily responsible for the emergence of the present critical situation. Even the Finance Minister himself has been known to have admitted on several occasions recently that the operations of a large and powerful *unaccounted* credit sector in the country —he would, however, refuse to call it *black money*—has been mainly responsible for the obvious speculative pressures upon foodgrains supplies and prices. This has been a nationwide racket and it seems only logical to apprehend that mere *zonal* expedients would be far too powerless to deal with the situation which could be done only on a national scale.

Finally, there is also the question of regional production. Some States are known to produce a surplus over their own regional requirements, while there are others who are in more or lesser degrees of deficit in this regard. This, clearly, should be regarded as another very cogent reason why foodgrains distribution should be a *national* rather than a regional responsibility. Contrary to the views of the Union Finance Minister, therefore, the very nature of the present food situation, on the supply side, would seem to insistently demand that Food should be a Centrally directed *national* portfolio, based upon a realistically conceived national policy. It should be obvious that the elimination of the present food zones should be the very first requirement for the successful enunciation and practicable application of such a national policy. It should, to be wholesome, be an integrated national policy in the implementation of which the States must conform to centrally laid down programmes and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

not, as at present, be left with the discretion to go their own diverse and often contrndictory ways.

The Finance Minister, we are happy to note, favours controls. This, indeed, should be regarded as the very foundation-plank of the rationale of an *integrated national food policy*. The Union Food and Agriculture Minister, Shri C. Subramanium also favoured such a policy earlier last year and proposed State Trading in foodgrains. A Foodgrains Corporation in the public sector with a Rs. 100 crore capital has also since been legislated for. But the basic purposes and objectives of such a policy has now been effectively sabotaged by the States who would not agree to liquidate or even to substantially attenuate the role of the private sector foodgrains trade in the lountry. This, however, was an essential minimum requirement of the present situation not merely as the only means to eliminate the present obviously heavy pressure on foodgrains supplies and prices,—indeed also on all ancillary articles of food like pulses, edible oils etc.,—but also because in a situation of marginal supplies which are made up of finer grains in more popular demand as well as of large proportions of coarser grains, controls over consumption to enable available supplies to cover basic requirements through rationed distribution of both kinds of grains would seem to be an inescapable requirement of the times. And since the success of controlled distribution inevitably presupposes command over supplies in requisite quanta and proportions, State Trading in foodgrains, preferably also in other vulnerable articles of food in marginal supplies, would seem to be an inescapable logic of the situation.

The Finance Minister seems to think that eliminating the present food zones in the country would only have the effect of *distributing misery*. Since one has to accept that the poor has as much right to basic food as the richest, it is only legitimate that the more affluent must share to a certain extent the miseries of the poor, to enable this basic human right to be accorded to his less fortunate compatriot. The attitude of the Finance Minister in this behalf would thus seem to be neither just nor conducive to the emergence of a *socialist society* to which he and his colleagues in the Government are said to be committed.

No one in his right senses, we are sure would quarrel with the Finance Minister when he avers that "if improvements were to be made in the economic field, correct decisions would have to be taken during 1965 which promised to be a critical year." He did not, however, spell out what these decisions should be except to underline the imperative need to control agricultural prices while ensuring a fair return to the farmers. He was, at the same time, reported to have emphasized that no one should get the impression that the country's economy was not in a sound condition basically. We fail utterly to understand what the Finance Minister seeks to prove by such an obviously ambiguous statement. A hurried and cursory glance over the state of the national economy shows that since 1961-62 prices, in the overall wholesale sector, have gone up by 25.4 per cent ; the increase in the food sector, at the same time, has been of the overwhelming order of 44.4 per cent ; a critical food situation which has been steadily deteriorating has been prevailing in the country for over the last one year ; these factors alone would seem to prove that the basic foundations of the economy, in spite of a measure of *so-called development*, are being corroded by an explosion in *demand* out of all proportion to the real resources of the economy and a raging inflationary spiral which the Government have been utterly unable to do anything about. The Finance Minister's assertions in this behalf, obviously, have not the remotest relation to facts as they have emerged so far and if this tongue-in-the-cheek thinking is all that he and his colleagues in the Government are capable of, the prospects immediately ahead of the country would seem to be fraught with the seeds of disaster.

Agriculture in Planning

In the statement of "objectives and strategy" in the Memorandum on the Fourth Plan recently released by the Planning Commission, it is averred that "Since so large a part of basic consumption goods originates in the agricultural sector . . . . . any programme of raising the standards of consumption of the masses must provide for a sustained growth in this sector." In fact a study of the history of industrialization of the fully developed countries would yield the lesson that successful, rapid and massive industrialization in those countries have always followed, never preceded the laying down of broad

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

based agricultural surpluses. Planning in India, however, while conceding on paper the basic importance of agricultural progress, would nevertheless seem to have been ignoring this fundamental lesson of history. The result has been that even before the preliminary process of developing the requisite industrial bases for agricultural development, which was one of the primary emphasis in the First Plan, had come to anywhere near a self-generating level, the emphasis was shifted to large industries as early as in the very following Plan even more so in the current Third Plan.

The Third Plan, it is now conceded even by the architects of the Plan themselves, has come to grief largely because of the failure to evince the requisite minimum level of development in the agricultural sector. While designing the objective and strategies of the Fourth Plan this lack in the earlier Plan appears to have been recognized in the introductory observations. But as one goes further into the Plan Memorandum, one is struck by the fact that the basic strategies and priorities of the next Plan, except that much larger investments are envisaged, thinking seems to continue to move in the rut set by the pattern of the Third Plan itself. The emphasis, in so far as tentative programmes are discussed in the Memorandum, continues to be on industry, especially so on heavy basic and producer industries.

Apart from the faulty economics of such a Plan, there are also deeper socio-psychological factors affecting development. During the last one decade and longer of planning, distinct evidence of a steady and rather rapid trend of urbanization in the country has been all too apparent. Urbanization may be regarded as an index of progress and modernization. But every fact has to be evaluated in the context of its relevance to its environmental relations and to India at her present level and especially of her present contents of economics, urbanization may not, altogether, be an unmixed good. On the contrary, there are cogent reasons to apprehend that it may prove to be one of the most insuperable obstacles to real development. In spite of the massive industrialization induced in the country over the last twelve years and longer, one has to recognize that agricultural output still continues to comprise more than one half of the total national product and provide employment of sorts to very nearly 80 per cent of the population, directly and indirectly. The trends of urbanization that have been rapidly obtruding upon the economy over the past few years have been having the effect of according a lower priority in the peoples' thinking and to a correspondingly and steadily deteriorating incentive in this field.

Urbanization, especially in an under-developed economy like ours, demands massive employment of scarce resources which might have been more profitably deployed to the rural sector with a far higher employment potential if agricultural development were to be sustained by a chain of modernized rural industries as a subsidiary to agricultural occupations. What has been happening, on the contrary, is that agriculture has been gradually loosing its incentives to even people traditionally employed in agricultural pursuits, while steadily increasing congestions have been occuring in urban centres and around industrial concentrations, creating correspondingly worsening conditions of living and occupations which the Government and their various agencies are wholly powerless effectively to cope with.

These are facts which do not seem to have been finding the measure of consideration in the thinking of either the Planning Commission or that of the Government; at least one does not find much thinking on this very vital aspect of the conditions of economic development, in the Memorandum that the Planning Commission have released on the Fourth Plan. To merely assert that agriculture must be accorded a due share in the plan and programme of development in the Fourth Plan does not mean that it can be achieved in the context of a Plan which continues, on the one hand to over-burden industry, just as agriculture has been traditionally over-burdened over centuries past and to wean increasing numbers among those with agricultural skills into occupations in unaccustomed and unhygienically congested concentrations, simply because in the thinking of the Planning Commission and the Government, and consequently in that of the masses of our people, urban living and white collar and industrial occupations have a higher-prestige rating than agricultural occupations. That industry is being over-burdened leading to high cost incidences would be evident from a look at the employment pattern in many of the large industries in the country. If a careful examination of our few capital-intensive indus-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tries were to be carried out, it would be evident that capital intensive in financial structure as they are, most of those institutions—and this can be found to be the case both in the public and the private sector alike—are or remain basically labour-intensive in their employment pattern and incidences. We are not, in the present stage of our rather elementary industrial development, very deeply enamoured of an overall capital-intensive industrial structure in the economy. That is a type of industrial organization which has automatically evolved in the fully developed economies of the world primarily as a necessary concession to labour shortage. But in a country like India where human labour is the cheapest commodity in abundant—almost limitless supply,—we would continue to have to primarily depend upon industrial organizations which have the highest employment potentials per unit of capital employed. But there are certain key industries in the heavy industries' sector where a certain measure of capital-intensification is just unavoidable and in which, it is very necessary to ensure, that the economics of the organization is not vitiated by grafting upon it a labour force which it would be unable to sustain without a corresponding measure of sacrifice in the incidence of productivity measured in terms of the production obtained per unit of the labour force employed by it.

If agriculture, therefore, has really to be accorded the high rating in the Fourth Plan that, it is averred, is the objective of the Planning Commission, it will, we feel, be necessary to entirely redraw the Plan to enable agricultural occupations to be supported by a well-conceived system of modernized rural industries with the highest priority in the consumer industries' sector, not merely for the purpose of providing necessary subsidiary employment to the agricultural artisan, but also with a view to stem the present rather high tide of increasing urbanization without which agricultural development of the requisite order, we are convinced, would be impossible to sustain. A rough measure of the present disincentive to agricultural occupation would be evident from the results of a private investigation carried out by a College Professor into the comparative earning capacity of the industrial and the agricultural worker in 1957-58, which disclosed that while an agricultural worker with an average 5.2 dependents earned less than Rs. 600 per annum, an industrial worker with 3.8 dependents earned a little more than Rs. 1,500. Strangely enough, no officially sponsored or directed study, either by the Planning Commission or by any of the numerous agencies of the Government, appears to have been carried out in this very important field, or if it has, the present writer has unfortunately been unable to discover the results thereof.

Investments And Tax Concessions

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Union Minister for Finance, had a Christmas gift for the potential investor. Small and medium investors in new issues of equity shares would be provided with certain credits by Government with which to discharge their income tax liabilities. The concession thus offered will be in force for a period of four years in respect of investments by individuals in new equity shares floated for the first time by new Companies and will be in the form of tax credit certificates issued for an amount equal to 5 per cent of their value each year. This is a concession specifically offered to the individual investor and shall not pass on to a new holder in the event of such shares being transferred to a new owner by the original investor. The first slab for this 5 per cent concession, shall be limited to Rs. 15,000 in terms of the value of the investment while the next slab of upto Rs. 10,000 will qualify for a 4 per cent per annum concession of a similar nature and the final slab of a further investment of upto Rs. 10,000 will qualify for 2 per cent per annum. The ceiling will, thus, be Rs. 35,000 in investments qualifying for this concession which, it is stated, will be effective in ensuring that the investment is genuine and shall be free from speculative associations.

The effect of the concession in actual financial terms, it has been estimated, will be that in the event of any investor employing the full amount qualifying for the concession, the value of the certificates issued to him shall be limited to Rs. 1,250 in a year for four consecutive years. The investment need not, for the purpose of qualifying for the concession, be in the shares of only one Company, but may be spread over several such new issues and the certificates which will

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

valid for discharging the investor's income tax liabilities will not benefit any transferee in the event of the shares being sold, although devolution by inheritance will not be regarded as a transfer.

According to the Finance Minister, this concession will provide an element of encouragement to people with modest savings to invest their surpluses even if they may not have any significant tax liability.

A second concession announced relates to the income earned on Government securities by removing the currently imposed 'unearned income' surcharge on taxes on such income in the case of individuals only.

A third concession which, the Finance Minister hopes, will encourage the inflow of foreign exchange from Indian residents abroad, proposes that the interest accrued in a non-resident account on moneys transferred by a non-resident to India will be exempted from taxation as from 1965-66, through recognized banking channels and maintained in any bank in India. Repatriation of such funds together with interest, will be freely allowed.

For a long time now the capital market in this country has been in the doldrums, and it was time that some measures were evolved by Government to rescue it from its present ennui. The Prime Minister's recent rather cryptic statement in Calcutta raised a measure of expectation, although with the annual Budget only a couple of months away and Mr. Krishnamachari's known attitudes towards the stock markets, there did not seem to be a great deal of scope for optimism. As to whether the present concessions announced by the Finance Minister are adequate or otherwise for promoting brisk investment activity, they are at least a welcome recognition of the need to create favourable conditions for genuine investors.

The reasons that usually deter the ordinary individual investor from subscribing to new issues which, generally, take fairly long to mature and arrive at a stage where regular and adequate yields can be expected, are not of recent origin. But the Government's present awarenss would seem to stem from a recognition of the fact that unless the creation of new industrial capacity can be stimulated with a measure of expeditiousness, industrial growth would be correspondingly retarded during the coming years, as it has already been evincing distinct signs of slackening. The Unit Trust recently set up could not be regarded as relevant in this context; investors in the Unit were promised immediate and high return and the Trust holdings had to be arranged to suit this purpose. The present concessions offered by the Finance Minister are limited to direct investments by individuals of upto Rs. 35,000 per annum in new issues only, on which tax certificates will be earned at rates varying from 5 per cent to 2 per cent which can be used for payment of other income tax or to obtain refund in cash beyond the actual tax liabilities of the investor. He is thus assured of a net return of not less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum on the total of such subscriptions to new equities for a running period of four years provided, of course, that he continues to hold the shares except for devolution by inheritance. Although care appears to have been taken to make the offer not 'too attractive,' it should, nevertheless, go a long way to introducing a certain measure of bouyancy which has lately been woefully absent from the capital markets of the country. Underwriters in respect of new issues have recently been known to have been left with heavy burdens and if the present concessions announced by the Finance Minister is able to induce a new atmosphere, they would be relieved of a great deal of their present burdens and sponsors of new industries would be able to approach the capital market with a greater measure of assurance. This may also help to induce new interest among foreign investors who are reported to be feeling distinctly discouraged by the present state of the capital markets in this country and the extremely sluggish investment activity.

Past records where the present Union Finance Minister is concerned are not very hopeful of more promising trends in this behalf in the future. It may be recalled that the concessions inherent in the decontrol of 16 commodities and increase of the exemption limit on capital issues which Mr. Krishnamachari announced during Christmas week the year before, was followed by a needlessly harsh budget. One wishes, however, a repetition of past performances in this regard would this year be avoided.

Unaccounted Money

The recent campaign reported to have been launched by the Income Tax authorities for un-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

earthing what authority describes as *unaccounted* money, but which popular newspaper reports have been stubbornly dubbing as black money, would appear to have been following rather strange trends. It is true that these drives have been able, so it is reported, to have yielded quite a few crores of rupees held in secret hoards and that the authorities concerned have sealed several safe deposit vaults in banks in Bombay to be progressively opened and their contents examined in due course, from which further larger hauls are expected to eventuate. But it nevertheless remains unexplained why it has taken so many years for the appropriate authorities concerned to arrive at the decision to raid these deposit vaults for this purpose.

When the former Union Finance Minister promulgated his much derided Gold Control Order for the declared purpose of stemming the large quantities of gold that were reported to being smuggled into this country and issued a notification calling upon the people to submit to Government a declaration of their holdings of gold except ornament gold within a specified period of time, we in these columns then commented that this would hardly be likely to serve the desired end of unearthing hoarded gold most of which, it was popularly assumed, was accumulated for the purposes of tax evasion. We then cited the example of the action taken in similar circumstances by the Ne Win Government's Revolutionary Council in Burma where all safe deposit vaults were first sealed and then a notification issued calling upon the people to declare their stocks of gold, including ornament gold within a specified time limit. After the expiry of the specified period, the Burma Government proceeded to unseal every safe deposit vault by turn and examine their contents. All excess gold over the declared quantities were automatically appropriated to the Treasury in every case without any compensation whatever. As for the gold actually declared to Government, the Burma Government prescribed a maximum limit of the quantity that an individual would be allowed to hold, all excess being appropriated to the treasury by paying for them at the prevailing rate in the international gold market. This at once effectively prevented further smuggling of gold into that country, it was reported, while at the same time bringing into the Treasury a large windfall revenue. We suggested then that if Mr. Morarji Desai had employed similar expedients in respect of hoarded gold in this country, even larger windfall gains would be bound to accrue to the Treasury. But our suggestions in this behalf, as could only be anticipated, fell on completely deaf years and although gold smuggling was reported to have been substantially arrested, hardly any gains accrued to the Treasury by way of seizure of gold accumulated by tax evaders. Recent reports in the press seem to indicate that gold smuggling activities in the country have been becoming quite brisk again and although law forbids any private transactions in gold, a brisk underground market in the precious metal continues to flourish in most of the country's important trading and industrial centres and it is possible for any private buyer to buy any quantity of gold he may want to acquire, of course at a price. The news was reported to have emanated from a responsible officer responsible for administering the Government's Gold Control Order and may, therefore, be assumed to be genuinely representative of the actual state of affairs.

As regards *unaccounted money* there is no doubt that substantial proportions of it are being held in secret hoards ; possibly partly in banks' safe deposit vaults and, in cases resources for the purpose are ample, also perhaps in private strong rooms of individual hoarders. It is not possible to arrive at any accurate estimate of the quantities of such money in the country which, as the Union Finance Minister so pithily observed on one occasion recently, may be anybody's guess. But it is almost indisputable that a great deal of such *unaccounted* money is being fairly extensively used for creating heavy speculative price pressures upon essential consumption goods, probably more overwhelmingly in the particularly vulnerable edibles' sector than elsewhere in the market. There has been extensive and repeated talk of hoarded foodgrains even by responsible authorities including the Prime Minster himself. We have, as we have repeatedly commented in these columns, failed to understand such talk, especially in the context of authority's failure to bring out these hoarded stocks of foodgrains. To hoard gold in which great value may be concentrated in comparatively insignificant bulk may be comparatively easy. But to hoard foodgrains or other articles of food would require large and extensive space which it would

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

physically impossible to secrete clandestinely. On the other hand to finance such hoarding operations commensurately large finance would be needed. In West Bengal alone, the Chief Minister estimated sometime ago that some 2 million tonnes of rice had gone underground to concealed hoards. To finance rice hoards of this order, the minimum finance needed would easily exceed Rs. 100 crores. If an estimate could be prepared of the total quantities of rice and other foodgrains that must have similarly gone underground all over the country, a measure of the finance that must have been necessary for the purpose, could easily be arrived at. With all the police and other administrative resources at their command, it should not have been impossible for Government to have unearthed most of such hoarded food stocks and except in such cases where these stocks can be proved to have been genuinely held by bona fide jotedars or other large cultivators, the whole quantities of such stocks should be forfeited to Government. This would at once release large stocks of foodgrains for bona fide consumption while, at the same time, immobilizing a great deal of the *unaccounted* money in the country which is said to have been so vitally distorting the economy.

Unfortunately at no time in the recent past Government have shewn any inclination to adopt such summary means which, however, could be the only effective means that would achieve the desired purpose. The food situation continues to remain in a critical state and except for such limited areas where Government may possibly promulgate statutory rationing effectively, prospects are that it will continue to remain unrelievedly critical for indefinite periods in the future. As for such portions of *unaccounted* money that may have been suspected by authority to have been held in safe deposit vaults, the needs of effective action would seem to assume that safe deposit vaults all over the country would be simultaneously sealed and then the contents of each examined in turn. If deposits in cash or in kind are discovered whch cannot be satisfactorily accounted for by the owners concerned, they would be summarily and without any compensation whatever be forefited to the Treasury. One of the prime requisites of effective action in this behalf would seem to be lightening and simultaneous action covering the entire country and without any flare of undue publicity being given to such action. Unfortunately, that is exactly what has not been nor is being done. The few cases of raids on safe deposits carried out in Bombay city alone have been given such extensive publicity that others in similar circumstances would have ample warning to divert their hoards into new caches which it would be impossible for authority to discover when they may, if they ever do, swoop down on these others.

It appears all that is being done by authority in this regard is dictated more by the desire to focus the light of publicity upon the little that is being achieved so that the very much larger areas outside the publicised regions may remain obscure and unaffected. One is led to suspect that there is deliberate design to concentrate the maximum light of publicity on these infinitesimal and insignificant achievements so that the much larger and so far unaffected areas may be adequately cautioned into deeper and wholly undiscoverable obscurity.

Statutory Rationing in Calcutta

From recent newspaper reports, mostly based upon statements obtained from responsible spokesmen of the West Bengal Government's Food and Rationing Departments, it appears that as the time approaches the deadline when statutory rationing in Calcutta and the Greater Calcutta areas would be enforced, increasing confusion and chaos seems to be overtaking the administration. Physical evidence of this confusion can be had in front of the various regional rationing offices, where increasingly larger queues can be seen standing for indefinite periods day by day of applicants for new ration cards. The concerned authorities absolve themselves of responsibility for this accumulation of potential applicants for ration cards at this almost twelvth hour on the ground that it was none of their own fault if these people had not applied for and obtained their ration cards in good time, although it was announced that rationing would be clamped down in this city from early 1965 as early as June this year. Besides sugar supplies throughout this period was available, legitimately, only through ration cards and if large numbers of people had still chosen to depend on outside and illegitimate sources for their supplies of sugar and now found themselves in an invidious and rather precarious position, no one could justifiably blame the concerned department of the State Government for this lack.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

At the same time, they aver, it was unavoidable that each application for a new ration card had to be closely scrutinized before issuing the card in view of the very large number of spurious units that seem to be already covered by ration cards. Success of rationed distribution of essential food articles depended, in large part, on containing the demand on rationed supplies within legitimate consumption requirements of the people and within the norms upon which the quantum of per unit supply has been predicated.

For those that have been submitting their applications in this behalf within the last three weeks and less, the prospects would seem to be obviously precarious, especially in view of the fact that from the day statutory rationing becomes effective on 5th January next, the city would be cordoned off to prevent smuggling in or out of rationed articles. But apparently large numbers would be bound to affected who would not, thus, get any supplies from legitimate channels until they have their ration cards and unless they have been provident enough to have laid up sufficient supplies to last them until they could be expected to be provided with ration cards, they would seem to be faced with inevitable starvation for the period.

It is a human problem which would seem to be apalling on the face of it. True, these people may have been neglectful of their own interests in this matter and, technically, the rationing authorities are not to blame in the least. But to leave these unhappy people in such a precarious situation especially when regard is had to the fact that large numbers among them, are illiterate and ignorant, would be callous, even heartless in the extreme. Means should be found either to quicken the pace of the necessary preliminary inquiries the need for which one does not repudiate. or at least to issue temporary ration cards pending completion of the necessary inquiries, explaining to each individual applicant the dire consequences of a spurious application in the process, to enable them to subsist in the meanwhile.

One does recognize, of course, that existence of spurious ration cards already issued complicates the situation to a horrible extent. A certain departmental spokesman of the Government is reported to have described these spurious ration cards as being of two categories,—those that are "spuriously spurious" and those that stem from the inclusion of spurious units in family ration cards, generally emanating from the desire of the families concerned to secure a larger quantity of supplies than they would *bona fide* be entitled to. It is stated against a total estimated population of 6.4 millions in the area intended to be covered by statutory rationing, more than 7.2 million ration cards have already been in existence apart from those of the applicants who have come up for their ration cards within the last few weeks. The "spuriously spurious" cards have been described as being those which mostly have been faked by owners of the Fair Price Shops responsible for the distribution of rationed articles. Thousands of tons of rationed food articles are stated to have thus been diverted to the black market through these Fair Price Shops. These cards, it has been reported are said to be impossible to discover and immobilize ; why, ordinarily intelligent people are wholly unable to understand. But even if it were to be conceded that it were so, the obvious answer would seem to be to impound all the cards registered with such shops or even the shop itself, and then issue fresh cards to families registered with such shops on proved *bona fides*. In fact, in view of recent discoveries by the police and other concerned authorities relating to the part that large numbers of such privately owned fair price shops have been playing in blackmarketing rationed supplies obtained from Government sources, we are really doubtful about the wisdom of continuing to employ them to implement, in very substantial part, statutory rationing in the city. We have been told that additional shops necessary to cover the entire statutorily rationed areas in Calcutta, would be covered by departmentally run shops, but the existing fair price shops would continue to function and to provide the basic core of the distributive machinery under rationing. We feel, most strongly, that this would be both foolish and dangerous to continue to rely on these fair price shops, which should at once be taken over by departmental personnel.

It is, however, a great relief to learn from a statement recently reported to have been made by the Chief Minister, that the stock position to enable statutory rationing to be carried out successfully has since become adequately comfortable. It is, at the same time, necessary to ensure that this position continues to remain equally comfortable later on in the year and for which procurements should be suitably accelerated.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

UGANDA : A GEOPOLITICAL STUDY

By RAMESH DUTTA DIKSHIT

Uganda, a former British protectorate, emerged as a free nation at mid-night on October 8, 1962, after remaining under the foreign yoke for over 60 years. Simultaneously she became a member of the Commonwealth. "States, national and multi-national are the stars of the international scene."[1] The rise of any independent state is important in international affairs, but when a new nation emerges in the erstwhile dark continent of Africa, its significance is greater, for Africa, one of the last frontiers of the globe, presents the world with a series of challenges of unparalleled complexity and increasing urgency. It epitomizes the challenge of the earth at its most primitive and at its richest.[2] Africa, which a century ago, was virtually unknown, is awakening ; a store-house of strategic materials, it is being drawn into world affairs. It is because the changed conditions of national and world economic and political strength have enhanced the role of dependent territories. With the loss of most of the European holdings in Asia the role of Africa has steadily advanced in importance. Phosphates, tin, copper, cobalt, uranium, radium, iron ore, diamond, gold, manganese, lead, zinc, oils and other agricultural and forest products now flow 'West-ward to supplement national resources and replace those that could previously have been expected to come from other colonies.[3] The rise of a new African nation means that the area of "the store-house of strategic materials" is shrinking and hence the economy of the European state concerned, is being vitally affected.

Geographical Background of Uganda

Uganda lies in eastern Africa athwart the equator between about 4°30′ N and 1° S. latitude. It has an area of 93,981 Square miles. Out of this total area 13,690 sq. miles are covered by the waters of a number of lakes, *e.g.* Victoria, Kioga, Albert and Kwania, etc. Crossed by the Western Rift Valley of Africa, it is a savanna covered plateau 3,000 to 6,000 feet high, with mountain peaks rising to over 16,000 feet (Mt. Ruwenzori, 16,787 feet). The bulk of the country falls within the lake plateau division of East Africa with an elevation of roughly 3,500 to 4,000 feet. The land surface dips towards the north-west and is drained by the head-waters of the Nile river system. Victoria Nile, taking its origin from the Lake Victoria, is the most important head stream of the system.

The lake plateau is frequently undulating and even hilly, especially in the east and the west. There are, however, extensive marshy areas south of the lake Kioga and around lake Kwania. The Bunyoro Plateau in the west "overlooks with frowning scraps the rift valley trough of lake Albert."[4]

Although Uganda lies athwart the equator, it possesses none of the depressing climatic aspects so characteristic of these hot-humid climatic regions. Its high elevation above sea-level sensibly reduces the average temperature. Mean annual temperature of Entebbe, the administrative headquarters, is only 71° F. The equatorial characteristic of small range is found everywhere and the temperature of Ertebbe varies between 70°-73°F. The rainfall is ample. The whole of Uganda gets on an average between 40 to 60″ of rain annually. The slopes of Mt. Elgon in the east and the Ankole highlands in the west receive higher rain.

Most of the rain is convectional and falls in heavy downpours. Most of Uganda experiences two rainy seasons consequent upon the north and southward movement of the sun—one in April-May and the other October-December. The absence of any really invigorating dry season over the largest part of Uganda, renders the climate, though pleasant, somewhat enervating for the Europeans. The presence of so much swamp is conducive to the

1. Schwwarzenberger, G. *Power Politics*, London, 1951, P. 126.
2. Carlson, L., *Geography and World Politics*, New York, 1958, P. 439.
3. Carlson, *ibid*, p. 114.
4. Stamp and Beaver, *Africa*, 1959, p. 159.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

presence of insect-borne diseases, which, however, are being rapidly conquered by modern science and medicine. Sleeping-sickness took a terrible toll of people in the early years of this century.[5]

Most of Uganda has a natural vegetation of high savanna with an abundance of tree-growth. There are, however, three areas of the forests—the swamp forests in the lake Kioga region, the temperate rain-forests on the eastern slopes of Mt. Elgon and the Bunyoro Plateau, east of lake Albert, which supports good equatorial jungle.

Boundaries

Uganda has common boundaries with Sudan on the north, Kenya on the east, Tanganyika on the south, Ruanda-Urundi and Congo on the west. For the most part its international boundaries are natural. The eastern boundary follows the Mt. Elgon, the western highlands of Kenya, which separate the Nile drainage from that of Lake Rudolf. The western boundary is roughly the line of the western Rift Valley from Mt. Mfumbiro to Mt. Ruwenzori, and then via the Semliki river and Lake Albert to Welle-Nile watershed. Here definition by watershed was not feasible since the Nile-Congo parting west of Lake Albert proved to be almost vertically above the lake shore.[6] The British would then have had a sheer cliff beyond the lake to administer.[7]

The Lake Victoria forms the boundary between Tanganyika and Uganda for a long distance. Boundaries of Uganda, whether natural or artificial appear to be fairly stable and there does not appear to be much pressure on the peripheries nor is it likely for a few decades to come. All the bordering states are primarily concerned with their own internal organization and consolidation. Hence for the present the "frontiers" of Uganda are not "the razors' edge on which hang suspended"[8] its questions of life and death, as they are in many other cases.

5. *Ibid*, p. 159.

6. Harrison Chruch, R. J., *African Boundaries in The Changing World*. (ed. East. & Moodie), London, 1956, p. 746.

7. Hinks, A. R., *Notes on Techniques of Boundary Detimitation*, in Geog. Journal. Vol. L. viti (1921) pp. 417-443.

8. Lord Curzon. *Frontiers*. 1908, p. 7.

II

Natural Resources and National Economy

Uganda possessees a rich resource base. It has a rich soil, coupled with a suitable climate, a good reserve of hardwood forests and a rich deposit of minerals most of which are little exploited. Principal minerals mined in Uganda are copper, phosphates, tungsten, and lime. Small amounts of gold, tin, beryl, lead ores, asbestos, bismuth, wolfram and cobalt are also mined. In 1956, a copper-cobalt mine was put into operation at Kilembæ. During 1957 copper ore production averaged 45,000 tons a month. Blister copper exported in 1958 was valued at £2,065,000, compared with £1,533,688 in 1957. A new mining company was formed in 1956 to undertake the exploitation of the large phosphate and niobium deposits near Tororo. Mineral production is increasing very rapidly. The total value of minerals produced in 1958 was £2,369,355, as against £1,742,425 in 1957 and £285,000 in 1956.[9]

Despite a rich mineral and agricultural resource base Uganda could not make progress in industries because of its poverty in power resources. Coal reserves are non-existent and water power was not developed. With the completion of the Owen Falls Dam in 1954 and a hydro-electric project at Jinja (at the head of Victoria Nile on Lake Victoria), much of power shortage is made up. By 1958 the new power station had an installed capacity of 105,000 Kw. It can be expanded into 150,000 Kw. Production of electric power reached 274.8 million kwh. in 1958 with sales in Uganda amounting to 162.5 million kwh and 90 million kwh. sold to Kenya. Copper smelting is carried on at Jinja.

Uganda has essentially an agricultural economy. It is but natural in a well-watered equatorial area such as this. Large population practices subsistence agriculture, with cereals, particularly millets, cassava and bannanas occupying pride of place.[10] Cash crops, however, play a very important role in the national economy. Most important cash crops are cotton, coffee, corn and tobacco. The entire cotton cultivation

9. *World Mark Ecyclopedia of Nations*, New York, 1960, p. 1058. Most of the statistics in this discussion are from this source.

10. Stamp, L. D., *Africa : A Study in Tropical Development*. London, 1959, p. 405.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is in the hand of Africans. *Cotton* occupies 1.5 million acres. Average output is 70,000 tons. Bulk of it is exported. Cotton accounts for nearly 40 p.c. of Ugandas' export. Over 160 ginneries exist, most of them are owned by Indians. *Coffee* is grown both by Africans and Europeans. Output has increased rapidly from 14,000 tons in 1938 to 70,000 tons in 1956-57, when it accounted for 46 p.c. of the value of exports.[11] Coffee is grown both on the eastern and western highlands—on the former by Africans and on the latter by Europeans. *Tobacco* is grown by native farmers. Some of it is consumed by factories in Jinja and Kampala and the rest exported. *Ground-nuts* and *simsim* are grown for domestic use. *Sugar-cane* is grown near Lake Victoria by Indians. Two factories now produce an exportable surplus over local demands. Good prospects for the development of sugarcane exist in view of the increasing demand for sugar from the neighbouring territories. Tea is giving good yields on Western highlands.

Cattle raising is important in the eastern and northern districts. Livestock in 1958 included 3,427,000 cattle, 2,728,000 goats, and 1,127,000 sheep. Jinja and Kampala are the principal stock markets and there is considerable export of hides and skins. Livestock products exported were 2,210 long tons of hides, 1,025,079 goat skins, and 108,702 sheep skins.[12] Uganda faces the difficulty of large *tsetse* fly areas. The bulk of the cattle are of low grade, becoming better on the highlands of Ankola.[13]

Fish-farming is of growth importance in Africa. It is operated almost entirely by Africans. Fish ponds increased from 2,500 in 1957 to 4,500 in 1958. The total catch from Uganda waters in 1958 was 52,000 long tons, valued at £2 million. New markets for fish have opened in East Africa through the export by air of frozen fish.[14]

Transport & Communication

Uganda is entirely land locked. Both internal and external lines of communication are, therefore, important. Its entire sea-borne commerce is dependent on Kenya-Uganda railway which carries its goods to Mombasa, on the Indian sea coast. Formerly the line terminated at Kisumu on the Kavirondo Gulf of Lake Victoria in Kenya and steamers carried Ugandan goods through Lake Victoria to Kisumu and from there by rail to Mombasa. Then a railway line was spread between Jinja and Namasagali, the head of navigation on the Victoria Nile. Later on all-rail-link with Mombasa was established by the construction of a branch of Kenya Railway from Nakuru, entering Uganda at Tororo and linking with the Jinja line at Mbulamuti. Tororo is also connected with Soroti, north-east of Lake Kiogo. In 1956, railway was extended westward to the foot of Ruwenzori and thus helped the opening of the famous copper deposits of Kilembe. A number of lake-steamer routes are maintained by the Railway Administration. Steamers ply on Lakes Victoria, Kioga and Albert and from Lake Albert to Nimule down the Albert Nile. From Nimule a motor service runs upto Reyaf in Sudan, from where again the Nile is navigable. A motor service connects the western end of Lake Kioga with Lake Albert since the Murchison falls make the Nile unnavigable over a large section. The Lake Albert gives an outlet to the gold-rich Kilo and Moto highlands of Congo with which they are connected by a motor service. There are some thousand miles of all-weather motorable roads.[15] These motorable roads are a great asset in carrying the agricultural produce to the markets. Lake Victoria affords contact with Tanganyika to the south. Uganda is well placed on the air map of Africa. Entebbe has a first class airport and regular service with Nairobi and Khartoum etc. There are 14 landing fields in various parts of the country.

Trade

Uganda has a very favourable export-import trade. Total value of imports in 1958 was

11. Stamp and Beaver, *op cit.*, p. 160
12. *World Mark Encylopaedia of Nations*, 1058.
13. Stamp, L.D., *op. cit.*, p. 405.
14. *Encyclopaedia of Nations*, *op. cit.*, 1058.
15. In 1958, the PWD. maintained 2,859 miles of all-weather roads (445 miles bituminized) Local Governments maintained 8,300 miles some of which were passable only in dry season. The same year there were 37,262 licenced motor vehicles.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

£27,002,000; of exports, mainly cotton and coffee, £45,409,000. Besides coffee and cotton, which account together for over 85 per cent of the total export by value, other important articles of export are copper, oil seeds, tea and some other minerals. Machinery, base-metals, cars and other finished goods head the articles of import. Imports are usually from U.K., Japan, Germany and India. Exports go to U.K., U.S.A., Germany, India and Japan. U.K. is Uganda's principal trade partner accounting for 45 per cent of its imports and 20 per cent of the exports in 1957. Since 1960, restrictions on imports have been gradually reduced by an extension of open general licence on importation from member countries of the OEEC (Organization of European Economic Co-operation) and by import liberations for certain commodities from other nations. Uganda is a member of the GATT.

III

Population

Uganda had an estimated population of 5,77,000 in January 1959. Of the total population 5,695,000 were Africans. Over 80 per cent of the others are Asians, (Indians and Arabs) and rest Europeans. Kampala, Jinja and Entebbe are the three important towns having population of over 43000; 19000 and 11000 respectively. The natives include Negro and Hamitic types, but more than half are Bantus.[16] With this overwhelmingly large population of natives, Uganda is not faced by any discrimination of the natives. It is a truly black country. Uganda had a creditable record in native administration, uncomplicated by land alienation on a considerable scale to immigrants, whether from Europe or Asia. Although Asian and European immigrants have played a notable part in the development of Uganda, it has retained its status as a Black Man's country.[17] Actually there is an official ban on European ownership of land. The natives engage in production of agricultural goods for export, although the business of processing and exporting these commodities is largely in the hands of Indians.[18]

16. Suggate, L. S., *Africa*, 1951, p. 235.
17. Fitzerald, *W., Africa*, 1955, p. 251.
18. Alexander, L. M., *World Political Patterns*, (1957), p. 329.

Although Uganda does not have a strong racial problem, yet education has been organized almost entirely on a racial basis. In 1956 the first inter-racial school aws opened in Entebbe and in 1957 it was announced that all new secondary schools would be organized on an inter-racial basis and that existing schools would be open to children of races other than for which they were originally intended, provided their essential character was maintained. In 1958 Primary schools numbered 6090 and Secondary schools 384; Higher education is provided at Markerere College (Kampala) which in 1949 acquired a special relationship with the University of London and was granted University College status.

IV

Geopolitical Problems

Like all other newly independent countries of the under-developed world, Uganda is faced with diverse problems of development—industrial, agricultural, educational and others. Only two problems are considered—one, the problem of racial minorities and the other, of the local kingdoms. Both of these are of very vital importance to the national Government and demand immediate attention.

A. Problems of Racial Minorities

Indians

It is clear from the foregoing that three main racial groups predominate in the population of Uganda—Natives, European colonizers and Asian settlers. Among the Asians, Indians predominate. In 1959 there were 57,000 Indians in Uganda. Although India's connection with East Africa existed from ancient times, it was the British who brought, for the building of the Mombasa-Uganda Railway, large numbers of indentured labourers from India. The railway was completed in 1901. Many Indians left for home but some 6000 elected to remain,[19] and they have been joined by many who handle much of the commerce of Uganda. Especially notable is the fact that "Indians have a profound effect on the nature of the development of the non

19. Stamp, L. D., *op. cit.*, p. 396.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

African population and the Asians in East Africa are now among the people with highest reproduction rates of the world, so that 222,000 in 1948 had become about 328000 in 1958."[20] It is further to be noted that all the three territories of British East Africa i.e. Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda have large Indian settlers. In 1960 they had respectively 174,300 ; 87,300 and 76,200 Indians.[21] In the commercial life of Uganda, the Indian population is of critical importance and it is believed that they control nearly 90 per cent of the total trade of the country. The total number of ginneries now owned by Indians is about 138 out of a total of 163 ginneries.[22] These Indians—mostly Hindus—have come to occupy an intermediate position in the social scale between the Africans and the Whites. They are concentrated for the most part in urban areas. Because of their economic power, the Indians are resented by Whites and Africans alike. There is a certain analogy between the position of the Indians in this part of Africa and that of the Chinese in south-east Asia, or of the Jews in pre-world War II Europe," remarks Alexander.[23] In each case a minority group, some members of which are quite wealthy, occupies an intermediate position between the large number of people who are poor and the small rich upper class (here represented by Europeans).

In the days of the British the Indians were very well placed in Uganda. The relation of the Indian and European communities in Uganda was more friendly than in any other part of British East Africa, observes Fitzgerald. As the Indians were adequately represented on the Legislative Council there was an absence of acute political unrest, whilst there was no particular discrimination against them in regard to the leasing of land or to residence. After the independence of Uganda, the future of the Indian minority is very obscure. "In Uganda the natives are disinclined to give further concessions to Europeans or Indians either on the land or under the law."[24] This complicates the situation. Mr. Narendra Patel, Uganda's Deputy Minister for Internal Security, who is the only Indian in Premier Obete's Coalition Government, touching upon the future of Indians in Uganda remarked that he feared that there would be serious unemployment among them in near future. Indians would find it hard to catch up with Africans, who were making rapid progress in education. Mr. Patel said that Indians would also find it difficult to assimilate themselves in the new society of Uganda because they had not bothered to change their habits.[25] I, however, hope that if it is only a matter of assimilation and change of habits, the Indians will soon accomplish it.

Ever since independence the national Government of Uganda has shown great enthusiasm towards the Africanization of the industries and services in the country. This necessarily means the exodus of a large number of Asians from the country. Many have left Uganda and a large number shall have to leave their country of adoption in coming years. There is a strong feeling against the Indian businessmen which has been seen in the form of repeated boycotts of Indian shops and shopkeepers ever since 1948. "The main and real reason for the boycotts was economic . . . . The middle class, which had emerged in Uganda, wanted to capture all trade from Indians whom they could not withstand in open competition. Thus the desire to squeeze the Indian traders in the countryside out of their business was the main cause, though the political motivation could not be ruled out."[26] Some violence was also reported and slogans of "get out Asians" were raised in certain quarters. As a result of this Indian capital began to flow out of Uganda. Many sold out their business and bought plantation estates in Tanganyika.[27]

This anti-Indian feeling is being fanned by the Chinese agents after independence. Yet in Uganda's own interests it should not be so. As Gann and Duignan put it : Africa is one of the

20. Beaver & Stamp, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
21. *Times of India, Directory and Year Book*, 1962-63.
22. Prasad A., "People of Indian Origin in Uganda", *Africa Quarterly*, 1963, p. 246.
23. Alexander, L. M., *op. cit.*, pp. 331-332.
24. Reported in *Hindusthan Times*, December 3, 1962.
25. Reporter in *Hindustan Times*, December 3, 1962.
26. Prasad, A., "People of Indian Origin in Uganda", *Africa Quarterly*, 1963, p. 149.
27. *Times of India*, Delhi. Feb. 15. 1960.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

world's last remaining frontiers—what it needs is neither restriction nor birth control but immigration. There is a widespread misconception that Africa south of the Sahara is overpopulated. This view is not in accordance with the facts. Over much of tropical Africa the birth rate averages about 1½ to 2 per cent per annum, which is not an unusual rate of increase. The density of population is, further more, extra-ordinarily low. (Uganda supports on an average 8 persons to the square mile). Bantu Africa's major problem is that there simply are not enough hands to do all the jobs needed—be it clearing the land of tsetse fly, building dams or opening new factories. *"Under these conditions there is no relevance in advocating birth control—it is surely not suggested that the empty Kraal is the happy Kraal, nor is it any more reasonable to limit immigration into Africa or to drive out enterprising immigrants like Indian traders and businessmen as may probably be done by African boycotts in Buganda."*[28] Africa, like America in the past, needs to import labour as fast as it can, especially since it is cheaper for an under-developed country to bring in trained men from outside, at no cost to itself, than to train them all on the spot. We hope the elder statesmen of Uganda will realise the value of the Indian trained personnel and in the over enthusiasm for Africanization of trade, commerce and services there shall be no discrimination against immigrant loyal Ugandans. Indians, on their part, should try to live as Ugandans and identify their work and aspirations to the welfare of Uganda, without making any semblance of superiority complex, if there be any.

The Whites

Strong anti-European feeling in Uganda as in other colonies (present or former) is easily understood. Europeans are held responsible for the delayed development of their lands (whether rightly or wrongly). They are despised for breaking the old traditional institutions and transplanting in their place a Westernised system. Resentment is also strong because of the favoured position that the white population enjoyed in the colonial days. With the changed political situation the Europeans are placed in a very tense situation. It is rightly felt that both Indians and Europeans have become apprehensive of the future but it is the European who is in the most difficult position. The Indians with their lower standards of living and a different background are better fitted to "assimilate" and "change habits" than the Europeans are. The Europeans, perhaps, cannot fare so well in competition with the Africans when there is a common deal.

"The greatest African problems centre around land and race," observes Harrison Church.[29] In the case of Uganda where sale of land to non-natives is prohibited, the problem of land is not serious. But the problem of race, no doubt, is acute. As Keiweit observes, in none of the territories of East Africa are there any real signs that the three racial groups will follow the patterns of "miscegenation" and "assimilation" that fused the people of Latin America into new social hybrids. In Latin American from the very beginning there was enough of the "hospitality of church, home and blood to obscure any hard line of separation between Europeans, Africans and the native Indians."[30] Here the situation is different. There is an inhospitality of "church, home and blood" and thus the racial factor assumes serious proportions. There is, however, one good feature. Most of the Indian settlers and European colonists are born and brought up here and have seldom seen either Europe or India. They regard the country as their "homeland" and all are, therefore, bound by a "feeling of belonging together," the other name for which is nationality. If no discrimination is made against either, the situation may smooth over.

It is observed that economic advancement depends on two kinds of capital, social and physical. The former consists of the skill and capacities of a vast number of technicians, administrators, skilled workers and industrial entrepreneurs. These people are essential but they are expensive to train on the spot. Until recently Europeans have provided all the know-how and most of the capital for the whole of Africa, (in

28. Gann and Duignan, *White Settlers in Tropical Africa*, 1962, p. 24.

29. Harrison Church, *op. cit.*, "Policies and Problems in Africa," p. 797.

30. Keiwit, C. W., "African Dilemmas", in *Foreign Affairs*, April 1955, p. 456.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

case of Uganda Indians and Europeans together). Even after intensive Africanization programmes over the past decade, Ghana and Nigeria are still desperately short of trained personnel. The question of social capital closely affects in turn the question of physical capital. Capital unfortunality is scarce the world over and the 'intense poverty of colonial areas is directly due to lack of capital.' But unfortunately few of the newly created African States have proved themselves to be good risks for private capital. The temptation to confiscate alien property for young and shaky regimes are great. "White farmers, entrepreneurs, and technicians are essential to poverty-stricken areas lacking skilled manpower and capital ; white exodus (in Uganda along with the Indian exodus) would probably be as serious in its economic consequences as the departure of the Jews from fifteenth century Spain or the expulsion of Hugenots from seventeenth century France."[31] It remains the task of statesmanship to ease the apprehension of the immigrant settlers.

B. Local Kingdoms : A Threat to National Solidarity ?

Although on account of its major share in the production of cotton and its large proportion—nearly one-third—of the total population, the Eastern Province ranks high in the commercial life of Uganda. From the standpoint of social and political geography Buganda is pre-eminent. It corresponds in area to one of the five provinces of Uganda, but the other 'Kingdoms'—including Bunyoro in Northern Province, Ankola and Toro in the Western Province, and Bugosa in the Eastern Province—are sub-provincial units or 'districts' for administrative puruposes. The political entities of Buganda, Bunyoro, Toro and Ankola have a long history and are as fully accepted by the people as are the emirates of Northern Nigeria by their inhabitants.[32]

A fundamental aim of the British in Africa has been to develop African cultures, customs and institutions, rather than supersede them with British ways and life. Indigenous political institutions were kept where possible and then practicable. Indirect Rule was established through the existing rulers. 'Indirect Rule' with its emphasis upon the authority of the native leadership has met with singular success in Buganda since it was first introduced by Sir H. H. Johnston at the beginning of this century. With its four native kingdoms, Uganda "Stands as an example of Indirect Rule, in which the chiefs are strengthened by the British in their positions of traditional authority and in which their power to rule is derived largely from the loyalty of their subjects rather than the mandate granted to them by the colonial state."[33] Whittlesey defines the Indirect Rule as the "government which leaves the African political structure untouched, except for supervision by British political officers organized not to supersede the indigenous government but to be parallel to and supplement it."[34]

Even before the arrival of the British, Buganda had already evolved the most advanced political system in Bantu Africa. The Head of the State is the King (Kabaka) assisted and controlled by an assembly of chiefs (Lukiko) whose powers include the initiation of legislative measures. It is on account of its old traditions that the social and political influence of the Buganda is out of all proportion to their numbers—they form less than one-fifth of the total population —and "it is not unlikely that in process of time Buganda will unite to itself other 'Kingdoms' and so promote the foundation of one nation throughout Uganda," observed Prof. W. Fitzfierald. Since then, however, Uganda has emerged as a free state if not a nation. One factor is that possible national evolution was considered to be the ever-widening influence of Luganda, the language of the Buganda. It is now the language used in the schools of the country and was selected in preference to the Swahili, although generally throughout British East Africa the increasing use of Swahili was accepted as an official policy.[35]

Indirect Rule worked well for a long time because it prevented over-hasty rupture with African tradition, conserved what was best and practicable in African society and economised white officials. Yet, as time passed, the system

31. Gann and Duignan, *White Settlers in Tropical Africa*, pp. 137-38.
32. Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
33. Alexander, L. M., *op. cit.*, p. 332.
34. Whittlesey, D., *The Earth and the State*, 1944, p. 379.
35. Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

has been much criticized, by Africans and non-Africans alike.[36] The system had a number of shortcomings. In the first place the people of the kingdoms had to serve two masters (The British and the local King). This complicated the whole affair and the problem was found impossible by the Kabaka of Buganda in 1953. He demanded independence of his kingdom from the rest of Uganda. Further, the present tendency the world over is the development of democratic nationalization. The African political leaders and the European officials now began to favour and have developed elected local authorities. This undermines the traditional African chiefs. The chiefs are understandably suspicious of the new constitutions and the recently emerged African politicians, and feel that their authority has been undermined. This is another reason for their desire to remain independent.

The chiefs are further afraid of a common deal under the zeal for too much of democratization under a democratic constitution. In the free Uganda, the chiefs have to lose their authority and glamour. They are afraid of their associations with more backward tribes with lower standards of living. It is out of these fears that the Kabaka of Buganda before his deposition in December 1953, demanded complete independence. This would have created an enclave, in Uganda, and as it controls most of the resources and communication of Uganda, the separation would have ruined the rest of the country.[37]

Although Uganda has become free, but these fears and doubts of the chiefs have increased rather than subsided. The local kingdoms, therefore, continue to present a threat to the national well-being. At present, however, some of these kingdoms are engaged in mutual feuds. Unitned action on their part for the time being is, therefore, ruled out. Bunyoro claims six counties which 65 years ago were ceded by Britain to Buganda in order to placate its ruler. According to an agreement reached at the Constitutional Conference in London early in 1962, The Central Government should take over administration of two counties and after two years hold a referendum there. Other counties should, according to the agreement, continue to be a part of Buganda. Bunyoro leaders are of the view that whatever the result of the referendum in the two countries where their tribesmen are in a majority they will continue to press their claim to other counties until they get them back.[38]

Premier Obete is now engaged in finding ways and means of ensuring effective central control in the two counties where law and order is always an explosive burden to the authorities. Bunyoro Kingdom has complained about the incidents of ill-treatment of the Bunyoro people by the Buganda administrators. Mr. Obete was warned that a serious threat to security could result if these cases were not looked into immediately. Mr. Obete has so far shown statesmanlike awareness of the intricacies of the situation in lost counties, but his efforts are not considered above suspicion by Bunyoro elements who think he has leanings towards Buganda. This suspicion arises from the fact that the present Government of Uganda has been a coalition between Mr. Obete's Uganda People's Congress and the tribal body Kabaka Yekka.[39]

All this shows that the problem of local kingdoms in fraught with difficulties and as the Prime Minister of Bunyoro put it, if these cases were not dealt properly "a serious threat to security could result."

V

External Relations

For convenience of study, Uganda's external relations may be discussed under two heads: relations with the African neighbours and the relations with the outside world.

The geographical location of Uganda, land inland in the Lake Plateau of Eastern Africa, at an elevation of 3500 to 4000 feet, is both its greatest strength and the greatest weakness in its relations with the outside world. The whole of the country drains from Lake Victoria through Lake Kioga into Lake Albert and thence into the Nile. Uganda, thus, covers the gathering grounds of the head quarters of the white Nile. It becomes all the more important because in the early part of the year more than half the supply of water to the Lower

36. East & Moodie (Ed), *The Changing World*, p. 786.

37. Harrison Church, R., in the *Changing World*, p. 301.

38. Reported in *Hindustan Times*, Dec. 1962.

39. *Hindustan Times*, Dec. 1, 1962.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Nile comes from the Lake Plateau.[40] This control of the head-waters of the Nile, the life-giving stream of Sudan and Egypt, gives great bargaining strength to Uganda, because, in international law, an upper riparian state is entitled to divert the flow of an international river at its own discretion.[41] As Professor Fenwick observes, "States in possession of the upper waters of a river have not recognized any general obligation to refrain from diverting its waters and thereby denying the states in possession of the lower waters the benefit of the full flow. Such restrictions as have been recognized have been in every case the result of treaty stipulations."[42] Sudan and Egypt must, therefore, continue to have close association with Uganda and offer it certain priorities in matters of mutual interest, for as Prof. Berber puts it "He who has little to offer will receive little in return. That is the truth of every international treaty and the case of water treaties in principle is no different."[43]

The great mid-twentieth century plan for the regulation of the Nile basin has been the construction of a dam at Jinja which has raised the level of the Lake Victoria by four feet and constitutes immeasurably the largest storage reservoir in the world. The dam (Owen falls Dam) which was opened by H. M. The Queen of U.K. on 29th. April, 1954, is founded on a rocky spur which in the lowest section constricts the Victoria Nile into a channel 500 feet wide. Though the main purpose of the Dam is to generate hydroelectricity for Uganda, it has been constructed, at the request and cost of the Egyptian Government, one metre higher than was necessary for hydroelectric purposes, in order to help control the irrigation waters of the Nile. With the intention of further conserving irrigation water, it is proposed to construct a regulator at Atura, between Jinja and Mutir which will prevent loss of water by evaporation in Lake Kioga. Lower down the Nile a dam is envisaged at Mutir below Lake Albert to provide a balancing reservoir. From this storage and conservation of water Egypt will certainly be the chief beneficiary. The Sudan should gain also, especially through a great expansion of the Gezira Cotton growing scheme.[44]

From the foregoing it is clear that Uganda's international boundaries present no pressures, hence it is likely to have a very peaceful relation with its neighbours. This amicable relation is all the more assured because of the country's foreign policy of non-interference. This has been amply clear from the attitude the Government of Uganda has taken in the context of the refugees from Sudan and Ruanda-Burundi. A plan has been launched by the Uganda Government to move thousands of refugees away from Sudan-Uganda border so that they may not undermine peaceful relations between the two countries. Uganda's Deputy Minister for Internal Security, Mr. Narendra Patel, explaining the policy of the Government said, "We do not want Uganda to be made a base for fighting other Governments."[45] The Sudanese refugees, most of whom live on the Sudan border, had a plan to launch an 'attack' on Sudan on the anniversary of the Abboud regime. Skirmishes on the border had been taking place ever since the military regime was proclaimed in Sudan, but there was evidence that these could take a serious turn if steps were not taken to check them. Fearing a similar situation on its Western border with Ruanda and Burundi, the Uganda Government had moved nearly forty thousand refugees to the interior at a heavy cost. A powerful movement had grown among the refugees which aimed at the overthrow of the present republican regime of Ruanda.[46] A similar peaceful relation can easily be inferred with

40. Suggate, L. S., *op. cit.*, p. 120 See also in article by Sir Henry Lyons in the Geographical Teacher, Spring, 1910.

41. A clear statement of this principle which has been accepted by various states, had been made by Attorney General Harmon justifying U.S. claims for diverting the water of Rio Grande.

42. Fenwick, C., *International Law*, New York, 1948, p. 391.

43. Berber, F. J., *Rivers in International Law*, (1960), p. 271.

44. Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, Appendix H. p. 483 ; The 'Lake Victoria Project' and its implications are described by E. B. Whorthington in an article on "Geography and the Development of East Africa" in the Geog. Journal (1950) pp. 29—48. Further information is given by J. W. Wright in "The White Nile Flood Plain and its effect on the proposed scheme" in the Geog. Journal (1949), pp. 173-90.

45. Reported in *Hindustan Times*, Dec. 3, 1963.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Congo, when that country obtains internal stability and emerges as a united nation.

The relations with the other two neighbours —Kenya and Tanganyika—assume a different colour. This is largely because till recently these three territories were under British control and their economic development was more or less complementary. For a number of services they have been operating as a unit. There is an East African High Commission to provide for the administration of the services common to the three territories. The High Commission is assisted by the East African Central Assembly which is empowered to legislate for such specific common services as railways taxation, telegraph, civil, education and research services. The Governments of the separate territories remain responsible for other basic services. The former isolation of the individual East African territories has gradually broken down. As facilities for transportation and communication have steadily improved, lengths of railways, formerly isolated, have become woven into a general network and East Africa's contacts with the outside world have become more important. This is clear when one looks at the position of Uganda, entirely land-locked and dependent for its contacts with the outside world on facilities offered by its neighbours. Nearly all the foreign trade of Uganda is carried through the Kenyan port of Mombasa. It is in this sense that Uganda's geographical situation is its greatest weakness. Uganda must, therefore, continue to have very close associations with Kenya and Tanganyika for an alternative route through Sudan and Egypt, is impracticable. Fortunately for Uganda such an arrangement is already existing.

An East African Federation ?

The three East African States have been gradually strengthening their economic bonds. Through the East African High Commission which controls the transportation, postal and telegraph services and customs and excise, a limited federation already exists in effect. These early stages in the co-ordination or amalgamation of the services point inevitably to the ultimate political federation that the British had in mind. But the difference in the political status of th three came in the way. Uganda was a Protectorat Kenya, a Colony and Tanganyika a Unit Nation's Trusteeship territory. In 1943 the Pe manent Mandates Commission was of the emphat opinion that the Union of Tanganyika with h neighbours would represent a violation of th terms of the Mandate ; and, whatever the ne form under the U.N.O., the terms of that Manda could not be forgotten.[47] Today all the three a independent.

A closer economic union between the thr states is advancing fast. A beginning which w made in 1948 with the establishment of th East African High Commission controlling number of essential common services, is pr gressing successfully and recently the gover ments of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika ha decided to preserve their own *"East Africa Common Market"* at all costs "and not to en the European Common Market," said Mr. Obe opening the meeting of the Central Legisla Assembly of East Africa. The three governmen he said, decided to act jointly through th Common Services Authority which had appoint a Commission consisting of three ministers, a supporting officials to carry out the negotiation Ethiopia, Somalia and Zanzibar had also sent hi ranking delegates to the Assembly meetin This good response showed how real was th movement for unity of action in African affai and co-operation in all matters of comm interest.[48]

Conferences on Military, social, and econon matters seem now to be of almost daily occurra in Africa and prmanent international bod have become numerous. But while co-operati is easiest on non-technical and non-political p blems, contrasting types of government political aims make closer political associati difficult. While the whole European trend towards larger units, there seems to be African distrust of them. A number of factor are responsible for it. One important factor is racial and social differences among peop Uganda Africans, for instance, were said to f domination by white settlers if Uganda enter an East African Federation of Uganda, Ken

46. *Ibid.*
47. Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
48. Reported in *Hindustan Times*, Dec. 1962.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and Tanganyika.[49] Another reason for the African aversion to larger political units or federations may be the local politicians' lust for power. In a larger unit the opportunities for exercising authority shall become very restricted. They do not want to let this opportunity of complete tribal independence of their individual units slip. Yet, however, 'the logic of the modern world demands larger units, which alone can pool resources to command the capital for adequate development and social welfare.' It is, however, not unlikely that through this gradual development of common services and a common market an Economic Federation if not a political federation of the three states will emerge. The sooner it is accomplished, the better for the three.

In June 1963 Premier Obete joined with Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and President Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika in a declaration that a Federation of East Africa would be introduced before the end of 1963. But the Federation issue has now run into snags, and Uganda finds itself in the position of odd man out, insisting on slowing down the discussions with the other two countries until a number of basic issues are agreed upon.[50] Internal problems and disputes in Uganda are taking second place to the country's attitude towards the East African Federation. On this subject almost all political parties in Uganda are to be found in agreement. Kenya and Tanganyika accuse Uganda of delaying tactics. Uganda accuses them of seeking to rush blindly into federation with vital problems unsolved.

East Africa has been developed by Whites and Indians pushing inland from the coast. Both administratively and economically this development has centred not on the shores of Lake Victoria where the main concentrations of African peoples are, but on the coast and Kenya uplands where the majority of aliens settled. Administration, public services, banks, trading firms and voluntary organizations established their headquarters in Nairobi. Only subsidiary branches were sited in Kampala, capital of Uganda. No decision could be taken, or policy implemented without reference and deference to Kenya head offices. Industry followed the trend. Cotton and Coffee rich Uganda merely provided a useful consumer market for goods manufactured in Kenya. With independence Uganda foresaw that this alien development pattern would fade and the development axis would shift to the main centres of indigenous population. The Kenya and Tanganyika political leaders also foresaw this and their proposals for an East African Federation are framed in a way which will prevent it from happening. They argue that the Federal capital must remain at Nairobi, the established nerve-centre of East Africa. The Federation must be a Republic. Uganda's four hereditary monarchs must fit in as best as they can. All revenues must be centralized, despite the fact that Uganda has a regular trade surplus and balanced budget while Kenya has a large and increasing deficit.[51] Faced with all this, observes the *Observer*, Uganda is beginning to think that her prospects are better if she relies on her own resources. It is true that Federation would guarantee her a vital outlet to the coast, but she feels this is a poor bargain in exchange for perpetuating her status as a rural province at the end of the line.

To counter the geographical advantages of Kenya's Nairobi, an obvious centre for the Federal capital because of its communications, Uganda is pressing for the capital to be sited in her territory as a means of demonstrating the idea of give-and-take that everyone agrees is necessary to make the Federation a success.[52] The native Kingdoms of Uganda pose new problems in this march towards the Federation. Buganda, for instance, insists that because of her size and her special constitutional position, she can only enter the Federation as a partner in her own right.

Relations with other Countries

Premier Obete outlining the policy of his Government said his country would practice *Positive Non-Alliance* as opposed to *neutralism*, and would not become an "ideological battleground"

49. Harrison Church' R. J., *The Changing World*, pp. 799-801.

50. "Obete and Uganda : One year of Freedom", An FNS feature in *Indian Express*, Delhi, Sept. 30, 1963.

51. From "Uganda Rejects' 'Sell-out' ". Reproduced in the *Hindustan Times*, Sept 17, 1963, by arrangement with the *Observer*, London.

52. See foot note 50 above.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

between East and West.[53] Uganda has also set itself to fight for the cause of rights of Africans and social parity in non-self governing states on the continent. It is with this view that Uganda decided not to recognize the Governments of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Mr. Obete has already declared a boycott of South African goods. A similar campaign has been launched in Tanganyika. Uganda has also condemned the Portuguese policy in Angola and Mozambique for which Portugal had been asked to close its consulate in Kampala.

Uganda's relations with two states outside Africa become important, *i.e.*, U.K. and India. Uganda must continue to have very close relations with U.K. whose protectorate it was till its independence. Uganda will undoubtedly remain in the sterling group whose head is the United Kingdom. Besides, Uganda is not likely to sever its relation from the Commonwealth because as the events in recent months have shown (in context of the Sino-Indian dispute) the Commonwealth has become a live factor in world politics.

Relations with India assume great importance because of the sizable Indian minority within Uganda. The Indians are not very welcome in the country because they are envied by the natives. A certain section of people, both in Uganda and outside fan the fire of Anti-Indian opinion [illegible] the Ugandans by irresponsible statements such as "Indians regard East African territories as natural area for expansion of Indians in future and that India approves of such an idea. Some people go so far as to state "In spite of her present neutrality, there is a latent and implicit imperialism in India that could be shocked into action not only over Kashmir and Pakistan [illegible] the exigencies of her economic development but also over Indian nationals in Africa. Active and hostile action over these issues is not thought to be inconsistent with India's general emphasis up on pacifism or neutralism."[54]

The development of any such anti-India sentiments is detrimental not only to the interest of the Indian settlers in Uganda, it shall also be detrimental to India's international prestige and position. The Government of India must view this problem seriously. It is hoped that our diplomatic representatives will show greater awareness in counteracting such moves. The problem becomes all the more urgent in view of the permission for opening the Chinese Embassy in Kampala. The Chinese are not likely to leave any stone unturned in starting an anti-Indian tirade in Uganda.

---

53. A *Reuter* report in *Hindustan Times*, Nov. 17, 1962.

54. Keiwit, C. W., "African Dilemmas", in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (April, 1955) p. 454.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TILAK AND THE REVOLUTIONARIES

By V. S. JOSHI

TILAK was no fashionable exponent of nonviolence. He had once said, "It is not that I am against an armed revolt. I consider even an armed revolt perfectly constitutional. It is not, however, possible to declare such revolt at precent. If anybody assures me of even fifty per cent success of such revolt, I would proclaim an armed revolt, leaving the remaining fifty per cent chance of success in the lap of the Gods." He thus betook to constitutional agitation as he was a realist and also because of experiences as narrated hereafter. Consequently he never bore any inherent dislike for revolutionaries. On the contrary, being a true patriot, he was not oblivious of the great inspiration and force derived from their pure and most complete sacrifice in the fight for the cause of Indian freedom.

When Tilak was in his teens, Vasudeo Balvant Phadke, the first rebel against British Government, had commenced organising the youths in Poona for the revolt and started training classes for them in gymnastics and the use of weapons in 1873. Tilak was not an opponent of force. For in his opinion force misused only was violence. He was then on the look out for instruction in body-building and so was a prominent member in Vasudeo Balvant's class from 1873. Bai Saib Phadke, wife of the rebel, who died in 1940, said that she vividly remembered "your Tilak" coming to her residence to learn the exercises at the hands of her husband.

The revolt of Vasudeo Balvant in 1879 rocked the British Government, as nothing else had, since the Rising of 1857. But it failed as expected. The preparations of the Rebel fell short of the force required to overthrow the Government and he was transported to Aden where he died in 1883. Tilak, however, drew the proper lesson for himself, from the event namely that such revolts had little chance of success. He decided that ceaseless constitutional agitation would alone prepare the nation in due course to win its freedom. Even so, he did not condemn Vasudeo Balvant at any time in his life. In his private collection of pictures, there was a rare picture of Vasudeo Balvant treasured between the pictures of Nanasaheb Peshwa who fought the British in 1857 and Rash Behari Bose, the dynamic Bengal patriot. On the reverse of the photograph was shrewdly written the name "Kashikar Bawa," the assumed name of Vasudeo Balvant while in exile.

When Tilak first became prominent as the fiery leader of nationalist India, Chapekar Brothers and their associate Ranade who were the first to mount the gallows as revolutionaries in India, were very ardent workers in the army of his volunteers. Tilak admired the daring spirit of the eldest Chapekar and thought that his fine qualities would be wasted in any ordinary avocation of life. Shamji Krishna Varma, then had contacts with many Indian princes and was also Tilak's admirer. In one of his letters to Shamji written in 1895 Tilak wrote about Chapekar, ". . . . A Brahmin gentleman here, who is more of a soldier than a Karkun is desirous of serving a native prince as a personal attendant or bodyguard or failing that in the military. Is it possible that he may get a chance in Odeypore? I shall speak to you about him when you may happen to be here . . . ." It is well-known that Chapekar had tried his utmost to enter the army but had failed. Chapekar was in such intimate contact with Tilak as to get this recommendation, when in February 1897 plague made its appearance for the first time in Poona. Chapekar had indulged in much daredevilry till then. As Tilak began to attack the atrocious regime of Walter Charles Rand, the newly appointed Plague Commissioner. Chapekar worked whole-heartedly as a volunteer in the relief organisation of Tilak. Highly religious by nature, he was daily more resentful of the anti-plague remedies adopted by the Government and decided to punish the soldiers who intruded into sacred places of worship and kitchens, with unwashed feet after visiting the lavatories. When he expressed his resolve to Tilak, he said, "It is no use punishing the soldiers. They only obey the orders of their Chief. Their Chief

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. Rand himself is the real culprit in this matter." Chapekar realised the truth of this analysis and then planned to remove Rand himself. On 12th June 1897 the historic Shivaji Jayanti was celebrated at Poona. It was the speech made by Tilak at this gathering that was held seditious in his first trial in 1897 later on. Chapekar was the son and companion of a Kirtankar father and was a poet of some calibre. His poem "Shivaji's exclamation" had been published in the *Kesari* before this. He recited it at the function. This poem was also held seditious in Tilak's trial. One of the verses asked the Indians "how are you tolerating like impotents the outrages on women, when in my time (so said Shivaji) a thousand swords would be unsheathed against one such outrage." After the function was over Tilak said to Chapekar aside, "You described the speakers of today's meeting as impotents. But had there been any manliness left in the singer of the verses, Rand would not have been alive up till now." Chapekar thereafter fixed the first opportune day of the British Queen's Diamond Jubilee falling on 22nd June 1897 for removing Rand and he with the help of his two younger brothers and Ranade killed Rand and also Ayerst on 22nd June at night, as they were returning from the Jubilee celebration held at the Government House at Ganeshkhind in Poona.

Tilak knew of Chapekar's resolve. It does not mean that he instigated him. Men like Chapekar are also not the people to heed any advice to the contrary. But he knew it and concluded when the news reached him that Chapekar had carried out his plan. Khanderao Sathe, a companion of Chapekar, whom I met in 1951, said that the next day Chapekar came to him and asked him to go to Tilak and deliver the significant message, "God Ganapati in Ganeshkhind had been propitiated!" Sathe did accordingly. Tilak exclaimed, realising the real content of the message, "Is it so? All right. Take care and be cautious now."

Knowing this truth, Tilak subsequently lashed out with vitriolic force at the alarming statements of the Government spokesmen that there was a huge conspiracy behind the deed and Tilak's writings and speeches had instigated the deed. He, however, uttered not a word of condemnation against the Chapekars and Ranade till the last. Nor did he avoid anything he could do for them. Harry Brewin was the Detective Inspector in charge of the investigations into the killings. Tilak was arrested on 28th July on a charge of sedition. Brewin was anxious to gather clues to the killings and Tilak the deliberations going on in Government circles regarding his trial. Brewin met him many times and Tilak also treated him well. Once Brewin said to Tilak, "If you wish, you can help us in finding out the murderers. Why should you not give us that help?" Tilak fearlessly hit back, "I don't think I can help you. It is not possible that I would get any information in this behalf. And supposing I get it, I would still not pass it on to you. It might be proper that the culprits should be punished. I will not, however, act as a spy and betray anybody. You can carry on your duties: I shall not come in the way. Mr. Lamb (Collector of Pona) says that the killings have tarred the fair name of Poona. But I do not think so."

Tilak was convicted in his trial in September 1897 and Chapekar himself led the police to his detection on 30th September. When on 3rd February 1898 Chapekar was sentenced to death at the Sessions Court at Poona, Tilak was in the Yeravda jail. Chapekar also was lodged in the same jail. He applied to the jail authorities that Tilak be permitted to draft his appeal, against the sentence, to the Bombay High Court. With all the ordeal he had to face because of Chapekar's deed, Tilak ceased not to love him. The Government also nursed a hope to still find some clue to Tilak's connection with the murders, during their conversation. The hope proved fruitless. But they granted Chapekar's request. Chapekar was with Tilak for three hours in all while his appeal was drafted by Tilak.

The sentence of death passed on Chapekar was eventually carried out in the same jail on 18th April 1898. Sometime before this, Chapekar had requested Tilak that he should give his copy of the *Bhagvad Gita* to him for keeping in his hand while being executed. He also requested that his dead body should not be defiled by the touch of any stranger. Tilak had three copies of *Gita* in the jail office, of which he gave one to Chapekar. And with this copy in his hand Chapekar breathed his last on the gallows. Tilak also arranged for Chapekar's cremation through some acquaintances at the Bund Garden Cemetery.

After accomplishing the task of shooting

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

down Rand, and Ayerst (through an accident) did quite quickly. Hemchandra Das had reached Chapekar's two younger brothers and Ranade went underground. And although a huge price was placed on his head the elder of them, Balkrishna, could not be traced till 18th December 1898. He was hiding in the Nizam's dominion, disguised as a Muslim in some hills. An underground patriot often faces so much hardship as to make him think that he had better surrender to the police. The news of such hard days of Balkrishna reached Tilak after his release from jail. He with his usual tact saw that monetary succour reached Balkrishna through a nationalist pleader at Hyderabad named Keshavrao Koratkar. He became the Judge of the High Court at Hyderabad later on. Chapekar's son was only a few months old when his father laid down his life. In 1919, he entered the graduation class, after struggling through life. In need of fees, he went to meet Tilak. Tilak was extremely glad to see him and in a reminiscent mood enquired of him, "When —when did it occur ? In 1897, isn't it ?" and then made many kind enquiries about him and directed his own nephew, Viwans, who was the manager of *Kesari* to give the former the money he needed.

Past experience had its lessons for Tilak. At the turn of the last century, the revolutionaries in Maharashtra had set up a secret organisation with headquarters at Nasik. Its leader was Savarkar. They invited Tilak to one of their secret meetings and honoured him. They disclosed to him, in private, the preparations they had made for the revolutionary struggle, and asked his opinion. Tilak told the youths, "Nothing would be achieved with scant preparation. We have tried all these things. Wise by experience, I tell you that time for adopting the means which you propose to adopt, has not as yet arrived. Dr. V. M. Bhat narrating the incident afterwards added that it was revealed during the conversation that Lokamanya had also engaged himself in similar attempts in his youth—a clear reference to his participation in the revolutionary organisation of Vasudeo Balvant.

By the middle of the vear 1906, Savarkar had left for London and then from "India House in London he directed conjointly the revolutionary activities of Indian youths. Senapati Bapat and Hemchandra Das of the Bengal group were deputed to learn bomb-making from the Russian revolutionaries then in exile in Paris and this they India before the Congress session at Surat in 1907. Shortly thereafter another revolutionary Hotilal Varma, left for India with a copy of the bomb manual prepared by Bapat. It appears Tilak had desired to have one for perusal. Bapat had asked Hotilal to give one of the copies to Tilak. When Bapat came to India in September 1908, he met Tilak and enquired of Tilak whether he had received the book from Hotilal, to which Tilak replied in the affirmative.

When the Congress session was held at Surat in December 1907, the revolutionaries from Maharashtra led by Savarkar's elder brother and those from Bengal under the leadership of Aurobindo Ghosh and his brother had attended it in strength. Aurobindo, in fact, presided over the meeting of the nationalists after the Congress was broken up. He was in close touch with Tilak who very well knew his revolutionary activities. The bomb manual brought to India by Bapat and Hemchandra Das, diffused the knowledge of bomb-making among the youths of Bengal. Bapat was present at the meeting of revolutionaries held in April 1908, at Calcutta, when Khudiram was also present although not Prafullachandra. These two inaugurated the successful bomb age in India on 30th April, 1908, by throwing the bomb at the carriage they thought was of Kingsford.

Tilak did not deprecate the bomb incidents committed by the revolutionaries in Bengal. In fact, in a series of articles his paper the *Keari* eulogised the bomb age. The articles "These remedies are not effective," and "Country's misfortune," in its issue of 12th May and 9th June 1908 strongly condemned the repressive measures let loose by the Government in Bengal, against the revolutionaries and it was these articles that brought about the second famous prosecution of Tilak in July 1908. A reference was also made during the trial to another article, "Well done, Our Bengal Brethren !" which appeared in the *Kesari* during the period. Tilak did not withdraw a word in the articles and defended each word in them. He did not condemn the revolutionaries during the trial. The result was a sentence of six years' transportation in all for him at the age of fifty-two ! Great stress was sought to be laid during the trial on a postcard seized from Tilak's residence on June 1908 on which were found written in Tilak's own handwriting names of four books on explosives such as *Nitro-*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

explosives and *Hand book on Modern Explosives*, to connect him with the bomb party. His spirited plea that it was his duty as an editor to have information on this subject also, before he could write on it in his paper and hence the list of the books, compelled the Judge to ask the Jury to ignore the find.

Aurobindo Ghosh afterwards went into exile and ultimately to Pondicherry to practice Yoga. After Tilak's own release from Mandalay, when the talk centred round Aurobindo, Tilak often would say to his listener, "See if you can persuade Aurobindo to re-enter politics, leaving his life of retirenent," such was his confidence in Aurobindo's ability.

After the First World War started the Government was in a less fighting mood day by day. Tilak had been released a few months earlier. In his opinion some sort of fight, backed by armed strength was ultimately unavoidable, for India to win freedom. Military training was very shrewdly denied to the Indian youths by the British Government. But the war compelled it to enlist them in the army. Gandhiji advocated enlistment of the youths as a matter of unconditional co-operation with the Government. But Tilak did it with a purpose. For "If some two lakhs of youths, well trained in the army, were to move about in India tomorrow, the British Government would not dare brush aside our demand for Swaraj as lightly as it did otherwise !" he said once during this time.

Just as the attempt on the life of Kingsford unearthed the revolutionary organisation in Calcutta and Bengal, the killing of Jackson at Nasik on 21st December 1909 by Anant Kanhere led to the discovery of the secret organisation in Maharashtra and to the Nasik Conspiracy case. Kanhere, Karve and Deshpande were sentenced to death in the Jackson murder trial and executed in the Thana jail on 19th April 1910. Kanhere's eldest brother was removed from Government service and faced untold hardships. His younger brother Shankarrao, faced the same ordeal. In 1914 in sheer desperation he went to meet Tilak after his release. When he narrated his tale of woe, Tilak said to him, "You have had to face hardships. It is but an expected thing under the rule of this Government. One thing, however, I can do. You must have run into a debt during the period. If you need, I can give you monetary assistance even up to two or three hundred rupees !" This was the heart which loved the revolutionaries for their sacrifice in the national cause !

Towards the beginning of 1915 the Gadhr conspiracy began to take shape in the Punjab. Rash Behari Bose and Vishnu Ganesh Pingale were the brains of the conspiracy. The day for the revolt simultaneously at several places in India was fixed for 21st February. But the information leaked through traitors before the date and on 18th the police well nigh caught both Rash Behari and Pingale at a secret meeting at Lahore. But both escaped, the former for good. Pingale however, was arrested on 23rd March in the 12th Cavalry Lines at Meerut. He was one of the accused in the First Lahore Conspiracy case. His brother, Keshavrao, was busy arranging for his defence and went to seek Tilak's advice in that connection. Tilak was only recently released from jail. He did not however shun this brother of a dangerous conspirator. As the case proceeded it was clear that Government was determined to hang as many revolutionaries as possible and certainly Pingale, their leader. Tilak, therefore, gave the following significant advice to Keshavrao, "When you meet your brother, don't ask him any question about his case. Be sure that you won't get justice as we are under an alien Government. Whatever you wish to enquire about should be, as far as possible, on domestic subjects."

The *Indian Unrest* by Valentine Chirole published in 1912 openly charged Tilak as the inspirer of the revolutionary outrages in Maharashtra and as having connection with the killings of Europeans. Since the assertions were not true Tilak sued Chirole for libel in a law court in England and sailed for England for the purpose in September 1918. Savarkar had then been in the hellish Andamans for over 8 years and the question of his release was agitating the mind of the public for many days. News of his crumbling health had also just then reached India. Chirole's writing referred at length to Tilak's relations with Chapekar and the Savarkar brothers. Tilak had occasion to go through the relevant papers. At Port Sayed, while doing this, he muttered to himself, "Instead of sentencing such a man (Savarkar) to transportation for a mere attempt at helping the national cause, it would be better if he were to be shot down at once ! What mental torments must be in his helplessness he experiencing while passing his days in the prison ! Savarkar being one of the personages under

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

referenc during his case against Chirole. Tilak could not agitate for his release immediately in London. But after the decision in the case was out, one of the planks of his agitation in England was the unconditional all round pardon to and release of all political prisoners, including Savarkar. It seems he also tried in his own way, for Savarkar's release by broaching the subjeit with Montagu. It was not in vain that on 24th December 1919, the Royal Proclamation directed "my Viceroy to exercise in my name and on my behalf my Royal Clemency to political prisoners in the fullest measure. ...." That Savarkar, being labelled as a dangerous convict, was excluded even from this general amnesty for five more years, is a different matter.

Tilak's vigorous defence of the deeds of the revolutionaries was the outcome of the repression and the unsympathetic attitude of the British Government and of the deeds themselves, if indirertly. And it cost him a great deal by way of further trouble. Both his prosecutions were the result of the articles written in the *Kesari*. The whole attack of Chirole on him and the dislike of prominent diehards in England for him stemmed from his convictions in these cases. The defence also invited Government harrassment and persecution throughout his life. Yet he never relented or offered any apologies for his sympathy for the revolutionaries, much less did he ever condemn them like some others, as misguided patriots and cowards. For it is an undeniable fact that each revolutionary deed had heightened the *tempo* of the national struggle in India, until the success of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, during the Second World War, shattered Britain's faith in keeping India in bondage on the strength of the army and brought freedom for India in 1947. Tilak knew this value of the revolutionaries too well and therefore admired them.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE ROLE OF ZAIBATSU IN PRE-WAR JAPAN

By PURUSHOTTAM PRABHAKAR*

The pre-war Zaibatsu Combines in Japan were so much of a typical outgrowth of indigenous traditions and circumstantial exigencies that it is difficult to find its parallel anywhere, at any time, for a comparative study. But, the historians and the politicians, by and large, have so mixed up the account of its role with their reaction to Japanese war-time history that it is felt necessary to keep in mind the imperative necessities of capital formation in general, particularly in the context of the situations where the degree of capital formation and the pace of its development is slow, the technical know-how meagre and superimposed on all this there are the factors conditioning the earmarking of priority for national security and competitive existence in the face of danger and adverse competition from the foreign powers, who had already stolen the march. The time factor compelled hurry to achieve in decades what the competitors had achieved in centuries.

Capital Formation Imperatives

The capital formation process, with all its relative bearings on social welfare on long term considerations at its formative stages, needs protection which in certain situations includes patronage by the state. This, in the context of foreign threat to the competitive financial existence of the nation, impels hurry, which relegates to the background the co-related considerations of its social impact, on long term basis.

As a remedial measure to overcome or limit the adverse affects of capital formation through reliance on and patronage of selecter groups, it is often suggested to take to public ownership of the means of production. Without disputing the element of truth in this contention, it can't, however, be ignored that this course is practicable only at certain stages of development of the economy and the institutions. Even Marx visualised its practicability when the stage is prepared by the overthrow of the feudal structure by the national democratic and industrialised forces. But, in Japanese conditions, the stage of capital formation had to be ushered in on the available, prevalent and deep rooted base of stratified, hierarchical and somewhat feudal structure. The compelling external exigencies conditioned the hastening of its pace and the structural outgrowth had to get deeply linked up with the subterranean traditional structure.

Even in European conditions, it has to be borne in mind that capital formation had been facilitated by the smooth interval of many years of the industrial revolution on monopolistic basis, before the socio-economic and political revolution had its impact on it.

This leads to the conclusion that at initial stages, capital formation, to some extent, in disregard of the context of time and place, tends to need protection and absence of countering forces without any considerations regarding its becoming thereby group monopoly. In its institutionalised structure, it has a tendency to transact its activities through a net-work of corporate structure—more so when it has to be an instrument of the state to face external exigencies.

It is in this background, that one can understand in proper perspectives, the interplay of the twin forces of traditional response and the external exigencies, responsible for the unique socio-economic and political role of the Zaibatsu combines in pre-war Japan.

Its Nature

Literally, the term Zaibatsu means "money clique" or "plutocracy". It is, however customarily applied to the Japanese

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

combines and to the persons and families controlling them. It was an entrenched system of concentrated business which wielded strong influence in the post-first war cabinets.

The official reports by Economic and Scientific section of the Occupation Administration highlights this phenomenon in these words, "Zaibatsu—a few powerful families wedded for mutual protection and advantages with influential elements of Japanese society—who controlled the major part of the industry, mining, finance and commerce. Independent enterprises and free competition existed but only in minor segments of economy—characteristically Japan was a land of private internal economic empires, featured by International and domestic cartel arrangements with pyramids of operating and holding companies, reaching their apex in top family holding companies, having monopolies of basic resources, key services and startegic equipment and control over major banking and insurance institutions. They, in concert with Japanese Military organised and participated in wars of Imperialist aggression."[1]

The Traditional Forces and External response

To have an idea as to how this phenomenon assumed vast dimensions and effectiveness, the growth of traditional forces at work has to be taken into consideration.

Prof. Maruyama MaSao, highlighting the social tendencies, in pre-war Japanese society, stated ".... (there was) a stress on individual's family and birth place as a fundamental bond of social cohesion and (through hierarchical grouping) there was a tendency towards authoritarian regimentation of human relationship."[2] In functional approach such social forces tended to carve out for themselves group-orientated corporate and hierarchical structures. Nobutaka Ike, commenting upon such functional behaviour has aptly stated, "The individual remains firmly anchored in his groups, forming the cellular units of Japanese society, exercising influence within it."[3]

On the basis of this localised nature of professional outlook, there are two probable deductions. Firstly, any distinct professional enterprise, at its formative stages, not manifestly interfering in the domains of other grouped professions, is not only free from any effective adverse competition in its professional sphere, but is also likely to encounter only insignificant degrees of political opposition—the other forces working through group activity being more concerned and interested in traditional economic activity. To some extent this is also evident from the reaction of the Japanese to some of the schemes of the Occupation Authorities for economic reorganisation. The proposed agrarian reforms evoked more sympathetic consideration from them than the prospects of Zaibatsu dissolution. Secondly, the deep rooted group and hierarchical loyalty tends to sanctify the authoritarian set up of any emerging new enterprise. This outlook was very much ingrained in the inner crests of Japanese society where the main reliance was upon group-co-operation and discipline. This morale also manifested in the working of Zaibatsu combines. As such, its formal structure might be of today, but the essence and spirit was that of yesterday.

Another distinct factor prompting the rising business class, at initial stages, to forge cohesiveness in their own ranks was the necessity of strengthening their defensive capacity against the prevalent social prejudice for the business and merchantile profession. As they had to proceed cautiously to prevent the tradition-orientated forces openly arraying themselves against them, they thought it prudent to capture power from behind the scenes. Its implications were

---

1. Bisson T.A., *Dissolution of Zaibatsu in Japan*, p. 3.

2. Maruyama MaSao in introduction to Morris Ivan's *Nationalism and the Right wing Movement in Japan*, p. xviii.

3. Nobutaka Ike, *Japanese Politics*, pp. 279-80.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that the already deep rooted hierarchical grouping tended to be further more closed, cohesive and regimented. However, when from the closing years of the 19th century and onward, the external exigencies provided them the **raison-de-etre** of a national mission, the traditional prejudice began to mellow down, but, the force of initial habit of 'self contained grouping' had its 'lingering on' effect. The ensuing social acceptability and esteem paved the way for them to make effective inroads into the bureaucracy as well as the political parties. The organic theory of the Imperial power came as a handy tool to ensure plausibility in the pursuit of power by them. There was a common meeting ground amongst all the sections of the society, on the all absorbing issue of external expansion, which prompted intra-sectional harmony. In economic activity, this paved the way for industrial production being more closely linked with national power pursuits abroad, as the major items of supplies and services were ammunition and co-related items rather than the domestic consumption. This was also a contributing factor, at formative stages at least, for big business enterprises becoming a closed system to the general population. This trend, however, did not attract much notice, as the lower economic units had traditionally developed as locally self sufficient production-cum-consumption units.

The monopolised industrialisation activities, synchronised with the expansion and the development of centripetal forces which resulted in the rapid multiplicity of governmental activities, presaging a correspondingly rapid extension in the sphere of the activities of the Zaibatsu combines in all these directions. Show-down with China and war with Russia necessitated increase in the fiscal, technical and supply bases. The business and administrative experience acquired by the enterprising merchants and further enriched by the acquisition of western technique presaged an effective position for them in the re-organisation and modernisation process. This combined with low prices and cheap labour ensured the competitive capacity of Japanese industrial output. The two successful wars resulted in substantial increase in industrial capitalisation.

Foreign trade was strengthened through subsidies and extension of the process of mechanisation. Government gave special credit facilities to augment scanty capital resources. Through protective tariffs, which were very much facilitated by the restoration of tariff autonomy from 1911, the emerging industrial base was strengthened against any adverse competition. The Government approach was characteristically to view business in terms of Japan's political requirements—the need for rapid appropriation of western knowledge, channelised and directed by the strong centralised authority.

According to Prof. Honjo, the development of the Institution as a whole, was sparked by 3 great enterprises—railroad, banking and cotton spinning.[4] This was also, in a way meant to forestall the typical European inroads in these spheres in the region. By the time of Russo-Japanese war the industrial revolution was sweeping over Japan. The key note of industrialisation was a centralised financial and economic control by the Government and the new Zaibatsu combines. The paucity of capital, inadequate resources, insufficient technical know-how and undeveloped banking system necessitated the selectivity and the avoidance of duplication. These activities being geared to the external response, the Zaibatsu combines became the symbol of Japanese capitalism with the concrete gain of economic and political power. The necessity for economy and efficiency tended to strengthen the corporate structure of these business combines. This aspect was highlighted in the statement of Yamamoto, Minister for Commerce and Agriculture, on May 6, 1911: ".....Hitherto, our small factories have been scattered here and there.....In such circumstances, it is very difficult for us to succeed in economic competition with those states in Europe and America which are equipped with factories on large scale..... So, there is an urgency to accelerate the tendencies towards the amalgamation of enterprises".[5] This approach contributed

4. Honjo Eijiro, *The Social and Economic History of Japan*, Kyoto, 1935, p. 188.

5. Scalpino Robert A, *Democracy and the Party Movement in Prewar Japan*, California University Press, '53, p. 276.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the emergence of business power as compact, cohesive and centralised units.

Whatever be the adverse consequences of this approach, on a long term basis in social imbalance, it nevertheless, remains a fact that Japan developed into a strong power under this very economic system. The inequality of sacrifice was the price that Japan had to pay to catch up with the western world.

The phenomenon of business and Government power link up was, in a way, not peculiar to Japan only. There, however, it was carried further both in degree and kind. The limiting and counter-balancing factor of operation of pluralistic forces and powerful interest blocs, such as organised labour was, however, absent there, by and large. There was also no comparable force operating in favour of competitive enterprises in business. The parties for democratic institutions like the conservative liberal party and slightly less conservative Democratic party were also not for free, competitive and diversified enterprise. Even the U.S. during the occupation period, in response to Chinese inroads into Korea, though of lesser magnitude than the external situation hitherto faced by Japan, also had to take recourse to the partial rehabilitation of the Zaibatsu economic pattern.

The pattern of Government help through subsidies was also in the nature of concentrated economic activity. One of its manifestations was the hectic economic activity around building up of a strong maritime and naval power. The Ship-building Encouragement Act of 1896, apart from providing incentives for this enterprise in that direction, also presaged the ground of a monopolistic base, as the need for massive investment of men and material resources limited the choice to only few business houses. The said Act provided for the granting of lucrative official subsidies to builders of iron and steel vessels and marine engines. The incentives were further substantially increased through subsequent Amendments in the Act in 1909, with the over-all result, that in the years immediately preceding the great war, 13 Japanese shipyards, employing about 26,000 workers, were able to undertake the building of warships.[6] The encouraging subsidies and certainty of substantial and sustained flow of supply orders, prompted Shibaura Engineering Works, founded in 1887, to switch on to manufacturing of electrical machinery, in 1892. Mitsubishi and Kawa Sake installed manufacturing plants for marine engines, in the shipyard at Kobe.[7] In the same way, with the nationalisation of Railways in 1906, the Government discriminated in favour of the domestic producers which could be none else but the big business of Zaibatsu. The Kawa Saki Dockyard Company extended its sphere of economic activity in this enterprise and established the Railway workshop in 1908.

Its Historical Development

There is a great deal of continuity in the development of the power and position of these interlocked business combines.

During the Tokugawa rule in the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries, when the society was traditionally agriculture oriented, there was also no stagnation in industrial and technical development. Economic sinews for industrial enterprises were also in the hands of the Tokugawa family and the vassals under them. The system of long and periodical stays by the Samurai Vassals at the Shogun H.Qr. resulted in a break with the land power and the emergence of 'money economy' in the wake of commercial enterprises unde rthe patronage of the Shogunate, which were centred around the castle towns of the Daimyos. At Kyoto and Yedo, centres of highly skilled handicrafts, came into being Osaka, "the city of merchants," a striking evidence of a main break with the feudal citadel.

This notable feature of this industrial upsurge was the emergence of merchants' guilds, which regulated price and the conditions of production, sales and apprenticeship. At the very emerging stage of Industrial development and capital formation, there was thus a carry over of the tradition of

---

6. Allen G. C., *A Short Economic History of Japan*, London '45. pp. 76-7.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

industrial production being linked with the patronage of the privileged classes in an already stratified society. The emergence of the institutional framework of self governance, i.e., the near autonomous guilds, also presaged a particular direction to the full-fledged development of the forces at work.

This near autonomous character of the guilds at the emerging stage, may be explained firstly, because of the patronage of those in power and secondly, due to the absence of official traditions to manage and run the commercial business or regulate the same as a part of official duty, as such economic enterprises did not come in the category of socially esteemed vocations. Thus, the inclination to leave their management to the emerging new economic groups itself, was quite natural and is understanble. The autonomous self management system was given official recognition by the Government Trade Association decree of 1721.

The mining and iron manufacturing enterprises, however, initially remained outside the control of the guilds. The same being linked to land were either in the hands of the Government or the landed magnates. Towards the close of the Tokugawa rule, these enterprises began to be organised on a large scale basis. The rising rate of business activity being around the castle towns, the problems of communications, transportation and credit regulation prompted entrusting these activities also to them.[8] The House of Mitsui had a monopoly in city commercial activities. The Daimyos had frequently to raise money on the security of their revenues. Thus, a class of financiers came into being to provide loans arranged for its transmission from one place to another. This dependence was further accentuated by the financial difficulties of the Shoguns, in the wake of dwindling revenue returns from the foreign trade, which was drastically limited by the restrictive regulations, to prevent foreign contacts. The money lending **Chonins**, in return, began to control the financial administration of the Daimyos. The situation obtaining out of these arrangements, has been aptly described by Honjo as, "Although in form, the Samurai govern and the commoners obey, in reality it seems to be an age when the **chonins** rule."[9] The **chonins** were deeply associated with the merchants' guilds. They were, in this way, in a position to make inroads into financial administration which was one of the contributing factors for the later development when the business combines in common with the bureaucracy pursued their economic activities. Summing up its social repurcussions G. C. Allen has highlighted, ".....It is ironical to reflect that the very success of the Tokugawa in imposing rigid control over the feudal classes contributed ultimately to the destruction of the social and political system. The bulk of the Samurai became functionless and the **Sankin Kotai**, besides impoverishing the lords stimulated the development of trade and money economy and so a financial and commercial class which could not be accommodated *within* the old feudal system".[10] The situation thus obtaining contributed to the disintegration of the traditional feudal society and the emergence of a business class, enjoying the traditional sanctification of their regimented authority, though forging newer avenues, in a monopolistic way.

In the Meiji period, the Tokugawa tradition of industrialists acting as financial agents of the regime, was carried still further. In reaction to the injured national pride, because of western bombardment of Kago-Shima and Shimono-Seki in 1863 and '64, the industrialists pursued the industrialisation goal through a feverish activity and acquired both social esteem and power. With a zeal to develope a strong army and rich economy, the Government sponsored some of the business enterprises. The fact, that many of the enterprising lords of the clans which wielded power in the new era, e.g., the Satsuma clan which had already fostered western style industries, provided the leeway to take to wholesale western technique under the monopoly of the entrepreneurs of the

8. *Ibid.*, p. 15 *The Houre of Mitsui*, p. 6.

9. E. Honjo, *Economic and Social History of Japan*, p. 199.

10. Allen G. C., *A Short Economic History of Japan*, London '45, p. 22.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

clan. This received further modernised orientations through utilisation of the services of European experts, procured through the links established by foreign returned students, belonging to such clans. The extent of the collaboration of such entrepreneurs and the Government is quite clear from the fact that there was scarcely any western style industry which did'nt owe its establishment to the State initiative which was not subsequently transferred to the control of business combines. Such heavy establishments as the ocean-going ships brought from abroad were transferred to the Mit-Sui firm, which with Government aid operated both the coastal services and the maritime routes to Formosa and China. Further, new enterprises like Ashio Copper Mines were also acquired and reorganised by the Furukawa family, in 1877.[11]

One other contributing factor for the uncontested and uninterrupted development of the monopolistic corporate structure of the business combines, removed from the home consumption market and geared to state power pursuits, was a windfall in unusual demand for Japanese silk, because of the outbreak of silk-worm disease in Europe, with which the grouped and decentralised agricultural and the ancilliary units remained occupied to cope up with the increased demands. In 1876, nearly 1/2 of Japan's exports consisted of raw materials. This coincided with the boom in the export of spices.[12] The increase in national income facilitated investing the savings in big industrial establishments, which was channelised through Government agencies.

The Tokugawa period guilds, now merged in the new form of **Kwase gumi** exchange companies) which were formed by the wealthy merchants having the authority to issue notes against the Government revenues—a form of modern version of credit and issuing institutions' which transformed themselves into a Central Banking system in 1881.[13]

The war efforts, had in it the inherent implications of (1) large increase in expenditure under the State activity (2) growth of national debt and (3) large import of foreign capital. This necessitated building up of reserves of securities to back up the unified currency as also to cater to the foreign exchange requirements. This presupposed Government's leaning on the indigenous capital held by big business combines.

The initial industrial activity through the big business Combines having been centred around capital intensive enterprises like banking, railrods and mining, upon which their industrial activities were dependent, this went a long way to smoothen the ascendancy to economic and political power of big business.

This extended to foreign acquisitions also as a fruit of collaborative activity with the Government for power pursuits. The business Combines established banking branches in Taiwan, Korea and North China. In 1918, these banks were merged to form the **Chosa** Industrial Bank. The oriental development company, established in 1900, controlled by Zaibatsu, was the instrument to finance industrial enterprises in Korea and Manchuria.[14]. These activities being state sponsored, the Government backing and help, came in the form of co-operative investment in enterprises of national importance.

The most important factor accounting for the perpetual monopoly of the Zaibatsu Combines at home was because of their strong grip over credit mobilisation and its channelisation.

Independent entrepreneurs can sustain themselves upon credit facilities through private banking, which in turn has to depend upon the common man's savings. But, in Japan, the mobilisation and channelisation of even common man's savings was through state institutions. There was a deposit bureau of Finance Ministry, found-

11. The *Japan Gazette* 1882, pp. 185, 198 & 9 as in Allen G. C., *A Short Economic History Japan*, p. 30-1.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 32 and *The Currency of Japan*, 287 and 326.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-8.

14. Okuma S, in 'The Industrial Development in Japan' in the *North American Review*, Nov. 1900.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ed in 1877, which was the channel for directing the savings of the people for the state sponsored enterprises.[15] The other unique feature in the Japanese banking system was that the major state banking institution i.e., the Bank of Japan—did'nt function as the banker of he banks, in the established sense of the term. Major part of the activities of this bank as well as of the Central colonial bank of Yokohama, Specie Bank; were centred around building up of powerful channels for financing the foreign trade and tackling the co-related foreign exchange problems. At home, these banking institutions did'nt do much to centralise the banking reserves of the country. This job, therefore, passed on to the big business enterprises like Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumituo and Yasuda, which had the monopoly over the country's banking reserves and an initiative and discretion over their channelisation. One of the other factors contributing to the absence of centralised banking reserves under the State control, was the absence of demarcation of the scope and functions of industrial and commercial banking activities. As such, due to the serious limitation of a short term loan market, the commercial banks had to be dependent upon the Zaibatsu controlled banking institutions for acquiring liquid assets. The Government committed to boosting the export trade as a part of the policy for industrialisation, could'nt find it possible to rectify this and unmindful of the future consequences continued supporting the Yokohama Specie Bank to ensure its backing up the foreign trade. This bank, therefore, occupied a key position in Japan's struggle for power.

In the circumstances, the Zaibatsu Combines were in a position to curb any possible tendency on the part of any entrepreneur not to fall in line, through the instrument of credit squeeze.

Business requirements also did'nt prompt much attention towards commercial activities at home as much of the raw material requirements of business Combines were fulfilled by the resources acquired abroad, e.g., the requirements of coal and iron were met by imports from Manchuria and Korea. They were, therefore, tempted to concentrate on collaborative activities wih the Government for power pursuits which further removed them away from the home consumption market. With the acquisition of cane growing plantations in Formosa, both Mitsui and Mitsubishi joined hands to develop the sugar industry there. They also acted as Government agents in the execution of economic policies there, while the Government, through liberal subsidies and tariff protection against Javanese sugar helped the sustained development of such enterprises.[16]

Government taxation policy was also distinctly helpful in the capital formation process for the business combines. As a step towards a unified income-tax structure the taxable items were reduced from 1,600 to 74, in 1876 while perpetuating the traditional revenue levy whereby land revenue still continued to contribute 4/5th of the whole tax revenue.[17]

Operational Pattern

In matters of exercise of power also they functioned in a typically traditional way. In Japan, under the old regime, privileged groups had exercised despotic power in every branch of economic life. The emerging big business families were mostly from amongst the privileged leaders of the feudal society, who came to limelight during the Shogunate rule, e.g., the Mitsui and Sumitono and other new Samurai elements who turned businessmen.

One of the typical examples of interrelationship between Meiji leaders from the Samurai class and Zaibatsu Combines is the role of Shibusawa Eiichi, who turned businessman. It was said about him, to write Shibusawa's biography today is to write the modern History of industries and commerce in Japan.[18]

15. Allen, *A Short Economic History of Japan*, London '45, p. 50.

16. *Ibid.* p. 78.

17. *Ibid.* p. 36.

18. Bisson T.A., *The Dissolution of Zaibatsu in Japan*, California, p. 9.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

After the first war period, big business penetrated into all the bureaucratic organs and acquired a greater degree of control. During the middle and late twenties, they found a political ally in Prince Saionji. The concept of **Kokutai** and royal family backing added sanctity to the exercise of power by them even openly. These links presaged the future operational pattern for the exercise of socio-economic and political power.

The extent of strongly entrenched positions of these business combines would be clear from the fact that the Mitsui family even in the earlier periods, was in a position to develop a written law of the House, in the **Samurai** pattern, which in the revised form in 1900, continued to control the activities of 11 Mitsui families till 1946, when it had to be abrogated.[20]

The same paternal approach guided the attitude of the top executives of the combines towards the large army of their staff. They acted on the strategy of "catching them while young" and took the cream from the business faculties of the universities and through a corporate net-work distributed them amongst various sections of the business combine enterprises. The working force employed by the two biggest combines Mitsubishi and Mitsui, in 1945 numbered approximately 1,000,000 and 2,800,000 respectively. Several other combines were also of similar size. As the civil servants in government services had to retire at earlier ages, they were also tempted to be in link with these combines for future prospects. Commenting on this state of affairs, Blame Hoover, an Occupation official said, "Under this system, so old and well understood, government employees were really working for private interests for years before their retirement.[21]

The scope of the activities of these business Combines covered the whole economic field. About Mitsui operations, it was said that the list of 21 of the largest American corporations amalgamated into one concern would represent only one such Japanese business combine.[22]

These combines were different from the modern corporation also in as much as those carried on manifold and heterogenous activities like cottage industries, semi-governmental, 'national policy' companies and purely state controlled enterprises. This also served as a **modus vivendi** to influence the course of government actions. The inter-relationship amongst these enterprises was of the nature of "live and let live". This, in a way, proceeded from the built up experience of having to work as auxilliaries to the feudal system and at the same time having unity within their own fold. This collaborative outlook amongst themselves manifested concretely in the economic regutions like price lxation, allocation of material and profit, inter-combine investment and joint establishments. The co-operative attitude was further cemented through matrimonial relationships which had a distinct importance in a stratified and status orientated Japanese society.

About half a dozen of the ordinary banks of the major combines controlled credit sinews for private business through the Industrial Bank and the Sanwa Bank. With the aim to unify credit, the Government in 1941, pressed a programme for amalgamation of banks, with the result that 1,031 banks, in existence since 1927, were reduced to 186 and then to 61, by the end of the year 1945. The amalgamation process contributed to further strengthening of the hold of the big business combines over credit reserves. Through stock ownership, the combines directly controlled 11 out of 61 commercial banks; which by 1945, accounted for 56.6% of the total assets of the ordinary banks and 70.8% of all loans and advances.[23] Private savings being meagre the banking combines were the only major source of credit to the Government. As the Japanese Corporate Law placed no restrictions on inter-combine relationship in banking, trading and industrial activities, the Zaibatsu banks, could feed funds into the

19. *Ibid.* pp. 8 and 22.
20. Hc Lc Laws and regulations concerning reconstruction and democratization of Japanese economy. (Tokyo, Kai Guchi Publication Coy., Tokyo. 1949, pp. 7-10.
21. Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution*, p. 22.
22. *Ibid.* p. 11.
23. *Ibid.* p. 15.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

combine subsidiaries; which multiplied the economic power of the combines.

The enormous size of the services and the supplies rendered by these combines to the Government is clear from the ranges of the announced profits by the combine banking and insurance enterprises. The "big 4" banks of the combines announced profit for the year 1941, ranging from 31 to 60% while the insurance business of the combines declared profits in the staggering figures ranging from 1,062 to 3,089% for the years 1940 and '41.[24] The higher rates of profits were also facilitated by the lower wages and the curbs on any organised activity by the employees. This accounted for the most glaring disparity in the incomes of the big business heads and the common people. Most of the 19 persons with incomes of more than 1,000,000 yens, in 1938, were from the Zaibatsu group and in 1941, 13 out of 15 tax-payers with incomes of more than 2,000,000 yens were the Zaibatsu families. As for income grouping, only the Imperial House stood in the same category as the leading Zaibatsu families.[25]

The Structure

There was a unifying focus of power, in the peculiar inter-locking of inter-combine relationship. This complex structure had a 4 level organizational set up, the Zaibatsu family, the corporate structure of the Zaibatsu families, usually termed as **Hon sha**, the major operating subsidiaries and the underlying corporate network of lesser subsidiaries and affiliates. The combines had 336 subsidiary companies with possibly 3,000,000 employees and was thus the world's greatest business organisation. The leading role was that of Mitsui family with its many subsidiaries and net-work of branch offices, throughout the world, which acted as the central purchasing and selling agencies. In matters of industries also, the Mitsui industries accounted for more than 1/5th of the physical value of Japan's merchant and naval ship-building, ordnance output and ship repairs as also of aircraft assembly. The inter-related enterprises were sheltered under a single operating subsidiary.

The facility of holding shares in the Zaibatsu business combines by Government officials, the executives of the combines itself, party leaders and even the Imperial Household paved the way for creating a vested interest through mutual involvement in strengthening the power and influence of the combines. Still the diverse elements were controlled by a unified command, through the institution of **Hon Sha** which ensured an upper hand for the Zaibatsu combines in economic activities The regulations protecting the shareholders were loosely drawn and even more loosely enforced. The nature of the contract could'nt be known to the public. The auditors, mostly the sinecures, were from amongst the company creditors or the affiliates and almost none from amongst the shareholders. As such, the financial statements to the shareholders were "Curiousities in obscurity and evasion" and the "Profit and Loss account" also as "obscure exercises".[26] In this prevailing situation, restraints and limitations could'nt be practicable. When the Government, the business and the public, by and large, were uninterested, the failure to apply them was inevitable and circumvention was the norm.

Big Business in Politics

By the end of the Tokugawa rule, the economic interests could influence the decision making authorities only to the extent of their status as financial agents to the Shoguns. They could'nt carve out for themselves a distinct political position, and the landed magnates still remained the wielders of political power and social prestige.

In the early Meiji period, political power of the business class was commensurate with their status in the clan leadership which brought about the Restoration. However, they formed a nucleus to have back stage influence over the decision making apparatus by virtue of their position as contributors to the national purpose, through

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-8.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-1.
26. Bisson, *Zaibatsu Dissolution in Japan*,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

industrialisation and appropriation of much needed western science and technology. However, in elections, the landed magnates had the leading position. In the elections of 1890, out of 300 elected members of the Diet, 129 represented the agrarian landed class as against 19 from the industrial and commercial class. The position, more or less, continued to be the same in the election results of the years 1898, 1902 and 1908.[27]

The period from 1905-20 marked Japan's transition from agrarian to industrial economy. The shifting of emphasis from the agricultural base and the hectic industrialisation activities, linked to the policy characterised as "redeeming" the position and achieving a 'sense of Mission' abroad, paved the way for big business to carve out a position of importance in the society. They further strengthened their position through successive inroads into the bureaucracy, the Privy Council, the party ranks and Imperial Household, as discussed earlier.

The influence of big business actually began to be felt during and after the Russo-Japanese war. The fall of Saionji Cabinet in 1908 was, in large part, due to the opposition from the "big business" against the Government's fiscal administration policies. Further, the resignation of Ito Cabinet and the establishment of Matsukata Cabinet had also much to do with the 'wire pulling' by the 'big business'. The position of the Finance Minister generally remained in their hands.[28]

During the 20s, especially during the few years after the First War, big business shared with the Government short lived enthusiasm for liberal institutions which was, in a way, an emotional hangover of the collaborative activities with the Government. It was, however, not much later that they realised that the international policies of the Government, in line with the European Democracies, were injurious to their interests, on a long-term basis. As such, behind the stage, they began to throw their weight against the liberal institutions, which was actually one of the important factors contributing to the failure of democratic institutions in Japan, i.e., lack of economic contents in the political institutions.

They, therefore, now naturally tended to be inclined towards the organic theory which held out the prospects of furtherance of their interests, having an approach of an emphasis on the integration of parties, business, bureaucracy and the Emperor. In the new phase of pursuit of political power by them, they concentrated on bringing about common stakes and vested interests of all these elements including the Army ranks (especially in the 30s) through mutual involvement in foreign and home policies, over which they could have a strong hold, as discussed in details earlier. In an effort to tie business and the concept of 'organism', Imperial Silk Company was formed in 1921.[29] Its importance is just symbolic of the direction of the trend of thought and activity. The close Zaibatsu ties with the Government formed during the early Meiji period were particularly evident in the functioning of the "national policy" and "special companies" such as the South Manchurian Railway, the Bank of Japan, Japan Iron and Steel Manufactuuring, Japan Electric and General Transmission, Imperial Mining Development, The Banks of Formosa and Korea, International Electric Communication, North China Development, Machine Colonization Companies, Japan Airways, South Seas Development Company, The Yokohama Specie Bank and Southern Development Bank. These Companies appeared as Government organisations. Much of the capital investment was from Zaibatsu Combines and the managerial personnel were also, more or less, drawn for the combines rather than from the bureaucracy. Essentially the Government was under-writing activity in areas of strategic and economic importance, where risks existed and profits were uncertain. Official aid was provided through tax exemption and credits at low rates. This was in addition to the special subsidies of guaranteed minimum dividends usually @ 4% with an assurance that debenture

27. Scalpion, *Democracy and Party Movement in Prewar Japan*, p. 255.
28. *Ibid.* pp. 267-8.
29. *Ibid.* p. 273.
30. Bisson T.A., *The Dissolution of Zaibatsu in Japan*, p. 14.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

charges would be covered.[30] With the acquisition of foreign territories, the Zaibatsu Combines and the Government joined hands in exploitation of areas newly added to the Empire—whether in Formosa, Korea, Manchuria, China South of the great wall or the Southern region of the "co-prosperity" area. There was a special relationship of Yoshi Sukes Nissan—Mangyo Combine with the Kwantung Army in Manchuria. The army contracts also helped in the rise of Nippon Nitrogenous (Nitch-itsu) Nippon Soda (Nisso) and the Mori Combines.[31]

During the 20s and the 30s, the Zaibatsu interests had entrenched themselves nearly in all the organs of the Government, through common shareholdings and family ties. The Prime Ministers during these two decades, even though they were Military and Naval men, were exclusively almost from conservative blocs which were closely linked with the combines. The charge of the Ministries of Commerce and Industries were often held by the Zaibatsu Executives, e.g., Ikeda Seihin and Ongura Masatsume.[32] The Zaibatsu Combines had begun to play the auxiliary political role in the 30s. Trading branches of Mitsui concerns operated comprehensive espionage and intelligence services for the Army and Navy Ministries.

An Assessment

Analysing the scope and the nature of the activities and performance of Zaibatsu Combines in Japan, it has to be conceded that they did a splendid work in industrialising Japan with remarkable efficiency and speed. Theirs was the greatest contribution to the nation's military efforts and expansion. At the same time, it has to be conceded that those offered no real protection to the workers, the farmers and the consumers. The business magnates coolly weighed the advantages of having a poverty-stricken farm population that provided surplus labour force to hold down the wages by the misuse of ancient sanctions of bureaucracy and status. Commenting on this state of affairs, **Yorozu,** newspaper, echoing the line of the radic militarists said, "The masses in this countr are suffering because of the exploitation a small capitalist class whose power has bee greatly expanding. The people are give the honourable name title 'Nation', but the are placed under unspeakable miseries. Politics has become the chief instrument the ruling class to exploit the masses." Taking an element of bitterness in th statement with a pinch of salt, the fact how ever, remains that the ordinary people we a neglected lot.

Another adverse effect of this centralise and monopolised industrialisation was th concentration of major production plants few places posing security hazards. Reflec ing upon the deadly blow on the industri base delivered by atomic bombing in Aug '45, it is difficult to ignore that a lesser degr of monopoly and concentration would ha minimised the degree of destruction and vu nerability. Further, in consideration of th fact that much of the industrialised activiti was diverted to war efforts and relative much less linked up with consumer goods f home consumption the increase in wag would not have undermined the Nation Savings especially in consideration of know thrifty habits of the Japanese. Comm man's savings could have been deployed f commercial activities by the private ban with prospects of encouragement to ne entrepreneurs who, because of the limit scope of their activity, would not have a versely competed with the big business.

Due to selective and concentrated dustrialisation activity, there had been distinct imbalance between the urb centres and the provinces, between dustry and agriculture, between la cities and the towns, between the hig capitalised industries and small enterpri as well as an immense discrepany in lev of technique, culture and living standar amongst them. Analysing this anom Prof. Maruyma concludes that in particu the farming villages found themselves out of Japan's miraculous dash towa

31. *Ibid.* p. 14.
32. *Ibid.* p. 22.
33. Scalpino Robert A, *Democracy and Party Movement in Pre-war Japan*, Califor '53, p. 246.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

modernisation. Since they were virtually given no assistance in compensating for the lag, they soon became the reservoir of a huge Industrial force.[34] From this, it is quite obvious that along with the primary and initial promptings to pace up the industrialisation process to face the threatening abnormal exigencies, the interplay of powerful vested interests working for augmenting their own position with a degree of indifference to the plight of the common people is also discernible.

34. Morris U. I, *Nationalism and Fight wing Movement in Japan*, London 1960, p. XXIII.

TRADE UNIONISM IN INDIAN RAILWAYS

By Prof. MAHESH KUMAR MAST

Trade unions are an integral part of the present industrial system. They have established themselves in the modern society in such a way that industrial relations today are regarded as relations between the management and the trade unions rather than between the former and the individual workers.

The Trade Union Movement in Indian Railways is a post-1914 War phenomenon. There was nothing which could have been called a trade union movement in railways before the First World War (1914-18). The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants in India and Burma was, however, founded as early as 1897, under the control of European and Anglo-Indian railwaymen in India, but it was merely a friendly society, rather than a trade union.[1] Until World War I, the so-called railway unions were largely associations of humanitarians and philanthropists to aid and assist the exploited railway workers. The low wages and the high profits during the war, the rising price-level, the recommendations of the Ackworth Committee Report, the Russian Revolution and the formation of I.L.O., increased the solidarity of railway workers and stimulated the railway unionism in the post-war period. But the real beginning was made only after the Indian Trade Union Act was passed in 1926. After 1926, the employees of lower grades working in railways began to organise themselves into trade unions.[2] The next few years (1926-29) was a period of 'stagnation' and 'decay' for the railway trade union movement. During this period, the movement was marred by internal dissensions and the impact of political and communal considerations. But in spite of all these weaknesses, the railway unionism was gathering strength as is clear from the following figures:

1. Oscar A. Ornati, *Jobs and Workers in India*, New York, 1955, p. 99.

2. The Indian Journal of Public Administration, July-Sept., 1960, Vol., VI, Part 3, p. 283.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Index Number of Trade Union Members in Railways:

(Base Year 1930-31)

Year	Index of Membership
1927-28	45
1928-29	80
1929-30	125

Source: N. S. R. Sastry, **"A Statistical Study of India's Industrial Development"**, Bombay, 1947, p. 150.

The depression years (1930-34) severely struck the railway trade union movement and the 'slump' overtook it. The trade union membership showed a steep decline. But despite the 'slump', the railway workers possessed a highly developed sense of 'group-solidarity'.[3] The period 1935-39, saw the 'revival' of railway unionism. This was a period of 'hope and optimism' for trade unionism, in general. These years found an 'upward swing' in the railway trade union membership. The index of the membership reached its' 'new High' in the year 1937-38. Thus, on the whole, in spite of the ebb and flow, it made a steady progress during the period 1931-38. A. N. Mallik remarks that the railway workers possessed a highly developed sense of solidarity and 'trade union-mindedness' during these years.[4]

With the breaking out of hostility in Europe in 1939, and a sudden rise in the cost of living, gave a fresh impetus to the struggle of the railway workers. Railway unionism recorded its' highest growth during the Second World War (1939-45). Dr. Puneka has given the following growth statistics railway unionism during the war period.

Railway Trade Union Membership: 1939-45

Year	Membership
1939	144,991
1940	179,381
1941	171,572
1942	219,086
1943	254,510
1944	263,262
1945	304,486

Source: S. D. Punekar, **Trade Unionis in India**, Bombay 1948, p. 387

It is apparent that after a slight fall membership in 1941 by 7,808, the tra union showed a steep rising curve a reached in 1945 the 'zenith' of membersh record during 1930-45. The Mathurs hav calculated the growth of unionism duri the Second World War period to 69. per cent.[5]

Since 1947, railway trade unionis has recorded remarkable progress.[6] T phenomenal growth after Independence railway unionism is evident from table given below:

Railway Trade Union Membership: 1947-48 to 1959-60

Year	Membership
1947-48	384,863
1948-49	525,080
1949-50	337,210
1950-51	335,964
1951-52	406,946
1952-53	360,400
1959-60	328,600

Source: **Indian Labour Year Book**

3. Dr. Buchanan wrote in 1934, that strangely enough, unionism has found one of its' best development in railways. In January 1934, about 45 per cent of the union members in Bombay Presidency were railwaymen or seamen. These workers apparently condider their jobs permanent, and while their unionism is more professional than rebellious, they possess a highly developed sense of "group-solidarity." D. H. Buchanan, *The Development of Capitalistic Enterprise in India*, New York, 1934, p. 442.

4. A. N. Mallik, *Problems and Labour Legislation in India*, Indian Journal of Economics, Vol., XX, Part IV, April 1940, pp. 681-682.

5. A. S. Mathur and J. S. Mathur, *Union Movement in India*, Allahabad, p. 35.

6. Amba Prasad, *Indian Railways*, Bombay, p. 331.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The growth is considerable in the membership and it is higher in every year than the previous years during 1930-46.

Although railway trade unionism has come to stay, its present position is far from satisfactory. Its state is not adequate to meet the existing challenge. It suffers from several weaknesses. The main weakness of the movement is its poor financial position. Membership in good standing is a 'vague and elastic concept' and dues are seldom collected.[7] Arthur M. Ross and Paul T. Hartman illustrates this point by citing the case of the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen (NFIR), which claims to be the representative federation in an industry of more than 12,00,000 employees. The Railway Federation had an income of 6,917 rupees in 1954-55, equivalent to about 1,400 dollars. Some 2,650 rupees or 500 dollars, was expended on salaries covering "at the most wages of two members of the clerical staff.[8] Obviously, this is an inadequate financial basis for an industrial federation claiming to be the representative organisation of employees in the biggest public undertaking. The explanation of this deplorable state of affairs lies in the poverty of members, their heavy financial liabilities, lack of enthusiasm for unionism, and also, to some extent, the hostility of Railway Administrations to unrecognised unions, which was expressed among other ways by refusing to allow subscriptions to be collected within the precincts of the establishment.[9] This financial poverty has placed grave limitations on the possibilities of undertaking constructive activities. Being poverty-stricken, railway unionism has not been able to develop either welfare services for the members or a philosophy of operation.[10] Further, special difficulties are faced on the Indian railways in the enrolment of members. More than 12 lakhs of employees are spread over 36,000 miles of track. It is, therefore, pretty difficult to keep frequent and adequate contacts with the employees. Unless such contacts are established not only the membership will not increase but consistency in membership of individual employees also will be low.

Another important internal weakness of railway unionism is that the very 'urge' for organisation is wanting among the railwaymen. The general experience has been that an average railwayman is not interested in any union till and until he is faced with a grievance or there is a strike in the railways. It is observed that the membership of railway unions increase during the

---

7. The difference between the actual paying membership of the union and that which was borne on the rolls has always remained a problem. The rules of every union provide that if a member ceases to pay membership fee, he shall not remain a member but the rule has so far been honoured more in breach. There have been numerous instances of this. The Kanchrapara Railway Union which claimed 1,326 members in 1934-35 with an annual subscruiption of one rupee each, realised only Rs. 116-4. The NW Railway Union claimed 35,227 members but the subscription was Rs. 5,874 in 1935-36 and Rs. 2,660 in 1936-37. In 1937-38 it was Rs. 6,948 for 28,667 members. In 1937 the postion on BB & CI Railway Company's Union and GIP Railway Workers Union was that the actual membership showed in the first case as 2,870 while paying membership was less than (1,012), in the latter case the membership shown was 1,020 while paying membership was 958. See S. D. Punekar, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

8. Arthur M. Ross and Paul T. Hartman, *Changing Pattern of Industrial Conflict*, New York, 1960, p. 133 ; also see Charles A. Myers, *Labour Problems in the Industrialisation of India*, Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1958, p. 75.

9. The N. W. Railway authorities framed a set of rules as to the collection of subscriptions from the railway employees, who were union members. Collectors of trade union subscription were prohibited to enter any workshop, shed, storeyard or a building, or to move about railway premises, platforms or yards. *Evidence of the Railway Board before the Royal Commission*, Vol., VIII, Part I. Appendix M : Note issued by the NW Railway Administration for the guidance of officers in dealing with the Union.

10. Barbara Ward, *India and the West*, London, 1960, p. 166.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

period of strife and dwindle at other times.[11] The real strength of a union lies in its consistent membership. Last but not the least, most of the time of railway trade unions at present, is spent on the redressal of the day-to-day grievances of the staff, with the result that little time is left for constructive activities.[12]

Railway unions have failed to promote all-round development of their members. They do not undertake any responsibility for the conduct and discipline of the members in their day-to-day relations with the railway management. Nothing has so far been done to encourage self-help and co-operation among workers. Instead of developing a helpful and friendly attitude, they generally inspire non-co-operation and encourage the workers to resort to extreme steps on trivial matters.[13] The majority of the local railway unions often adopt bullying tactics towards their higher officers and their officer-bearers are sometimes interested in getting personal advantages for themselves and their friends through their influence and order to regain and retain popularity, the main activities of the railway unions have been concentrated more on the demands for increase of the privileges and emoluments of their members and on individual cases rather than on devoting their attention to 'broader issues'.[14] Unions which serve as a agency of communication between th management and the workers, as a 'clearin house' for workers' grievances and an organ sation for negotiation with the managemen are exceptions in the railways. Thus, th development of railway unionism ha not been on right lines and it stands as contrast to the railway trade union mov ment in the United States of America, whe the unions tremendously help the admini tration in the most efficient performance the railways and to bring about the realis tion of plans to meet competition in th field of transport.

Political Subservience

The maladjustments in the developme of railway trade unions and their functio have been due to the manner in which th grew. Since very inception of unionism i Indian railways, it has been so inseparab linked with the country's politics[15], that t history of the unionism has been the sto of the political movement itself.[16] Ev today, the railway trade union movement intensely pervaded by all the major poli cal parties through their central trade uni federations.[17]

---

11. See Evidence of the Railway Board before the Royal Commission on Labour, Volume VIII, Part I, p. 159 ; For a similar conclusion for the Indian workers, as a whole, See E. E. Bacon (Ed), *India : A Sociological Background*, Vol. II, Subcontractors' Monograph, HARF 44 ; (New Haven Conn ; Human Relations Area Fils, Inc ; 1959) v p. 561 ; our study for the period 1949-56 also shows a positive correlation between the increase of the membership and the strikes on the Indian Railways.

12. "Today the entire energy of the railway unions is spent up only in getting solved the day-to-day grievances, leaving little time for concentration on matters of larger interests," See Report, National Federation of Indian Railwaymen (NFIR), June 1962, Jaipur, p. 33.

13. J. Johnson, *The Economics of Indian Rail Transport*, Bombay, 1963, p. 255.

14. Report of the Railway Corrupt Enquiry Committee, 1953-55, Government India, Ministry of Railways, New Delhi, 1955, pp. 9 and 121.

15. "This was the charge constantly lev aganist the trade unions by the Railway Bo See Evidence of the Railway Board before *Royal Commission on Labour*, Vol. VIII, Pa and speeches of the Members for Communica in reply to Budget Debates every year ; Amba Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

16. See Oscar A. Ornati, *Organised La Impact on Indian Industrialisation*, 'Manage and Economic Growth' Proceedings of a ference on Human Resources and Labour tions in Underveloped Countries, The Instit International Industrial and Labour Rela Cornell University, 1954, p. 149.

17. Myron Weiner, *The Politics of Sca* Bombay, 1963, p. 86 ; For the political ground of the trade union struggle, See *Politics in India*, 1957.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

An idea of how the four federations—INTUC (Congress), HMS (Socialist), AITUC (Communist) and the UTUC (Marxist-left)—pervade railway unionism can be had from the following statement showing the distribution among them of the number of unions and the membership :[18]

Distribution of Unions and the Membership Among the Four Federations :

YEAR	INTUC		HMS		AITUC		UTUC	
	No of unions	Members	No of unions	Members	No of unions	Members	No of unions	Members
1950	36	192,285	14	45,412	22	152,328	2	10,488
1951	40	143,681	17	32,299	25	150,242	3	18,028
1952	27	111,581	20	49,444	25	150,242	1	724
1953	25	N.A.	20	N.A.	11	N.A.	5	N.A.

Source : **Indian Labour Year Book**, 1949-50 ; 1950-51 ; 1951-52 ; pp. 162, 174, 164.

The two central railway federations, National Federation of Indian Railwaymen (NFIR) and the All-India Railwaymen's Federation (AIRF), are also dominated by the INTUC (Congress) and the HMS (Socialist).[19] Thus, instead of it being developed through evolutionary process, the whole of railway unionism has been engineered by the 'outsiders', mostly politicians.[20] No doubt the association of politicians helped the consolidation and unification of the ignorant mass of railway workers, but it did not fail to exploit the latter for its personal glorification.[21]

It is deplorable that even long after the attainment of freedom, a change for the better has not come. All the bigger political parties of the country have their own labour wings to put forward the cause of the railway labour before the legislature and the public, and to ameliorate the conditions of labour according to their own broad objectives.

Whatever might have been the justification and circumstances leading to political subservience of railway trade union movement, its continuance is not desirable in the wider interests of unionism and is not conducive to happy industrial relations in the Indian railways. Association of politics with unionism undermines the purpose of unionism and weakens its impartiality and authority, since more weight is attached to political rather than socio-economic considerations. To embroil the workers in the politics is to invite disintegration. Workers as workers may give unwavering loyalty to their unions, but as citizens, political and social issues divide them.[22] Much of the union-rivalry in railways[23], and their lop-sided development can directly be attributed to their political affiliation.

Changing Concepts and New Responsibility

With the acceptance of welfare economy and socialist pattern of society as the ulti-

18. M. K. Mast, *Trade Union Movement in Indian Railways*, The Indian Journal of Labour Economics, Vol. V, No. 1, April 1962, p. 59.

19. Charles A. Myers, *Industrial Relations in India*, Bombay, 1960, p. 132.

20. Railway Board's Memorandum to the Royal Commission on Labour, Evidence Volume III, Part I, p. 159 ; also see *Labour Investigation Committee Report*, Government of India, Delhi, 1946, p. 79.

21. See Justice Shah's Judgement in the case Bombay Port Tsust Railwaymens' Union, *Commerce*, 19th January 1963, p. 99.

22. Saad Ed Din Fauzi, *The Labour Movement in Sudan*, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press, London, 1957, p. 151.

23. Charles A. Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mate objective for the country, the concepts of labour, industry and industrial relations have undergone a radical change. Indian railways are no more a venture of the Government of India. It is a co-operative venture and all the agents of production contribute in their way towards its success. The Ministry of Railways are making constant efforts to create conditions of work and security, commensurate with the status of railway labour in the welfare state.[24] Under the changed industrial and social climate, the role of railway trade unionism should also change. It should now act as a responsible and constructive trade union movement. It must endeavour to maximise the efforts and spare no pains in the discharge of its duties. The railway unions should consider themselves as the working 'trustees' for this great national undertaking and discharge their duties with a sense of responsibility and patriotism.[25] No doubt, the protection of railway workers' interests is their sacred trust, but these are subservient to the interests of the nation and the railway users. The immediate objectives of the railway unionism should therefore, be framed within the 'broader framework' of the interests of the nation, the users and the railway industry.

Prominent among the important reasons for the slow growth of trade unionism in railways, has been the illiteracy, and the ignorance of the rank and file.[26] Most of the railway workers are ignorant of the benefits of the regular union membership. Even those who ar members of the trade unions, their connection with the union is of **quid pro quo** nature. Consequently, they have very little interest in their organisation and its' working. In fact, proper education is a pre-requisite for a strong and self-reliant trade union movement. Systematic education and publicity of the aims, functions and benefits of trade unionism will make the railway worke conscious of their rights, strength and re ponsibility.

Industrial Relations

Railway unions have a vital role play in shaping the future course of indu trial relations in railways towards constru tive and co-operative channels. A progre sive and enlightened approach is necessar on the part of the unions towards the gre task of national reconstruction. Railwa workers today deal with the manageme not as individuals but as members of th whole group, of which unions are the mo important spokesman. Their attitude t wards their work, workshops and th management is largely conditioned by th attitude of railway unions towards ther They should not merely agitate for righ but also create a sense of discipline amo the workers. The unions should realis that the larger interests of the railway i dustry and the nation is of the utmost i portance at the present juncture. Railwa unions need to abandon their defensi negative, demand-attitude and displ qualities of constructive leadership, und standing and co-operation with the railw management.[27] They should assume a maj role in railway operation by educating a bringing home to employees better app ciation of their duties and responsibilit so that the working efficiency of Ind railways may be maintained at the ma mum possible level.

No doubt public spirit is there, bu needs to be emphasised more and more the railway trade unions. There is in transport a common objective for both and management—the maximum service

24. J. Johnson, *The Economics of Indian Rail Transport*, Bombay, 1963, p. 254.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

26. See GIP Railways Staff Union's Memorandum before the Royal Commission on Labour, Evidence Vol., VIII, Part I, p. 450.

27. J. B. Kriplani remarks in this re that "We felt that the Railway Unions instead dissipating their energies in merely running d officers and adopting an attitude of constant wr ling with the management, should concentrate t energies on constructive work which would t workers habits of co-operation and self-help *Report of the Railway Corruption Enq Committee*, 1953-55, New Delhi, p. 122.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the nation. Every worker, wherever he be, can give his best to the nation. One glorious example is indeed worth emulation as it places rights next to duties. Members of a union on the South Indian Railway who were second firemen, abstained from receiving their pay for nearly eight months, because the administration did not remove the existing discrimination in pay between first and second firemen. When one man received his pay in the first month, there was a public censure of his wife at the water tap by the womenfolk of the colony at Madura. All the same, work was going on smoothly and better discipline and outturn of work were observed by the railway officers. The administration removed the inequality and paid the workers with retrospective effect. Unfortunately, such examples are the exceptions rather than the rule.[28]

One of the most important reasons for strained industrial relations in Indian Railways is the distant social relationship between the railway management and the rank and file. Management executives confined in ivory towers have lost all contacts with the actual workers. The attitude of the administration is outmoded, bureaucratic and hostile towards railway unionism.[29] Actually, the Indian Railways are an example of what ought not to be, with regard to personal relations.[30] In the interest of industrial harmony and peace in railways, these maladjustments must be corrected without delay, and a regular and effective means of communication must be established from top to bottom and vice versa, in order to keep the management informed about the needs and difficulties of employees, and the workers of the changes in the administrations' policies and viewpoints on the various aspects of the railway industry. A representative and responsible union can serve this purpose most effectively. On the one hand, communication of management decisions and viewpoints to the representative union would amount to their communication to all the individual railway workers. On the other hand, the unions would be the most powerful agency to represent workers' viewpoints to the railway management.

Collective Bargaining

Trade unions can endeavour for sound industrial relations in Indian railways by trying to remove much of the misunderstanding in day-to-day dealings with the management. Being also the 'trustees' of the interests of the railway industry and the national economy, they should take upon themselves the responsibility for the conduct and discipline of members. Managerial grievances and complaints against workers, their work and behaviour should, at the first instance, be referred to the railway unions of which they are the members. At the same time, no worker's grievance or complaint should be directly represented to the railway management. Before any such grievance is taken up with the management or their representative, it should be closely scrutinised by the railway union concerned.[31]

Collective bargaining is an accepted

28. Evidence of S. V. Aiyar, Editor, Indian Railway Magazine and President, M.S.M. Railway Non-Workshop Employees' Union, Madras, the *Royal Commission on Labour*, Evidence Vol., VIII, Part I, p. 581.

29. See *Report of the Railway Corruption* Enquiriy Commitee, *op. cit.*, p. 121; *Report of* National Rederation of Indian Railwaymen (NFIR), 1963, New Delhi, 17-19; *Indian Worker*, Vol. XII, No. 12, Monday, December 23, 1963; *Indian Worker*, Vol. XII, No. 42, Monday, July 6, 1964.

30. T. M. Rao, *Needed : Ferderal Railway Authority : A Policy for Railways* : VIII, Eastern Economist, Vol. 41, August 2, 1963, p. 205.

31. This question was intensely discussed at the Eastern Railwaymen Congress Seminar held at Toochanohi Lake Garden, Dhandad from March 22 to 25, 1964. This Seminar also reported that many problems are not properly investigated by the unions and they are represented to the railway administration generally on the report of the parties concerned. The Seminar suggested that in future the active members and the office-bearers should consider it their important duty to fully investigate the matters before taking up with the administration. See *Indian Worker* Vol., XII, No. 28, Monday, April 13, 1964.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

function of railway unionism today.[32] Labour has come of age and it cannot accept the arbitrary decisions and discriminatory dictates of the railway management. No doubt, the various industrial labour laws regulate the working conditions in railways, but the implementation of the labour laws is highly defective.[33] Collective bargaining is a process by which employers and workers' representatives negotiate the settlement of various conflicting matters, and in almost every advanced industrial country, service and working conditions, as day-to-day relations in industry, are largely regulated by it. In Indian Railways, however, neither the management nor the majority of workers have recognised the importance of collective bargaining to harmonise their mutual relations. As mentioned above, the attitude of the railway management towards unions, is generally, hostile and vindictive, while workers' ignorance and their weak organisations leave in them little enthusiasm to bargain collectively. The net result of such an atmosphere has been that, in providing service and working conditions the letter of the law and not its spirit has been followed, leading to hostility, distrust and non-co-operation. In order to prevent the waste and ensure maximum utilisation of 'human resource in the Indian Railways. Both the management and unions should awaken to the need of the times and arrive at a mutual settlement of conflicting matters within the prescribed standards.

Collaboration with Railway Management

Besides the railway unions should collaborate with the management more effectively to augment the objectives of the industry as the welfare of their members are directly linked with the success of the railway. Trade unions should not merely agitate for rights, but should also actively share in the responsibility of sound management. Indian Railways being the largest employer and the greatest Public Utility, are expected to give a lead in introducing labour participation in management and set a worthwhile example for others to follow.[34] Effective participation of labour in railway management is possible only when trade unionism is fully developed and workers are conscious not only of their rights and privileges but also of their duties and responsibilities and have developed a sense of confidence in themselves, a spirit of loyalty to the railways and regard for the rest of the society. Railway trade unions should, therefore, adopt a responsible attitude and try to divert the energies of their members to more constructive channels.

Union Recognition

Trade unions, in view of their growing importance as responsible agencies of workers, should be accorded a honourable place in the society and the railways. Unfortunately, the policy of the Railway administration regarding the recognition of trade unions, has not been satisfactory. It has followed a strange policy of recognition and non-recognition according to the waxing and waning of membership of the rail-

32. 'Collective bargaining is the very essense of railway unionism' See Resolutions adopted by the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen, (NFIR), REPORT, Fifth Annual Convention, Puri, April 1960—April 1961, p. 101.

33. The report of the Ministry of Labour on the working of the Payment of Wages Act, 1936 on Indian Railways for the year 1960-61 shows improvement over the past years. During the year 1961-62, 6538 inspections were carried out and 10452 irregularties were detected. The pattern of irregularities also has remained virtually the same. Of the irregularties detected during the year 1960-61, 58.61 per cent related to delayed payment and non-payment of wagas. Similar is the case with the working of the Hours of Employment Regulation. Nearly 50 per cent of the irregularties detected were of serious nature. In the matter of compensatory offs not given for weekly rest, the percentage of irregularties has gone up very high. See *Report, National Federation of Indian Railwaymen* (NFIR), 1963, Delhi, p. 35.

34. *Report, National Federation of Railwaymen* (NFIR), Feb. 1, 1959 to April 1960, p. 18.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

unions.[35] This is highly undesirable. The recent incident of recognising the 'third union' on some railways has further given a set-back to railway unionism.[36] Railway Board in place of stooping at creating 'multiple unions' on the railways, has created rival agencies to deal with labour, such as 'Staff Councils' and 'Joint Committees'. This 'multiple-recognition policy' of the Railway Ministry should be given up as soon as possible as it will mean the 'automisaton' of the trade union movement on the railways.

The representative union in each railway should be recognised by the Railway administration as the sole negotiating agent. Where there is only one union in a railway, the question of recognition is a simple one. But difficulties sometime arise where more than one union claim recognition by the Railway administration. In such a case, a union having the largest following should be recognised. The representative nature of the trade unions should be ascertained by holding a ballot amongst the railway workers. Such a ballot system, has been provided in the National Labour Relations Act in the United States of America. It should not be difficult to apply this system in our country as well.[37]

In order to be of utmost benefit to the workers, railway industry and the nation, railway trade unions must be above politics. The need of the hour is a united and self-reliant trade union movement and the end of union rivalries is a pre-requisite for this purpose. In fact, there should be only one union in each railway and only one all-India Federation for the whole railway industry, irrespective of the political ideology or affiliation of the leaders.[38] This will not be difficult to achieve, if the railway union leaders were to put their heads together in a spirit of co-operation on the issue of having one union for each railway.

The political parties should voluntarily undertake an agreement to 'depoliticalize' the railway trade union area, through some kind of explicit or implicit 'code". No doubt, the parties nurtured and brought the railway unions up in their formative years. But it is high time now that the railway unions were left on their own, so that they may develop capacity for an independent 'adult' existence.

---

35. Radhakamal Mukherjee, *The Indian Working Class*, Bomaby, 1945, p. 373 ; also see, Raghuraj Singh, *Movement of Industrial Wages in India*, Bombay, 1955, p. 298.

36. 'A new development in the Railway Board's policy of recognition of unions came to light when the railway administration of the North-Eastern and the Eastern Railway gave recognition to a third union on their respecttive railways.' See REPORT, All-India Railwaymen's Federation (AIRE), Annual Convention, 1962, Udaipur (Rajasthan)' p. 23.

37. J. Johnson, op. cit., p. 392 ; *The Criteria for Recognition of Unions* evolved at the 16th Session of the Indian Labour Conference held in May, 1958 provided that where there are several unions in an industry or establishment, the one with the largest membership should be recognised. It is suggested that this provision be given statutory sanction. See Amarjit Singh Sethi, *Role of Collective Bargaining in Industrial Relations in India*, Delhi, 1963, p. 156.

38. J. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

———:O:———

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

REFINED REALISM—A NEED IN MODERN HINDI POETRY

By R. C. MAHESHWARI

If the statement that poetry is a spontaneous outflow of sublime thoughts had been wholly true, there would have hardly been any justification for compartmentalising the verses in the various 'isms'. Obviously, the definition does but a partial justice to all that is regarded as poetry and not very infrequently a poet writes with some aims in his mind. In literature, the identification of the aim with 'human welfare' may, for all practical purposes, be termed as 'Refined Realism' and as such the 'Refined Realism' would not preach the gospel of pure spiritualism much less the creed of diabolical materialism. It has a separate identity which combines the virtues of the both and the vice of none. Strange though it may prima-facie seem, yet factually, it honeymoons with both the 'isms' or to be more accurate with all the 'isms' but is not lost in any.

Besides, a realistic piece of literature combines the quality of universality with a portrayal of the spirit of the times which earn for it universal affection and admiration for all times to come.

Any sober assessment of what has been produced in Hindi literature would reveal the startling fact that this important phenomenon has, veritably, been left untouched particularly by modern Hindi poets. By all accounts, it appears that they are just in a frenzied mood to out do each other in producing a jargon in the Hindi poetry. Barring a microscopic minority belonging to the progressive school of thought who has significantly contributed something very substantial to the literature, almost all of them have been running all too wild in all directions, to achieve something about which they themselves know the best or like others know nothing. Searching survey of a few such trends in the modern Hindi poetry has been attempted in this short article with a view to stress the need of introducing the realistic outlook, which is conspicuous by its absence in modern Hindi poetry. The so called experimental poetry which is nothing but an unscrupulous joke with the language and literature, has been intentionally left out of the discussion.

Realism Vs. Mysticism

Mysticism is opposed to Realism therefore it fails to compromise with the modern materialistic attitudes. And this is why a progressive poet adopts a different course nowadays. Viewing the general trends of modern Hindi poetry, it would be apt to say that a few Hindi poets imbued with the vision of progressive idealism have already ceased to live in the illusory charms of the mystic "Other World" of perpetual spring and ever green youth imbibed with life-inspiring nector. Instead of making flights to the "Other World" on the golden wings of imagination they are learning to tread the thorny narrow paths of this world. They no longer want to dance to the tunes coming from the fairlyland of their imagination. It is now their self-imposed task to write on behalf of the helpless millions who are incapable of giving vent to their sufferings, miseries and grievances. A modern poet thinker has not only ceased to colour his techni-colour-imagination the love story of Radha and Krishna, but also mocks the way of the old fashioned poets. Sarcasm in the following verse, inflicted on such type of poets is remarkable :

"Shuddha Kala Ke Parakhi,
Kahte hain Us par ki.
Is Duniyan ki kaum kahe,
Bhav sagar men kaun bahe ?
Jai ho Radha Rani ki,
Ya jisane manmani ki,
Radha ne Anuradha Se,
Chhipakar apne dada se.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kaisi badhiya chal ki,
Balihari Gopal ki.

(Dr. Ram Vilas Sharma).

"The so-called exponents of pure art talk of the imaginary and mystical "Other World". Why should they plunge in this world-ocean of wild, tormenting currents? "Bravo! for the self-willed Radha who surrepitiously managed to enjoy the charms of the company of her beloved Gopal by playing fine tricks on Anuradha and her elders. I would gladly make an offering of my life to you, dear Gopal!"

Here some devout heart already cries a halt. But can such trends in poetry be checked by simple whimsical "don'ts" or is there any justification at all in bringing about any type of pressure to check such trends? This is the question which requires a close examination.

According to Oscar Wilde "Literature always anticipates life. It does not copy it, but moulds it to its purpose." And this great truth has been propounded by many eminent men of letters. If we view the modern trends in progressive Hindi poetry from this angle of vision we are beset with a feeling of anxiety. No doubt, we have got Mahadevi Verma, Nirala (no more alive now), Ram Kumar Verma etc., in our midst, who even in this era of uproar of materialism, are still colourfully and liberally sprinkling romantic thoughts of mystery, reminding one of the mystic songs of Rabindra Nath Tagore and English Romantic poets, it apparently is the dying phase of a continuously decelerating phenomenon which is slowly and imperceptibly fading away, yielding place to Realism. The latter, however, not very infrequently carries destructive elements with it, just as a fly carries the germs of contagious diseases on its feet. Admittedly, literature for its very growth and healthy upbringing requires multifarious diversions. Poets are not expected to follow the same pattern, yet the way in which the purely materialistic approach to life made by certain poets, injures the feelings of Hindu idealism, proud of its ancient cultural heritage, is shocking. Such shocks as are administered on Hindu idealism by the verses like "Ram Ka Antardwanda" which, to say the least, are agonising.

Realism a Need of the Day

The gradual switch over to materialism and to depict the real conditions prevailing in the society, no doubt, is a welcome trend in Hindi literature and is expected to go a long way in ameliorating the living conditions of the masses by helping the society to locate the real trouble spots in its body. Food, clothing and shelter are the basic requirements of a man and it is, undoubtedly painful and pinching to talk about "Madhushalas" and "Madhubalas" while millions go without a square meal. Such type of literature becomes the hand-maid of only the privileged few (as had happened during "Reeti-kal" and "Vir-gatha Kal"), instead of becoming the mouth organ of the poor and have-nots, the proletariat and the middle class, who really represent society and who can bring about revolutions and can change the course of culture and life. No wonder that in such an atmosphere, the thoughts containing so much of the destructive elements as the verse, which is being reproduced here contains in it, find manifestations and gain popularity with the masses :

Hath hathora liye huye hain,
Sanmukh aa sakta hai kaun ?
Lohe ki diwar hamari,
Hamen hila sakta hai kaun ?
Phir avaz buland karo sab,
Inqalab phir zindabad,
Ho barbad sarmaya dari,
Inqalab zindabad, Inqalab zindabad !

(—Nagendra).

"We are standing with hammer in hand. Who dares to come forward to challenge us and who can shake our iron wall? Then join us in our cries of "Inqualab Zindabad" and "Down with Capitalism".

One is at a loss clearly to be able to make anything out of it, except a hint at destruction. Even if there are hammers in your hands, you are in possession of great

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

muscular power, you have a very applaudable practical theory—your religion—your God—your everything, but what are you out to do? How do you expect to inculcate in a raw mind the values of your vast and much interpreted theory of radical socio-economic changes **vis-a-vis** society and government, by giving him such a vague and obscure suggestion, and that too about destructive means you propose to employ for achieving your aims and aspirations? In the first place it is positively unthinkable to express such a vast theory with still more vast interpretations, in a few compact and limited verses and in the second it is utterly fantastic vaguely to throw a hint to a raw brain about hammer and sickle when it is unable to comprehend their exact significance. Yet it forces us to pause and think where this type of literature containing violent whirls of thoughts will lead us? Is it not the way where final wreck awaits the ship of our culture? Again, a realist is required to depict the facts as they are. By degrees he may give them touches of his refined imagination, may exaggerate the facts in order to accelerate the remedial process, may also hint at some suggestion but it is scarcely within his domain to assume a role of guide. What he is required to say, is: "How do the things stand?": at the most he can suggest as to "What ought to be?" But as a poet it is none of his business to chalk out plans and programmes to achieve that goal. In this context it will be in the fitness of things to refer to Nirala and Josh as pure realists when they sing 'Woh torti thi pathar" and "Husn ho majbur kankar torane he vaste". After painting such a vivid picture of the hard lot of the workers, a poet must step aside and leave it to the people themselves to decide as to the desirability of getting such torturous work done by workers and if it is considered desirable to chalk out ways and means to put an end to the circumstances responsible for such conditions of life.

Halavad

There are "Halavadis" also and ridiculously enough they also claim to be Realists. "Loaves of bread, a cup of wine and thee by my side" that is all what they want. "I par priye Madhu hai tum ho; us par na jan kya hoga" sings the halavadi Bachchan little knowing that there are millions or his illustrious "Is Par" who have not go even loaves of bread and a permanent shel ter, what to speak of wines and maidens. By the way, Bachchan seems to be an expert in building skyscrapers in the sky. Evidently he assumes in his own way, that skyscraper must have their foundation in the sky an is amused by the idea.

Eccapism

So far as escapists are concerned th less said, the better, as the poor down trodden follows have their fill of the mise ries of this world and are busy sailing t their Utopia, being confident that if thei Utopia, is ever discovered, (though n stretch of imagination except, of cours their own, will hint at its possibility), it wi not be annexed to this world. "Le cha mugje bhulava dekar more navik dhir dhire" dreamily sings a great escapist bu whether he will ever, till eternity, reach th America of his dreams is doubtful even to blockhead, who may, however, persuad himself to sit on the shore and watch th sailing adventures of his Columbus. It better to leave the escapists and those sha ing their ideas to themselves.

But the Realism though it may assum some destructive form, by the force events, is applaudable as such type of lit rature is virtually an eye-opener, dra pointed attention towards the modern tre of thoughts and is indicative of the whi of despair and despondency in which society is struggling for emancipation. order, therefore, to bring about a change betterment, we on one hand are required ameliorate the conditions of living of masses by rooting out the disparity in income and in the individual's share in national dividend and on the other by str ing a balance between spiritualism materialism in our thought process. We also to guard against the possibility heavy combination of political inter using literature malifariously as a means achieve their ugly ambitions and aspirati

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE FOURTH PLAN MEMORANDUM

An Assessment

By KARUNA K. NANDI

The Fourth Plan Memorandum prepared by the Planning Commission and, since, discussed and generally approved by the National Development Council is, as described by the Planning Commission themselves, only a tentative framework of the Plan. Details would be filled in only after the States' Plans and those of the Central Ministries have been available and the relationship of the broad framework of the Plan with programmes of development in the private sector has been determined. Tentative as the present Memorandum, therefore, is it is, nevertheless, of crucial importance not merely because it yields an index of the trends of thinking of the Planning Commission and the Government alike on the broad patterns of both the size, shape and directions of the Fourth Plan, but also because of the perspective, in outline, that it seeks to project of the objectives and the targets of the immediately following Plan,—the Fifth Five Year Plan. The Planning Commission have, of course, been careful to underline the provisional nature of the assumptions and conclusions of the Memorandum, under assessment in which the estimates have been projected on the basis of the levels of development likely to be attained at the end of the current Plan nearly a year and a half later and on price levels prevailing in 1963-64 which will need to be reviewed in the light of later information and further study. Balances in the Plan relating to savings and investments, requirements of foreign exchange, supply of consumer goods, proportionate sizes of agriculture and industry, increase in the incidence of employment etc., will have to be investigated more closely before firm estimates can be arrived at. All these various provisos notwithstanding, the present Memorandum, as already observed, is very important in itself because it serves as an index of the basic patterns of prevailing thinking of authority on the trends, shapes and sizes that immediate future development planning should follow and it may, therefore, serve some useful purpose if, even at this stage, a careful study of the implications of the Fourth Plan, tentative so far as it is, were undertaken.

Objectives and Strategy

The Third Plan, the Memorandum lays down, "was visualized as the first phase of a period of intensive effort" to achieve the aims and objects of Planning which were said to have been to "lay sound foundations for self-sustaining economic growth, to provide avenues and opportunities of employment to all those who seek it and, while narrowing economic and social disparities, to ensure a minimum level of living to every family in the country . . . . The Fourth Plan must ensure that inspite of unanticipated difficulties in the immediate past, the move towards a better life for the common people maintains its momentum . . . ." The several problems that the Plan will, therefore, have to deal with are based on the central problem of generating a rapid increase in the national product "without impairing *social stability* (emphasis our own). "In other words, it is one of balancing the demands for the supply of basic consumption goods with adequate measures of investments in human and material resources generating a much larger supply of those goods and services essential for future growth and for which the country is now critically dependent upon external assistance. It is these latter elements in the growth pattern that enables a proper diversification of both the productive and the occupational structure of the economy to be achieved and which alone would enable hunger, poverty and unemployment to be progressively eliminated.

It has, accordingly, been tentatively decided that the mobilization of developmental effort in the Fourth Plan would have to differ in several respects from what was anticipated at the outset of the Third Plan. The size of the national income which was estimated to have reached the level of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rs. 14,500 crores at the end of the Second Plan would, it was assumed, reach the Rs. 19,000 crore mark at the end of the current Plan period and must be taken on to Rs. 25,000 crores at the end of the Fourth Plan and, further, on to Rs. 33,000/ Rs. 34,000 crores at the end of the Fifth Plan. It is recognized, however, that owing to unanticipated lags in implementation, especially on account of the extremely slow progress of agricultural development and failure of anticipated yields from some strategic investments, the increase of national income over the current Plan period, which stood at the nominal aggregate level of less than 10 per cent during the first three years of the Plan, may only be approximately Rs. 17,400 crores or around 20 per cent over the entire Plan period. Population projections at the same time, are now found to have assumed a substantially higher incidence and, instead of the 492 millions, 555 millions and 625 millions at the end of the Third, Fourth and Fifth Plans respectively as initially assumed, it is now likely to be of the order of 495 millions, 560 millions and 630 millions respectively.

Price rises during the current Plan, which is sought to be accounted for by an upsurge in demand occasioned variously by the lag in agricultural output, shortfalls in investment-yields, growth of population, large investment outlays etc., have also considerably disturbed earlier assumptions. Between March 1961 and September 1964, while the general price index has moved up by 24.5 per cent (a steep rise, in all conscience even in a developing economy!), the price index of food articles has moved up by 44.4 per cent, manufactured articles by 5.9 per cent, and industrial raw materials by 7.0 per cent. This poses, perhaps, the most serious problem to development planning although consolation has been sought to be derived from the fact that despite the serious price situation (and it still continues to spiral further upwards as we write !), net investments, taking the private and the public sectors together will very nearly aggregate the amounts originally assumed in the Plan and, correspondingly, domestic savings, as a proportion of net national income, will be likely to assume a 13 per cent level.

It is conceded, however, at the same time, that although in financial terms investment targets of the current Plan would be very nearly reached, physical targets in both production and capacity would be bound to lag substantially behind. Th latter fact, however, has been complacent sought to be dismissed as being of comparative minor importance on the assumption that they g would eventually be made up. On the other ha the very fact of the failures of the Third Pl to yield estimated results in several direction as well as in significant proportions, are sought be employed by the Planning Commission as the more reason "to strive for much higher ra of growth than were originally envisaged for t next two Plan periods . . . . The crucial proble for the Fourth Plan," the Memorandum asser "is thus accelerating the tempo of developme without accelerating inflationary trends in t economy."

The Planning Commission spell out t following postulates to obviate this cruci problem :

(i) That savings and investments must accorded clear priority not only for Plan, against non-Plan expenditures, but also essential as against non-essential private e penditure ;

(ii) That there can be no resiling from t commitments regarding employment and livi standards set for attainment by the middle of t next decade ; this against the probability th the magnitude of external assistance for t Fourth Plan will continue to be large duri the next decade ;

(iii) That since so large a part of ba consumption goods originate in the agricultu sector, sustained and concerted efforts must made to raise the growth rate in this sector. Li wise, a higher level of effort to provide wider fa lities for education, medical care, water supply a other social services that are calculated to lay foundations for social stability and higher p ductivity, must be brought to the job of devel ment planning than has so far been possible ;

(iv) The development of agricultural a social services are closely linked with comm surate development of resources in power, tra port as well as in industries large and sma the inter-relationship between industry a agriculture can not, therefore, be disturbed wi out incurring the risk of retarding the growth the economy or without making the mobilizat of financial resources for the fourth Plan m difficult than it already is ;

(v) A progressive reduction of depende

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

on foreign assistance is equally an essential requirement of the appropriate expansion and diversification of industrial production. Large scale domestic production of imported items like petroleum products, metals, crude oil, machinery and equipment are an essential need in this respect. Equally important is the need to augment export earnings with a view to long term viability of the balance of payments position. Efficient and accelerated development of capital goods industries must, therefore, be accepted as an inescapable strategy of development ;

(vi) Generally, and within the large contexts outlined above, the Fourth Plan must be so formulated as to (a) avoid inflation, (b) improve consumption standards of the people, (c) ensure more equitable distribution of incomes and wealth and, generally, (d) ensure faster development of human resources and quicker progress towards self-reliance.

The Plan, as presented, the Commission assert, has kept in view the following requirements :

(i) for enlarging the income of the rurual population, as well as for augmenting the supplies of food articles and agricultural raw materials, all possible effort must be made to ensuure a growth rate of not less than 5 per cent per annum and, if possible, more in agricultural production ;

(ii) for enabling this objective to be realised, production of such goods as fertilizers, insecticides, agricultural implements, pumps, diesel engines, tractors etc., should be given the highest priority in the programme for industrial development ;

(iii) for enlarging the supply of essential consumer goods on which additional incomes will be spent, production of articles like textiles, sugar, drugs, kerosene, paper etc., should be accelerated ;

(iv) for improving the supply of residential housing the production of cement and other construction materials should be augmented ;

(v) for ensuring continued growth in the metals, chemicals, machine bufilding, mining, electric power and transport industries, schemes in hand should be completed early and new schemes undertaken ;

(vi) for the development of human resources, not only should the maximum facilities be provided in the social services sector, but that these should be reoriented in the direction of increasing productivity ;

(vii) the organization of effort in all these directions must be such as to promote rapid progress towards greater employment and social justice.

To attain these, the Planning Commission concede, difficult problems of finance and administration will have to be overcome. A smaller development effort will not achieve these, but a variety of fiscal, monetary and administrative measures will have to be employed to prevent excessive demand in the economy from developing and to ensure greater restraint on inessential outlays both in the public and the private sectors, with especial emphasis upon quick-maturing projects, especially those calculated to add to the supply of essential consumption goods and services. At the same time direct measures of controlled distribution of basic consumption goods will have to be accepted as an essential requirement of containing pressures on the prices of such commodities. In essential consumer goods, capital goods and intermediates, emphasis will have to be placed on adjustment of prices for releasing real resources for priority use and to facilitate mobilization of financial resources. Means must also be found to provide, from current national income, as much of the domestic savings as may be required for plan investments and all instruments calculated to enlarge both public and private savings must be mobilized for the purpose. A large part of the promotion of development in the agricultural and industrial servicing sectors will continue to devolve on the public sector, which must continue to move towards attaining a commanding position in the distribution of essential consumption goods.

Size and Pattern of Investments

According to the sectoral programmes drawn up by the various Working Groups of the Planning Commission in consultation with the concerned Ministries of the Government, aggregate outlays for the Fourth Plan were initially placed at a gross Rs. 24,162 crores in the public sector. The Reserve Bank estimated that aggregate investments in the private sector would work out at approximately Rs. 7,000 crores. After eliminating all points of duplication in the sectoral programmes and after considering the requirements

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of internal balance and consistency, eventual estimates of outlays in the private and the public sectors together were placed at approximately between Rs. 24,000 and Rr. 25,000 crores at 1960-61 prices. After further reconciliation of the sectoral programmes and having especial regard to the resources position, the Planning Commission have arrived at the conclusion that the Plan must conform to a basic minimum outlay in the public and the private sectors together of between Rs. 21,500 crores and Rs. 22,500 crores at 1963-64 prices ; being of the order of between Rs. 14,500 crores and Rs. 15,500 crores in the public sector and Rs. 7,000 crores in the private sector. This Rs. 1,000 crore lag in the estimate of outlays in the public sector is explained by the current assessment of capacity for raising domestic savings and mobilizing financial resources in the public sector together with the uncertainties in the balance of payments position.

Financial Resources

The estimate of resources for the public sector has been based on the assumption that a credit of Rs. 2,500 crores would be available from budgetary resources at the current level of taxation corresponding to external assistance and that additional resources of between Rs. 2,500 crores and Rs. 3,000 crores would be available from increased taxation, reduction of tax evasions and adjustment of prices charged by public undertakings specifically earmarked for this purpose. It was also hoped that if the growth rate during the initial years of the Plan proved to be sufficiently high, it should be possible, eventually, to mobilize larger resources for the Plan to cover the present gap of Rs. 1,000 crores in the estimate of outlays.

The current estimates have been based on the view that at current tax rates, tax revenues would go up at the rate of 8 per cent per annum which will, of course, have to depend on the achievement of anticipated production levels, especially in industries such as petroleum, sugar, steel, cement, paper and cotton textiles and on greater responsiveness of income and corporation taxes, sales tax, taxes on motor vehicles, etc., to growth in production and incomes. Non-tax revenues of the public sector, at the same time, are also assumed to grow at the rate of 8 per cent per annum. It is also assumed that far stricter discipline will be exercised on the expenditure side at the same time and that gross administration expenditure including expenditure on tax collection will not increase by more than 5 per cent and that non-plan development expenditure on revenue account would not increase at a rate higher than 3.5 per cent per annum. In addition it is also assumed that there would be a substantial step up in receipts from market loans, small savinge, provident funds, annuity deposits and miscellaneous capital receipts. The Central Government, it is further assumed, would limit their borrowing from the Reserve Bank to levels justified by the increase in demand for money engendered by increased production and consequent increase in monetization of the economy ; and that State Governments will avoid continuing use of overdraft facilities with the Reserve Bank. In the private sector, it is assumed, that increase in national income will be able to generate savings of the order of Rs. 7,000 crores over the Plan priod to enable investments of this size to be incurred and sustained in this sector. Cost reduction, increased efficiency and augmenting profits to be retained for reinvestment, are measures all of which will have to be pressed to the task to enable private enterprises to increase their surpluses to the requisite size.

One of the crucial factors in the Plan is also the need to ensure that the supply of foreign exchange from export earnings and foreign aid would be ample to cover imports both for maintenance as well as for investment and for meeting obligations on account of interest on and amortization of foreign loans. It is assumed that commodity exports during the Fourth Plan would account for an earning of Rs. 5,100 crores over the Plan period. Tentative estimates of rquirements of commodity imports, exclusive of imports under P.L. 480, have been placed at Rs. 7,200 crores which will include both capital equipment for Fourth Plan projects and materials and components required for maintenance. An estimated deficit on loans and amortization of debts will call for a further foreign exchange outlay of Rs. 1,100 crores. The gap in foreign exchange, therefore, would be of the minimum order of Rs. 3,200 crores over the Fourth Plan period which yields a measure of the volume of foreign aid needed for the Plan. This, of course, assumes that export earnings of a minimum Rs. crore are actually realised, a performance

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

will call for intensification of export drives in diverse directions and corresponding measures of restraint on domestic consumption. The future of development planning is linked with the country's ability to progressively reduce her dependence on foreign imports in order to ensure a viable balance of payments, and the Fourth Plan is claimed to have linked the formulation of its industries' programme to this strategic requirement.

Pattern of Outlays

Although the Plan is said to have been formulated on the basis that resources available will be of the order of Rs. 21,500 crores, and that outlays for a further Rs. 1,000 crores would be undertaken only if the development during the initial years of the Plan has been sufficiently rapid to enable additional resources of this size to be released for investment, the tentative size and pattern of outlays has been envisaged as under :

Item	Public Sector			Private Secttor Investment	Total Investment	Total Plan Outlay	Anticipated Expenditure in 3rd Plan	Allocation in Fourth Plan	Percentage Distribution	
	Total	Current Outlay	Investment						of Col. 8	Of Col. 9
								(In Rs. Crores)		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Agriculture	2,400	875	1,525	700	2,225	3,100	1,090	2,400	13.3	15.5
Irrigation	1,000	..	1,000	..	1,000	1,000	648	1,000	7.9	6.4
Power	1,950	..	1,950	50	2,000	2,000	1,187	1,950	14.5	12.4
Small Industry	450	170	280	400	680	850	233	450	2.8	2.9
Organized Industry	3,200	..	3,200	2,400	5,600	5,600	1,662	3,200	20.3	20.5
Transport and Communications	3,000	..	3,000	650	3,650	3,650	1,940	3,000	23.6	19.2
Education	1,400	767	633	100	733	1,500	557	1,400	6.8	9.0
Scientific Research	175	85	90	..	90	175	72	175	0.9	1.1
Health	1,090	413	677	..	677	1,090	345	1,090	4.2	7.0
Housing and Construction	400	..	400	1,470	1,870	1,870	112	400	1.4	2.6
Welfare of Backward Classes	205	160	45	..	45	205	104	205	1.3	1.3
Social Welfare	65	50	15	10	25	75		65		
Craftsmen Training and Labour	145	85	60	..	60	145		145		
Public Co-operation	15	10	5	..	5	15	250	15	3.0	0.1
Rural Works	25	..	25	..	25	25	..	25	..	0.2
Rehabilitation	50	10	40	..	40	50	..	50	..	0.3
Miscellaneous	50	..	50	..	50	50	..	50	..	0.3
Inventories	..	..	..	1,200	1,200	1,200	..	..	..	..
	15,620	2,625	12,995	6,980	19,975	22,600	8,200	15,620	100	100

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Plan Orientation

It is neither necessary nor possible at this stage to go deeper into the details of the contours of the Fourth Plan if for no other reason, atleast for the fact that what the Planning Commission have so far envisaged is merely a tentative outline of the Plan of which firmer and more detailed particulars can be filled in only at a later stage when the details of the States' Plans and those of the Central Ministries have been formulated, processed and integrated into the National Plan. Nevertheless what has been stated in the Memorandum under assessment, as I have already observed earlier in this discussion, yields not merely the pattern of thinking of the Planning Commission and the Government alike, but also of the broad strategies that would be influencing the formulation of the final draft of the Plan. In addition, the Memorandum also envisages the pattern of development that would have to be followed also in the Fifth Plan.

One thing that emerges clearly from the trends of discussions carried out in the Memorandum under assessment, is that neither the Planning Commission nor the Government appear to have learnt from the lessons that past planning essays should have yielded to them. It is that Planning, so far, has been overwhelmingly what, for the lack of a more adequately expressive term, one might describe as *outlay oriented* and not what one might have expected it to be,—that is, primarily *investment-oriented.* One makes a deliberate distinction between the qualities of *mere outlay* and *real investment* in this connection for obvious reasons, although much of that has been listed as investment by the Plans have not been investment at all, but mere outlays. Investment postulates a definite minimum yield capacity within given schedules of time in terms of production. Wherever an investment may appear to have failed to produce the estimated yield, it must be assumed that the particular investment had been wrongly planned. If this were to happen in a private sector enterprise, the *entre prenuer* concerned would have been held accountable to the stockholders and would either have to make good the deficiencies and make the investment produce the requisite yield, or he would have been thrown out of his job on his ears. The Planning Commission, however, do not seem to be any too seriously concerned about their p failures in this regard and seem to glibly cons themselves with the complacent assurance t even though the Third Plan may not, eventual yield more than merely a two-thirds proporti of what it should have, the investment allocati will, nevertheless, have been fully appropriat which should, in course of time, generate larg savings for future investment, even if they a not able to produce the requisite increase in t national product.

They take note of one of the obvious con quences of such infructuous investment of capit a fairly large part of which had to be made of created money or deficit financing, and whi in its turn lent its own inflationary pressures up the price structure, that is of the raging pri spiral that has been distorting almost all aspe of not merely development planning, but ev the basic living levels of the people, abjectly p as they notoriously have always been. That price situation, if it is allowed to prevail in manner it has been developing especially duri the last two years since December, 1962, wo be bound to distort the very basic foundati of Plan development, is a fact which does seem to have been unduly disturbing Commission. They no doubt recommend that situation will have to be tackled by a series fiscal, menetary and administrative measures whi will enable the price line to he held within *sta* limits. And, no doubt, they justify the pres price spiral by the sudden and rather mass increase in defence expenditure since 1962-63.

Concentration of Economic Power

It is necessary to take notice, in this con tion of the rather self-adulatory observations the Planning Commission that inspite of the p pressure, it was possible to envisage stimula of domestic savings aggregating very nearly a of 13 per cent of the national product. Instead making anyone jubilant over this rather extraor nary fact, a thoughtful student of economic phe mena would have been pursuaded to closely quire into related cause and effect with a g deal of trepidation and anxiety. No one knows, any certainty, of the extent of the concentratio income and wealth in the country ; the Mah nobis Committee Report, characteristically, rel to a period long past. Although the fact of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

large concentration has never been seriously disputed by authority, it was also contended by them that, generally, the people at large have been *better-fed, better-clothed* and *better-housed* than ever before, indicating that they have also been sharing the benefits of increased national income achieved as the result of planned devlopmnt. It has been already seen arlier, that according to authoritative pronouncements by the Planning Commission, the wholesale price index for all commodities had moved up by 25.4 per cent between March 1961 and September 1964, but the price of food articles had move up, during the corresponding period, by more than 44.4 per cent. It is well known that in respect of primary consumption commodities such as food grains etc., upward movements of wholesale prices are generally always simultaneously followed by much higher rises in retail prices. What is even worse is that on account of the developing crisis in the supply of basic food cereals and the consequent black market that has been flourishing in these commodities practically all over the country, especially during the last one year and more since Septembr|October 1963, the cost of basic food to he people has gone up by very nearly 65 to 70 per cent compared to what it was in March 1961. According to the Planning Commission's own stimate, while the national income had increased y 42 per cent during the first decade of plann-g, the increase in the per capita income over he same period has been only of the order of bout 18 per cent.* In the Memodandum under iscussion the Planning Commission have assessed he order of rise in the national income during he first 3 years of the current Third Plan at a ross 10 per cent. If the corresponding increase n the per capita income were to be assumed at 0 per cent of the rise in the national income, is world work out at around 5 per cent of hat it was in 1956-57. But this is merely an er-all national average which hardly yields a alistic picture of the situation in its funda-ntals. If all those with an income of Rs. 5000 annum and more, who comprise less than per cent of the country's population, were to left out of computation, the per capita income the rest, who comprise more than 80 per cent of the population at the bottom levels of the social seale, would be found to be substantially smaller. The size of the net *disposable income* of the people at this level would then be found to be insufficient even to cover basic outlays on food and clothing alone at current prices. The fact that inspite of such a situation, savings and investments are assumed to rise to a 13 per cent level of the national income during the ensuing Fourth Plan, should be read as an obvious evidence that almost all, or at least an overwhelming proportion of the additional incomes generated by planned development have been concentrating around certain select and microscopic layers of the socio-economic strata.

Demand and Inflation

As already observed, the Planning Commission do not seem to be unduly concerned over the present price symptoms and for which planning, in the manner in which it is being pursued, must be held at least partially responsible. When an investment fails to yield estimated returns, it merely adds to the volume of demand and, correspondingly, to the spiralling price pressure. Demand has been developing from diverse directions of which inadequate implementation of Plan projects form an important group of items. Investment allocations estimated to yield a 30 to 36 per cent increase in the national income,‡ are now expected to be realised only to the estent of about 60 per cent of original target although it is claimed at the same time that the capital allocations will have been almost fully appropriated by the end of the Plan period. This, however, is not all. Plan projects with a certain rated capcity, even after completion of their erection, have been known to fail to reach full capacity production levels for years afterwards. A certain measure of production lag during the early gestation periods, especially in cartain types of heavy industries in the key producer sectors, may be inescapable—although in these days of application of advanced technology and production techniques it should be possible to substantially reduce this time factor if it may not

* *Towards A Self-Reliant Economy*, issued the Planning Commission, Government of lia, p. 76.

‡ Original targets of achievement envisaged in the Third Plan draft placed this at 36 per cent over the entire Plan period and which was subsequently attenuated to 30 per cent.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

be possible to altogether avoid it—but this should be limited within a severely circumscribed and pre-determined time schedule. What, otherwise happens—and we have known of a number of large Plan projects, especially among those under the public sector, where this has occurred—that this gestation period seems to continue almost indefinitely, with the result that unit cost of production in these industries works out at a too high and uneconomic level. This factor also adds to the volume of exploding demand.

Taxation : Its Inflationary Potentials

It would, however, be unfair to blame the present price situation on Planning and the Planning Commission alone. A substantial portion of Plan resources are derived from the Government's tax revenues. It has already been seen that in considering the resource position for the Fourth Plan outlays, the Commussion have assumed an annually 8 per cent increase in net tax revenues at current levels of taxation and a further 8 per cent increase from additional taxation. Even at current levels taxation has risen steeply over the years since 1950-51 when the then Union Finance Minister, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, had calculated its per capita incidence at Rs. 8 per annum, its present incidence being very nearly Rs. 46 per capita including Central and States taxes. There is, however, nothing fundamentally wrong in a rising incidence of taxation levels even though it may be very steep provided, of course, that its structure has been so conceived as to conform to the real and developing resources of the economy. In fact, in a fast developing economy taxation should be employed as an instrument of economic balance to ensure that the massive funds employed for development are not allowed to distort prices nor permit undue concentration of wealth and income in individudal hands; in other words, taxation has been classically regarded as an instrument of disinflation whenever it has been found necessary to inject large funds into the economy either for purposes of national defence against external aggression or rapid economic development. An examination of the present taxation structure would, however, be bound to demonstrate that it has, in addition to other factors, been of a basically inflationary influence correspondingly during the period of development planning.

An overwhelming proportion of our pres tax revenues are derived from indirect taxati measures ; its incidence after the 1964-65. Bud was estimated at somewhere around 74.6 per c of gross tax revenues. A large part, again, of th indirect taxation measures consist of exc imposts and other similar tax burdens on variety of essential consumables. A series of he excise imposts also cover a variety of essent producer bases which snowhall into cost of p duction of innumerable varieties of consuma commodities in the ultimate analysis. What is wo is that in a vulnerable sellers' market such as been prevailing in this country ever since middle years of the Second World War, excise similar imposts on essential consumables in sca supply—and supply of most primary consu bles have always been marginal throughout th years—create just those opportunities for he profiteering which, in turn, generate unaccou funds in individual hands which, currently, s to have been of so much concern to authority a to the country as a whole. A salutory cle canon of taxation has always been to av indirect tax imposts upon consumables ex where it is calculated to be part of a sound pu policy to restrain consumption. Thus ex duties on alcoholic beverages or on narco where their public sale is permitted, is univers acknowledged as a sound expression of pu policy. Purchase taxes on luxuries are, simil accepted by public opinion as equally a sc measure of taxation. But an excise duty o cooking medium of universal and essential sumption, or on sugar or similar other comm ties; while adding only infinitesimally to the p revenues, add heavy burdens on the econom enabling the profiteer to cash in through taxation measures heavy windfall gains thereby generally adding to the volume demand.

While, therefore, there is nothing funda tally objectionable to the Planning Commis proposal that additional taxation increasing public revenues at the rate of 8 per cnt per a over the Fourth Plan period would have undertaken, it has become necessary, even tial to remodel the entire taxation structur divest it of its obvious and rather heavy tionary potentials. The attempt, so far, a to have been to derive the largest revenue

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the least trouble. The result has been that while Governments' revenue needs have been covered, the taxation measures have, generally, helped the creation of new and large vested interests while, at the same time, strengthening already well entrenched ones. In general, the needs of sound taxation require that the present heavy incidence of indirect taxation should be replaced, at least very substantially, by measures of direct taxation which would not merely enable their burdens to be more equitably distributed over the population, but what is even more important in the present context is that by this means alone it may be possible to divest our taxation structure of its present heavy and inherent inflationary potentials. In fact, it would be found to be far more conducive to rapid development if a measure of price stability, especially affecting primary consumption commodities, industrial raw materials and essential producer bases could be ensured. Such an end could, conceivably, be reached by judicially conceived measures of direct taxation and their wholesome and even ruthless application, to replace many of the present indirect tax measures. In such a taxation structure, it should be possible to include fresh tax measures calculated to yield the annual 8 per cent increase in the public revenues without unduly burdening the more vulnerable sections of the population and to release Plan resources of the desired measure.

Restraint on Expenditure

The Planning Commission have emphasized the need for restraints on expenditure on administration and on other items. Even from a cursory study of the exploding acceleration in the volume of expenditure on adminirtration one is led to the conclusion that one of the heaviest inflationary factors during recent years, apart from an inflatioary taxation structure and the resultant rise in the incidence of what has been euphemistically called "unaccounted" money, has been the steep rise in the cost of administration. One aspect of this rising cost, that relating to the heavy increase on defence appropriations must, unfortunately, be conceded as inescapable. But it would have been possible to avoid, with a more judicious view taken of the requirements of administration, a great deal of the rising expenditure on this account over the past decade and longer. The Planning Commission have proposed that increased revenues at 8 per cent per annum from existing taxation measures and a further 8 per cent per annum from additional taxation should be convered by corresponding expenditure of not more than 5 and 3.5 per cent respectively. In so far as the cost of administration relates directly to the developing incidence of demand and correspondingly spiralling prices, this should not be considered as even remotely adequate. It should be possible, within the limits of existing levels of expenditure on administration to cover the needs of increased revenues as envisaged above. Even authority has, from time to time, conceded that the present structure of administration both at the Centre and in the States, has been overwhelmingly top-heavy. Besides, the cost of administration in any country should bear a reasonable ratio to the average living levels of its peoples. Apart from that, according to certain schools of opinion, both efficiency and rectitude bear only an inverse proportion to costs in a top heavy administration.

This, on the other hand, has a direct bearing on the prospects as well as purposes of an adequate and efficient Plan administration. Despite the structural shortcomings of the Third Plan, its implementation might not have come to grief as it has, if more adequate and economic administrative resources could be prssed to its service. The same trepidation continues to create apprehensions that the administrative resources for the Fourth Plan, likewise, may not add up to the latter's fullest requirements, whatever the ultimate size and shape of it that may be eventually decided upon.

Structure of the Fourth Plan

We have digressed to a certain extent because we felt that the question of price stability is of paramount importance in any programme of rapid advancement of a developing economy and we considered it necessary, in the present discussion to revert to a cursory survey of the factors that have obviously been causing the price pressures of the last few years. But in any programme of development the structure of the programme itself, is of course, of even more primary importance. We have, in the foregoing pages, reproduced the tentative financial alloca-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tions for the Fourth Plan and in so far as these allocations represent the priorities assessed for the Plan, a view is had of the ultimate structure of development aimed thereby.

It has been averred that the Third Plan has come to grief mainly on account of the shortfalls in agricultural output, especially in the foodgrains sector. It has also been conceded that "since so large a part of basic consumption goods originates in the agricultural sector, ... any programme of raising the standards of consumption of the masses must provide for a sustained and concerted effort to raise the rate of growth in this sector." The Plan, therefore envisages a 5 per cent annual growth in agricultural output and an over-all 6 5 per cent growth rate in the national economy as a whole. For this purpose an allocation of Rs. 3,100 crores, inclusive of outlays of the order of Rs. 700 crores in the private sector has been proposed. This comprises 15.4 per cent of total Plan outlays in the public sector. Allocations provided for irrigation consist of Rs. 1,000 crores, all in the public sector and comprises 6.4 per cent of total outlays in this sector. Comparably, allocations for public sector industries cover Rs. 8,600 crores or 55.0 per cent of total allocations of which allocations for organised industry comprise Rs. 3,200 crores or 20.5 per cent, power Rs. 1,950 crores or 12.4 per cent. and Transport and Communications Rs. 3,000 crores or 19.2 per cent. Allocations for small industry, which might be regarded as a subsidiary to the agricultural sector especially since no separate allocations are made for "Village" industries, comprise only Rs. 450 crores or 2.9 per cent of the total. In the Third Plan allocations for these items were Rs. 1,090 crores or 13.3 per cent, Rs. 648 crores or 7.9 per cent, Rs. 5,022 crores or 61.2 per cent, Rs. 1,662 crores or 20.3 per cent, Rs. 1,187 crores or 6.8 per cent, Rs. 1,940 crores or 23.6 per cent and Rs. 233 crores or 2.8 per cent respectively. Structurally, therefore, except for the fact that the Fourth Plan is being envisaged on a much larger scale than its predecessor, the basic pat of both Plans would seem to be closely sim in design.

One of the lessons of the history of in trial development in the developed countries been that massive industrialization has follo not preceded, the development of an agricult surplus. From the Second Plan onwards have, in this country, been according clearly higher priority to industrial develop which was further more heavily emphasized the Third Plan. One of the main reasons the failures of the Third Plan, even the Plann Commission have been compelled to admit, been the shortfalls in agricultural output the inflationary pressures generated by co mer vulnerability on this account. This i crucial lesson in planning essays that one c not afford to ignore or forget. Success of r industrialization for some few quinque yet, would be bound to crucially depend our ability to lay down a solid foundation adequate agricultural bases and a regime stable prices which must follow as an inevit consequence.

Another very important factor that must take into account also at the same tim this connection is the progressively attenua incentive for agricultural effort that has gradually eventuating out of the present era industrialization in this country. Even som the most highly developed countries of the have also been known to have suffered from progressively deteriorating incentive in agr ture. No official statistics of the existing di entials in the income of the agricultural and dustrial worker in this country is available privately undertaken study carried out in 195 that is at the end of the Second Plan, disc that while an agricultural worker with an age 5.2 dependents earned a gross Rs. 751 year an industrial worker with 3.8 depend earned Rs. 1,587.

(To be Conclu

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CRIME, CRIMINAL AND SOCIETY

By Dr. RAM AHUJA

HOUGH modern society has much advanced chnologically, the modern man has not been ble to conquer his problems of relationships with ther persons. As a society becomes more com- lex, man becomes increasingly plagued with ifficulties in his personal relationships. The re- tionships and the expectations of behaviour are gulated through social norms, social values and ltures and sub-cultures. As the groups with ifferent norms increase in a given society, an dividual is faced with divergent norms and roles verning life-situations. Consequently, he tends conform to the norms of the groups with which is more closely indentified and deviates from e norms of some other groups. Such deviation ists in every society but some deviant be- viour is approved, some tolerated and some sapproved. It is the disapproved deviant haviour that is called 'Crime.'

Whatever figures are given in a given ciety of such disapproved deviant behaviour present only a fraction of the actual extent of viance (or law-breaking) because the given imate is made solely on the basis of the ures known to the police. If an extensive and entific survey is conducted among the general blic, many persons will be found to have mmitted felonies and misdemeanours that might ve resulted in imprisonment. Thus a large mber of persons who commit criminal viola- ns are protected from detection and prosecution factors tending to prevent the official definition their behaviour as deviant or criminal. As an stration, take this example. A man catches servant stealing a ten-rupee note. This man er reprimands him or fires him off but er reports him to the police as a thief. Thus, ss the master presses the charge against the ant, the event never becomes criminologically ificant ; it remains merely a personal matter veen a worker and his employer. We have sands of such examples of tolerance of anti- al behaviour by the victims.

Socio-economic status of the offender is also of the factors that prevents the prosecution. Members of the upper class and upper-middle class are considerably more immune to official police and court action than are the members of lower-middle class and the lower class. A study by this author in March 1964 of 120 offenders selected at random from Central Jails of Jaipur and Jodhpur revealed that 89.4 per cent offenders come from lower class and lower-middle class, 6.1 per cent from upper-middle class and only 4.5 per cent from the upper class.

This shows that either the poor commit more offences than the rich or the rich are in a better position to corrupt or otherwise manipulate law enforcement agents.

This way, we get two types of criminals : criminal-in-fact and criminal-by-adjudication. Of the two, it is the latter that suffers most because he comes to be stigmatised for his criminality by the public at large. Stigmatization is a kind of social exiling, a mutual withdrawal of fellow feeling between the criminal and the ordinary citizen. To be a criminal, therefore, is to obtain a certain status conferred by others. It is not a state of mind. It further shows that an act of criminality is always an interpretation that can only be conjectured about in advance. It is this interpretation alone which confers the status of crime upon the act and the status of criminal upon the actor. In short, we can say that criminality should be viewed as a status that can be conferred and removed.

The question is what factor (s) assign such status ? To say that criminality is the result of mental immaturity and/or unsocialization is to fool oneself. If age is the index of mental maturity, then 7 out of every 10 adult offenders come from 22-40 years age-group and as such, in no case they can be called immature persons. The age-analysis of 120 offenders in two Central Jails of Jaipur and Jodhpur showed that 21.2 per cent offenders belonged to 16-20 years age-group, 51.4 per cent to 21-40 years age-group, 25.9 per cent to 41-60 years age-group and only 1.5 per cent were above 60 years of age. Similarly, the age analysis of the prisoners of the entire state of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rajasthan for four years (1959-60, 60-61, 61-62 & 62-63) revealed that 4.2 per cent were below 18 years of age, 13.0 per cent belonged to 18-22 years age-group, 64.7 per cent to 22-40 years age-group, 15.7 per cent to 40-60 years age-group and 2.4 per cent were above 60 years. This shows that criminals are not immature at least chronologically.

Similarly, if 'socialization' means acting as the 'functioning member of the society,' then the study of above-mentioned 120 offenders shows that 71.4 per cent were engaged in agriculture before crime, 12.1 per cent were labourers, 6.0 per cent were engaged in service, 4.5 per cent in business and 4.5 per cent in other petty occupations. Only 1.5 per cent were unemployed. Further, 95.5 per cent were convicted for the first time in their lives and only 4.5 per cent were habitual offenders, i.e., those who were convicted twice or more than two times. This shows that a wholly unsocialised criminal is an impossibility. In order to be effective, the criminal must be socialised to a considerable extent. His needs to avoid detection requires him to behave in ways that make him indistinguishable from others. The criminal who 'stands out' will arouse attention and be easily identified. Thus, the successful embezzler must be a more careful and scrupulous accountant than his honest fellow workers. The corrupt official needs more friends and well-wishers than the honest offical who having less to lose, can afford to make more enemies. For these and many other reasons, an offender has got to be the "functioning member of the society."

Crime, thus, in this context, may not be related to society but there are many other relations between crime and society. For example, it is the society that provides the criminal his opportunities and his victims. Out of 120 offenders, 6.1 per cent had committed crime due to personal factors (like physical defect, mental deficiency, over-sexuality, over-sensitivity etc.) and 93.9 per cent due to social factors. The social factors were poverty (9.1 per cent), family (7.5 per cent), illicit relations of partner with other (9.1 per cent), conflict over land, woman, money, elections etc. (40.9 per cent), bad company (6.1 per cent), conflict with social values and social institutions (9.1 per cent), enemity (7.5 per cent) and other factors (4.6 per cent).

Further, it was found that 29.7 per cent offences were premeditated and 70.3 per cent emotional. Thus, in a broader sense we can that it is the society which fashions the offend personality and shapes his motivations.

Let us try to go deeper in this point as to society makes available the motives and inc tives for criminal exploitation. This may be cussed in terms of relationship between Asp tion and Attainability or to be more exact terms of gap between aspirations and achiev goals.

As the result of the membership in the gro each person is assigned some status and r Further, as an individual, each person aspires achieve high goals. But society considers cer goals legitimate only for persons occupying appropriate roles and statuses and employing correct institutions i.e. approved ways for att ing them. We can say, in any given society, combination of four factors play an important r in status mobility (both in horizonatal and ver directions) : Initiative, abilities, chance social privileges and limitations. For example India only 16 years back, it was virtually imp sible for a person born to the Harijan statu become the President of the country, despite abilities and initiative. Or take the case of a yo boy and a young girl who are in love with other and aspire toward the goal of living each other as husband and wife. What is way acceptable to society for achieving such goal ? These young people have to attain t goal through the institution of marriage. this institution also imposes many conditions restrictions like those of caste restricti parental consent, age factor and so on. When couple cannot achieve their goal through institution, they elope, leave town and "liv sin." It is at this critical point that what-sh be and what-should-not-be clash, resulting deviant behaviour. Whenever thus, there is a between aspiration and its attainability, fru tions are created. The extent and the char of these frustrations would determine the e and the nature of crime in society.

The question here arises, this gap bet aspirations and achievements existed in the also, why then the rate of crime has incr in modern society ? Some people say, it is be the usual means of social control have det ated.; others say it is because there is no quate co-ordination among institutions ; others feel, it is because of industrial

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

democratic revolutions. But I have different feelings in this connection. I believe, (i) crime in modern society has not increased so tremendously as is claimed by so many people and (ii) the little increase is due to our orthodox, conservative and puritanical attitude towards the behaviour pattern of the individuals. I shall try to elaborate both the points.

When we try to look at the crime figures, say in the State of Rajasthan, we find that when the total number of offences committed in the State in 1949-50 was approximately 7,000, the number increased to 18,000 in 1955-56 and to 22,000 in 1962-63. How do we get these figures? From arrests, Court-cases, inmates in penal and correctional institutions and from those who are on probation and/or parole. These figures reveal that crime is increasing in the State every year. But is this increase actually so terrific? Table below, showing the number of *convicted males* in the various prisons of the State in 3 continuous years shows that the increase is not that significant.

Offence	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63
Theft	20.4%	18.0%	24.1%
Hurt	9.8%	13.3%	13.6%
Murder	5.0%	5.7%	8.1%
Vagrancy	9.0%	10.9%	8.0%
Robbery	2.5%	2.0%	1.7%
Dacoity	2.6%	2.3%	1.9%
Others	51.7%	47.8%	42.6%
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Thus, on the basis of the above figures and also borrowing Martin Neumeyer's view, we may say, the increase in Crime in Rajasthan in particular and modern society in general is due to :

(i) Multiplication of Central, State and local Government laws.

(ii) Expansion of law enforcement machinery and thereby multiplying the possibility of crime detection.

and (iii) Increase in tendency to use police and court facilities more extensively to settle minor difficulties which would formerly have been considered private matters. Even the disputes among the so-called primitive or tribal people which formerly were settled by their Gametis and Panchayats are brought these days to the courts.

Besides these reasons, our orthodox attitude toward peoples' changed behaviour is also responsible for the so-called increasing crime. Because of our relatively rigid attitude, various forms of conduct are forbidden and the violators are punished for acts that in fact should have been regarded as merely in 'bad taste!' The example cited earlier of the elopement of the boy and the girl and their marriage is its best example. Since no society has evolved means available to all status levels for the attainment of goals, it is impossible to root out crime from any society. At the most we can reduce the rate.

This creates yet another problem for us. What should be the method(s) for reducing criminal activities in a given society? Or, how should the criminals be reformed? The legalistic view is in favour of punishment for this purpose. Agreeing that the penological philosophy of the present is different from the penological philosophy of the past, we have to admit that even now the legalistic view of crime and criminals stresses the rigid application of law to all offenders. In teaching law to the students-of-law, the teachers teach that under a certain section a given punishment should be given to an offender. They never say, to an offender having committed offence under this section, this type of reformation be given. Here is its proof. Of the total offenders convicted in 1962-63, .01 per cent got death, 2 per cent transportation, 13 per cent were imprisoned, 80 per cent were fined, 1 per cent were released on probation, and 4 per cent were given other punishments.

In the case of imprisonment, the terms varied from one month to life-imprisonment. The study of the term of imprisonment of the *convicted males* (in the State of Rajasthan) for four years shows that about 72 per cent got less than 1 year imprisonment, 15.5 per cent between 1-3 years, 8 per cent between 3-10 years, 0.5 per cent above ten years and 4.0 per cent life imprisonment.

What strikes one most is the disparity in sentencing the two offenders having committed the same offences under the same situations. We find great inconsistency in the sentence of the offenders whose crimes and past records in crime are similar. In sentencing cases of similar gravity, even among judges there is no consensus. They reveal wide disparities. Whether their passions

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and prejudices are responsible for the disparity or it is due to some other factors, is difficult to say. Nevertheless this much can be said that the sentencing process is highly incongruent with the social conception of crime and criminal. The concern of the law is chiefly with the guilt of the individual and punishing the offender rather than reforming and rehabilitating him. The penalty is generally severe to outweigh the profit or pleasure that might otherwise accrue from criminal careers. It is assumed that the surest way to check crime-wave is to enforce all laws rigidly, regardless of the nature of the offenders.

This approach is very wrong. Punishment is not at all necessary for all the criminals. By this, I do not mean that punishment should be totally abolished. I believe (and strongly believe) that for *some* offenders, punishment is the only method of treatment. I shall try to explain this point more clearly. The offenders from the view-point of treatment, may be classified into six groups :

(i) *Injured* : They are those who have been "harmed against" by somebody in the society e.g. one whose wife has been seduced by another person, whose land has been usurped by his relatives, whose daughter has been criminally assaulted and so on. These people try to 'retaliate' because they have been 'injured.' Thus, 'revenge' in their cases may be described as their child-like attitude. Since they rationalise their retaliation, we may call these offenders as 'rationalistic' also. The deficiencies of such persons are of a personality sort. The prison term may be a good experience for these personality-warped criminals.

(ii) *Ideological* : The crimes of these types of offenders occur within a value framework totally different from robbery or murder. Their offences are ideologically motivated or 'value-laden' in the sense that they are core issues of civil rights or political and religious freedom in the society, e.g., killing of a sow by a Muslim (violation of Municipal law), conspiracy to overthrow Government etc. The temporary removal from social life may help some of such offenders to "go straight" but this cannot be a solution for all such offenders.

(iii) *Repentant* : These types of offenders repent after committing crimes. Should they, therefore, be denied the chance of becoming penitent ? After all, the worst punishment is that which man metes out to himself. It is very doubtful that the prisons can be penitentiaries for the

(iv) *Impulsive* : These offenders comm crimes in an emotional state of mind e.g. a perso who assaults his neighbour because he use abusive language against him. Offenders such these require simple punishment which may b far from being vindictive. Here the punishme acts as a deterrant and serves to be reformative

(v) *Egoistic* : There are those who fe neglected and cut off from the family and society. Every individual has the desire for re cognition, desire for expression and desire to b loved. When one fails in it, he reacts and act anti-socially. Take for example the case of woman who fails to get love and affection fro her husband. It is the right of women to b considered wanted and get unconditioned lov from their husbands. When that love is denied t them, they develop justifiable grievance an deviate from social norms. Punishment will hav no effect on such persons. What is required fo them is the sympathetic understanding an treatment.

(vi) *Reactionary* : i.e. those who have burrie resentment or repressed aggression. In this cas also, what is required is not the punishment bu the discovering of the aggression and releasin and redirecting it in the desired channels.

Knowing thus, that the different types o criminals require different treatment, diagnosis o every case is very essential. Unless we know th cause, how can we prescribe the treatment ? Th patient cannot be cured without the diagnosis o the disease. For finding out the correct treatmen for every diagonised offence, research is necessar One reputed criminologist has correctly pointe out : "It is remarkable that the society spend millions of dollars for the research needed in disease that touches less than 10,000 persons year and yet will spend practically nothing o research involving hundreds of thousands criminals who are now not able to be productiv members of society. It is as though the experts have arrived at the station called "Rehabilitation" while the mass of society is content with 'custody' —out of sight, out of mind—priding itself on ho civilized it is not to demand revenge."

But along with the diagnosis of the crimina the diagnosis of the victim should also be co sidered as extremely essential for the society Criminal and victim, both must be considered important subjects of criminology. A crime wi

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

out a victim is rare. In fact, unlike the criminologist, for a criminal, the victim is an object of constant study. The search for susceptible victims, for ways to exploit their vulnerability with the greatest possible immunity from detection or prosecution, is the perennial concern of the professional criminal. The criminologist should also take an equal interest, of course with a different frame of reference, in the victims, for the possibility of crime would vary directly with the availability of victims.

To sum up the important points in the paper, I may say that we should distinguish between crime and action-in-bad-taste and at the same time we should be equally interested in criminals-in-fact and criminals-by-adjudication, in offenders as well as in victims, in reformation as well as in punishment, in assigning the status of a criminal to a person as well as recognising the necessity of removing it under certain conditions. Stigma should not be eternal, the forfeited civil rights of the felons as well as misdemeanants should be entirely restored after a period of good behaviour.

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON INDIAN LANGUAGES :

By V. S. KUMAR

This article is written purely from the Philologists' point of view and is not meant to be an apology or a plea for the continued use of the English Language. To go a step further, it is the author's strong conviction that all languages flourish when mutually in contact acting as a catalyst, one on the other. A Philologist does not look upon any language as the property of a set of people, but on the other hand considers all languages as common human inheritance, which all, irrespective of colour, race or creed, have a right to enjoy.

A language is essentially a means of communication between two persons or two sets of peoples, and as long as this purpose is served, no language should be considered under any other pretext. A wise Professor once remarked that a language is like a rose garden which may belong to one individual but whose fragrance belongs to all irrespective of legal or other issues involved.

It is therefore irrational to demarcate rigidly peoples that speak different languages, and dogmatize on the issue, while here is such clamour for universal brotherhood and demolition of barriers. Language is, nevertheless, an emotional issue and to use it for any purpose other than a means of communication and understanding reveals blatant and basest political expediency. All that the author wishes to deplore is the crude way in which the languages are being used as tools to carve out transitory niches of power. In the hasty operation of bringing out a national language, if the umblical cord of English is cut too soon, the nation may be left with a still-born. Let a language be born naturally. Let it not be asphyxiated.

The theme of this article, as stated before, is to examine to what extent English has quickened the pace of the development of Indian languages to suit the technological society that we are trying to build. The preceding paragraphs were after all a necessary digression.

The advent of European traders, especially the English, was on all counts inauspicious for the various Indian States. The initiative in administration, commerce and arts was snatched away by the greedy European traders depriving the Indians of their just rights. As British power emerg-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ed and enriched the English nation it also produced great liberals, who brought in many reforms in England. Their interest extended to the empire, and they gave the subject nations the one blessing they could give, the fast evolving English language, by spreading English education.

The introduction of English education, though it was meant only to meet the growing demand for native clerks and petty officials, came as a great stimulant to the dormant intelligentsia in he country. To a nation that had lost its vitality, to a people who had long become disillusioned with their own ancient heritage, English came as a fresh breeze, a shot in the arm, a dose of vitamins. To the scholar who had withdrawn into himself and had become an habitual introvert, a new window was opened on a new world, a world where revolutionary changes were taking place, a world where ideas buzzed spreading sweetness and light. At least that is what it looked like to the minds that had starved for centuries.

While many aspired for English education to make a living, the few that mattered took to it to rejuvenate their minds. It is these few, who learned, assimilated and got ready to throw off the foreign yoke; they who built a new structure, made of freshly baked rationalism on the immemorial base of indigenous wisdom. To them we owe our freedom, our new concepts, our long needed reforms. This new English educated elite is too obvious to need illustration.

Coming at last to the Indian languages, what inroads have been made into them by English! Their approach to literary forms has undergone an incredible change. No more do poets write for ornamentation; nor under feudal patronage. No more do prose writers laboriously carve the literary puzzle. It is for the common man all of them write, as it should be. It is not the few rulers who are the subject matter. It is the man on the street whose feelings matter. It is his lot that is portrayed. It is to him the writer appeals. But for the reformist writers of nineteenth century where would our people be today? Thus it is the reformist zeal and the appeal to the masses that have lifted our society out of the worn out ruts and placed it on a new road. C cannot over-emphasise the role English played in this remarkable transformation ideas and their creators.

With the advent of English educa came, the beginnings of industrial revolu in this country. Here too the motives w selfish but what a base it has given to ideal of fast industrialisation today! I the English who built our rail-roads, quickened our communication systems, gave us a nucleus for our growing armie scientists and technicians. The west philosophy of materialism based on scie and technology, though dissected with tempt by our so-called pure thinkers, come to stay. What is more, we despera need it today to liberate our long suffe masses to give them all the basic necessi to make them literate, to breathe life their minds and thus liberate their so The words of scientific or industrial or so commonly used by our people today their birth to the new concepts that Eng brought to our country. Our langua have become enriched and will grow fur on their own as long as we do not cut their nourishment completely. It is in context that a western language beco indispensable. And there is no other lan age to suit our purposes better than Eng with which we are already on intim terms, and which many of us cherish our own. And what opportunities it given us to expound our own philoso and give them a place of pride among various civilizations. To those of us were blind to our own rich heritage, En came as an eyeopener renewing our fait our ancient land. Thus the renaiss wrought by English not only sustained faith in ourselves but gave us an oppo nity to look at other people and their i

Those who accuse the English know few of having vested interests perpet this unjustified charge by discouraging many from learning this internati medium. It should be inquired into the English knowing run most of administration, and if it is found that minority is able to assimilate more i then all the people should be encourag

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

take to English learning. Those who dissuade people from learning a foreign language are doing the greatest injustice to the nation by keeping the majority in ignorance. The fact that incredible numbers of people seek education in English proves that they are eager for new realms and new ideas. A comparison here may not be out of place. English is the engine that pulls the people in the train and along with it carries the guard's van, the safe-guarding mother-tongue.

II

The first part of this article discusses, only in a general way, the reactions of various aspects of Indian life to English and makes a plea for the banishment of prejudice and blindness to sustain the growth of Indian languages through contacts with foreign languages like English. This part deals more with the actual changes and expansion in the vocabulary of Indian languages. For purposes of easy reading the vocabulary cited is placed under different aspects of life in a modern society.

Food: Soda, Drink, Cool drink, Colour (Coloured Soda or aerated water) are commonly used even by the most illiterate people in many parts of the country. Under the same category can be mentioned plate, cup, saucer, glass (usually glass vessel or tumbler, which also denotes any drinking vessel made of copper, brass, stainless steel etc.)

Fruit Salad, (usually mispronounced as well as misspelt in many a hotel or restaurant as fruit solid), Ice and Icecream.

Hotel, Lodge, Lodging, Boarding, Server (i.e., waiter or one who serves food), Cleaner (a word common in both hotel and automobile industries).

Coffee, Tea (common in the South only), Biscuit, Rusk, Cake, Bread (not very common), Sweet, Chocolate (pertains to toffees also). One can add many more, but the above mentioned are most common.

Communication and Transport: Post Mail), Post Office, Post Card, Cover (Postal Cover), Telephone, Money-order, Registered Cover, Parcel etc.), Air-Mail, Express delivery, Sea-Mail, Stamp, Postman, Postmaster. Train, Compartment, Berth, Reservation are commonly used by the educated classes. Rail is most common, and is used in different corrupt forms in different languages, such as Railgadi in Hindi, Railbandi or Vandi (pronounced Rilu) in the South.

Engine, Driver, Fireman, Signal, Platform, Guard, Linesman are universally used. Coolie is frequently used for porter. Trolley is another common word. So are Booking-office, Ticket-Collector, Station-Master etc.

Aerodrome, Aeroplane or Plane are frequently used by the educated classes. Pilot, Navigator, Air Hostess, Runway, Signal tower are very popular words.

In road transport Lorry, Car, Bus, Driver and Cleaner are invariably used. So are words like Horn, Petrol, Tyre, Axle, Seat etc. Road is used without exception but variously pronounced, even though all Indian languages have well-known equivalents like Rasta in Hindi or Theru in Tamil (it also denotes street).

Van has no equivalent unless something has been artificially invented.

Radio is universally common and with the phenomenal increase in its popularity is used even in the remotest villages. So are Gramaphone and record (gramaphone record).

Music, dance and drama are frequently used though they have well-known equivalents. Cinema and Cinema Hall, Touring Cinema and Film are not strange words to even the villagers.

Hero, Heroine, Actor, Director, Music Director make-up, are also well-known words. So are sound, scene and reel.

Education: School and college are popular though they have equivalents. Headmaster, Principal are used without exception. Desk, Blackboard, Duster and Chalk Piece are popular. So is Bell (the School Bell). Lecturer, Demonstrator, Tutor, Quarterly, Half-yearly, Annual (pertaining to examinations) are used without any inhibition. Laboratory and Library are usually mispronounced either by swallowing the syllables or shortening them.

Composition, Geometry, Algebra, Optional, Scale, Balance, Test tube, Beaker, Jar, Gas, Margin, Experiment, Chemistry, Physics, Biology or Natural Science, Logic,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

History, Economics, Home Science Medicine, Engineering, Doctor, Engineer, Professor, Reader and so many other words are so well-known that it is better to leave them to the reader himself to enumerate.

Commerce, Administration and Judiciary: It is curious that though English began its conquest through Commerce, very few commercial words have been borrowed by the Indian Languages. Probably the fact that commerce was already highly developed in India before the British came, made the Indians spurn any English Commercial words. There are, however, a few words that have been borrowed.

Stock-Exchange, Corporation, Board, Director, Shares, Bank, Insurance, Account, Trust, Deposit, Pass-Book, Cheque, Bill, Purchase Officer, Accountant, Cashier etc.

Administration and Judiciary have given many more words to the Indian Languages: Government, Governor, Minister, Secretary, District Collector, Sub-Collector, Revenue, Revenue Divisional Officer (more commonly known as R.D.O.), District Medical Officer (D.M.O.), Resident Medical Officer (R.M.O.) District Superintendent of Police (D.S.P.) Inspector, Sub-Inspector, Constable, Guard, Registrar, Sub-Registrar.

Municipality, Municipal Corporation, Mayor, Commissioner Health Officer, Municipal Chairman, Panchayat President (an excellent example of combining local language with English).

President (the Hindi equivalent Rashtrapati is gradually gaining currency), Parliament, Assembly, Council (legislative council), Speaker, Marshal, Whip, in spite of foisting the Hindi equivalents, are very popularly used.

Words like Calendar and all the English names for months are used without exception.

General: There are any number of words that are unconsciously used because of their utility and their longstanding usage.

Let us take a house. One opens the **gate** and rings the **bell.** The **light** under the porch is **switched** on. The **passenger** pays the **taxi-driver,** and asks his servant to carry the **suitcase** inside. He himself carries the **hold-all.** He sits on the **sofa** and asks for a **cup of coffee.** He asks for the **fan** to be **switched on.** He picks up a ne**paper,** scans it and asks for the latest pa(newspaper). He removes his **coat** takes out his **purse** (money purse) and He goes to the **typewriter** and types a le He puts it in a **cover** and seals it. He the servant to use the **cycle** (bicycle) to g the **post-box.** He goes to the **tap** or pu(used as a synonym for tap) and ha wash. He uses a **soap** (soap has many v ations in the Indian languages like sabu Hindi and Kannada or Sabbu in Telu He then wipes his face with a to (Indianised into Taval, Tuvvalu etc.). removes his **Banian** and looking at him in the mirror tells his wife that he m soon go to a **Hair-cutting Saloon.** He s he is not hungry and asks his wife f **plate** of bread and a **glass** of **juice.**

Next morning he shaves using a r and a **blade** (razor blade). He puts hair on his hair and combs his hair. He coffee and **tiffin** and gets ready to g **office.** He **telephones** the office that he be **late.** He goes to the **bus-stop** and w for the **bus.**

Well, this story has apparently no but it will be interesting to find out many English words we use ordinarily our daily lives.

It will, of course, be far-fetched to that one cannot speak in his own ton without using English words. It is much possible and requires not much o effort. What concerns us here is the that a person, when he is not conscious his speech is being observed, unconscio uses a number of English words whethe their pure form or in a slightly Indian form. One need not be and there should not be ashamed of this fact. If Indian languages are gradually becom enlarged to suit the needs of a technolo society it should please everyone that a thing is happening, irrespective of ther words are being borrowed left right from English or Russian or Frenc any other language. When two langu or more come into contact there is m benefit all round. A chain reaction se

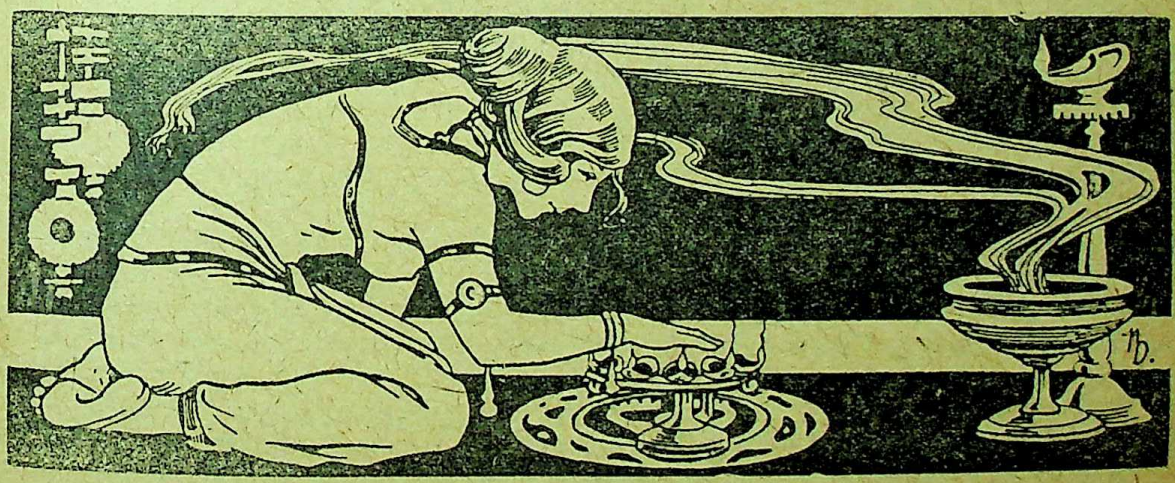
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and all the languages are enriched because of this reaction. (There is an interesting book "Indian words in English" by Late Subba Rao of Andhra University published by Oxford University Press.)

Hindi will one day, because of its increasing contacts with English and other foreign tongues, in addition to its connections with the other Indian languages, grow in stature and suitability and will be accepted without hesitation as the common language of all Indians. Perhaps during this process, which may take sometime, English would have become so common among the nations of the world that it may be officially accepted by all as an international medium.

We, who aspire to live as equals among other nations, should therefore cultivate our national language as well as the international language (which is already familiar to us) to occupy our rightful place in the world.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indian Periodicals

Nuclear Deterrence

Chakravarti, C. Rajagopalachari writing in the *Indian Review*, under the above caption has discussed the problem of nuclear deterrence in the context of the Chinese atomic fission which would seem to have vital relevance to current Indo-Chinese relations :

As soon as the Chinese atom bomb exploded, Mr. Frank Moraes sent three questions through his Chief Reporter in Madras and asked for my views. Here are the questions and the answers that I gave.

In the context of China emerging as an atomic Power in the East, in the light of the relation between India and China, is it an absolute essential of defensive strategy that India should also make use of her resources to produce and stockpile atom bombs ?

In the context of Indian economy, can manufacture and stockpiling of atom bombs be undertaken as part of defence build-up without affecting our planning in other directions ?

Ans : I am clearly of opinion, along with most of the enlightened men and women of the world that we should not seek to become a nuclear Power and produce atomic bombs. Neither does our economy permit such an undertaking even if it were sensible.

What is the best deterrent that India should think of in its defence strategy against China ?

Ans : So far as I can think and see, the best and only deterrent that India should think of in its defensive strategy is a clear Treaty Alliance against China with those Powers of the world who are firmly ranged against Communist aggression. This means that we should reverse our fatuous policy of 'non-alignment' which only amounts to standing alone in our defence, contented with hire-and-purchase arms from the West. We should also no longer think of undertaking experiments of building up our military strength by means such as would involve infiltration in our defence establishments of dangerous elements pledged to communism. We should no longer imagine safety in distinction between Russia and China af the exit of Khrushchev. This exit is expla able only on the ground of a determi plan on the part of Soviet Russia, to reun ideologically as well as strategically, w China. We should therefore reverse agreement about MIG production, which am sure, will not be objected to and n even be welcomed by the new Soviet G ernment.

If we do not take immediate steps entering into Treaty Alliance with the W we may escape Chinese aggression by rea of China's own unilateral decision to abs from it now ; but we will surely have accept Chinese hegemony in Asia.

These are my considered answers to questions put by Mr. Frank Moraes. Dr. J. Bhabha, our nuclear expert, says am other things what, as reported in the pr means this : that the best deterrent aggressive thoughts in a nuclear enemy the possession of power to answer wit retaliatory nuclear bomb. Dr. Bhabha gives a tempting cheap estimate for acq ing a bomb of comparatively low pow This reasoning and these estimates have be supplemented with a psychological ment of importance. The possession of nuc power by itself will not act as a deter on the mind of an enemy when he kn that the people against whom he is ploi will not be willing to commit mass mur and destroy civilisation, though they have the power to do so. A despe enemy has thus an advantage in being r less, over-populated and hungry.

The only true and safe line for I to take is not the acquiring of some th rate nuclear capacity to brandish aga China, but to think out the far more effec and silent deterrent of co-operative w power, acquired by treaty with the What China would then face is not pa loss or damage to which it may easily concile itself, but something more terr which it would really not like or want. should give up the idle anti-America

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and think things out more realistically, applying not only arithmetical and physical truths but taking into account the far more important psychological elements. All that has happened hitherto, and the danger that China means to us, can lead only to one policy in respect of our defence—to a firm Treaty Alliance with the Western Powers. It is only this that will act as a deterrent of Chinese aggression and also restrain, if not resolve, Pakistan's adverse attitude towards India.

It may be easy enough to make a bomb or two, but it will surely lead to a race in nuclear armaments which our economy cannot support. It is unnecessary to go into the moral aspect of such a policy, which is contrary to all our sworn principles.

———

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, Hongkong, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can redress the pernicious influence of evil planets, help to win difficult law suits, ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent child lessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness.



(Jyotish-Samrat)

Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji

WONDERFUL TANTRIK BLESSINGS BENEFITED MILLIONS ALL OVER THE GLOBE

Dhanada grants vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity, honour and fame in life. Puja expenses ordinary Rs. 7.62 nP. Special Rs. 29 69 nP. Super-Special Rs. 129.69 nP.. **Bagalamukhi** to overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in services and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials, it is unparalleled. Puja expenses: Ordinary Rs. 9.12 nP. Special Rs. 34.12 nP.. Super-special Rs. 184.25 nP. **Mohini** : Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Puja expenses: Ordinary Rs. 11.50 nP., Special Rs. 34.12 nP, Super-special Rs. 387.87 nP. **Saraswati** : For Success in examination gain of retentive powers and sharp memory. Puja expenses : Ordinary Rs. 9.56 nP., Special Rs. 38.56.

A few names of admirers—The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court. Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt. The Hon'ble Chief Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Orissa High Court. The Hon'ble Minister, Government of Bengal. Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot. The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh and Ex-president of the Bengal Legislative Council. Sir Monmatha Nath Roy Chowdbury, Kt. His Highness the Maharaja of Athgarh. Her Highness the Dowager Sixth Maharani Saheba of Tripura. Her Highness the Maharani Saheba of Cooch Behar. Mrs. F. W. Gillesple, Detriot, Mich, United States of America. Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China. Mr. J. A. Lawrence. Osaka Japan & many others.

Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request.

Estd. 1907] ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY [Regd

Head Office & Residence : 50-2. (M.R.) Dharamtola St., "Jyotish Samrat Bhaban" (Entrance on Wellesly St.), Calcutta-13. Phone: 24—4065. Consultation hours : 5 P.M. to 7 P.M.

Branch Office ;—105, Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Calcutta-5. Consultation hours, 9—11 A.M. Phone: 55—3685.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Foreign Periodicals

Notes on the American Election

Norman Cousins in a signed editorial in the *Saturday Review*, under the above legend discusses the significance of the Presidential election in the U.S. and Johnson's unprecedented victory in the context of current world political trends which would prove deeply instructive :

What makes the 1964 Presidential campaign so fascinating is that it is constructed like a play, with all the characters revealing more and more about themselves as the plot progresses. This holds not only for the leading candidates but for the American people themselves. A situation exists that has forced all the elements of the nation to ask themselves what it is they really believe about their past, about the future of a free society, and about the kind of men they want to make their decisions small or large.

What the American people have revealed about themselves in the current campaign, as Henry Brandon comments in his department in this issue, is that they don't panic easily or rush hither and yon to the sound of new drums. They have also revealed that there is far more connective tissue than anyone had supposed tying together the vast economic and social sectors of the nation. It has always been clear that in the presence of a foreign emergency, the country knew how to unite. But it has not been clear until now that a genuine internal test could cause the nation to erase so many of the lines of separation that add up to the pluralism of the whole.

The American people may also be revealing something else about themselves in the current campaign. And that is that they associate the Presidency with a certain largeness of spirit, the ability of a leader to see and soar far beyond party and political compartments to the human condition at its biggest. Almost three-quarters of a century ago, Lord Bryce pointed out that the distinguishing feature of the American Presidency was that the President was expected to voice the aspirations of common people all over the world. Stated in these terms, the requirement tends to sound somewhat rhetorical, even grandiose. But the expectation is real nevertheless ; the great names in the White House have always been associated not with towering political measures or achievements but with a point of view about the possibilities of a human being and about human destiny in general. Moreover, the American people are wary of cynicism and negativism as ingredients in the making of the nation's future.

As for the candidates, an interesting juxtaposition has emerged. As the campaign has progressed, President Johnson has enlarged his identity and Senator Goldwater seems to have lost his. President Johnson's image had been somewhat blurred as a *natural* consequence of his elevation rather than election to the office, but he has become increasingly tangible and identifiable as a leader and thinker. Senator Goldwater, on the other hand, seems to be increasingly diffused and obscured by a series of roles that have been superimposed upon him to fit the occasion—the occasion being quite different from the one that led to the nomination. His natural free-swinging, hard-hitting, somewhat cynical style seemed to be well suited for the militant battle for convention delegate support and for becoming known to the populace. But that convention style didn't quite suggest the role of a statesman who could unify the country by making a genuine identification with all its main segments. Nor did it suggest qualities of restraint and sensitivity in a time of unlimited and suicidal power.

As a result, the Senator as President candidate is substantially different from the Senator as pre-convention campaigner. The old directness and sense of conviction are still there, but the basic manner is now modest and soft-spoken. The ideas, too, have been substantially modified. Now there is an identification with many of the policies of the same General Eisenhower who was vilified so pitilessly by many of the Senator's earliest supporters.

This is not to say that the Senator's

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

have stayed in pre-convention character. If he had, the Republican Party today would be even more fractured than it is and the prospects for a successful election even blacker than they are. The lesson to be learned from the 1964 Presidential campaign is that the time to think about a candidate's basic identification and posture is before the nomination, not after. It should be clear that the strong candidate is one who can appeal to and create a consensus, who can give people a lift instead of a sinking feeling, who has exciting ideas about the making not only of a better nation but a better world. Another lesson to be learned is that it is not enough to run on a political and philosophical program calling for the repeal of legislation. The job of the President, as John Stuart Mill pointed out, is to become the spearhead of an ongoing legislative program, recognizing that the formation of legislative proposals is not a task for which a legislature is primarily suited.

As we say, it has been a fascinating campaign. It has provided the American people with more than emotional catharsis; it has been an energizing process and an adventure in self-discovery.

———

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

BENGALI FOLK-BALLADAS FROM MYMENSING AND THE PROBLEMS OF THEIR AUTHENTICITY : *By Dusan Zbavitel. University of Calcutta, 1963. 261 Pages. Price Rs. 12/-.*

A grant from the UNESCO made it possible for the author to undertake this piece of research. The fitness of the project to receive support from an international kind could be presumed. The scholar was a Czech, the problem to be investigated into was one of Bengali literature, and the findings were to be published in a book in English. The results of the study embodied in this book show that the UNESCO made no mistake in choosing either the scholar or the subject of study. There are other international features about the book. Whereas the ballads belonged to a region which is now part of East Pakistan, this study on them has been published by the premier university of West Bengal. Incidentally, this is in the fitness of things, for it was the University of Calcutta which made the hitherto unknown ballads available to scholars and lovers of literature by publishing the whole lot forty years ago.

Dinesh Chandra Sen, the then Professor of Bengali at Calcutta University published in his four volumes of "Maimansingha Gitika' (ballads from Mymensingh), 55 epic songs, collected mostly by Chandra

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kumar De and principally from Mymensingh District. From the very beginning, doubts about their authenticity have been entertained by even serious scholars. As indicated by the sub-title, one of the purposes of the study undertaken by Dr. Zbavitel was to examine this question. The grounds of suspicion were several; For example, the dialect as given in the printed text is not to the full extent the dialect spoken in Mymensingh; the ballads are no longer sung in that District though not many years have elapsed since the supposed discovery; they are completely devoid of all religious influence whereas all literature in Bengal upto the modern age has been religious in character. The author has examined thoroubhly the arguments and has given convincing reasons in support of his own belief that they are genuine folk literature and are from Mymensingh region. It is nice to know that the unbiased opinion of this foreign scholar is against any theory of fraud on the part of the discoverer, Chandra Kumar De, or the editor, Dinesh Chandra Sen. Though belated, unstinted gratitude is now owing to these two pioneers from all who cherish love for Bengali literature.

The rest of the book is a study of the literary merits of the ballads. The secular or modern spirit of the ballads, a factor which caused some scholars to suspect their genuineness, gives them a special value. The author has analysed the themes of the ballads, compared their common features, and has examined the similes and metaphors used in the ballads. His knowledge of folk literature of other countries lends weight to his assessment. This little book is a very valuable addition to the rather small number of critical books on Bengali folk literature.

A. K. DATTA

FOUR CHOLA TEMPLES: *By S. R. B. subrhmanyan, sponsored by Bhulabhai Memo Institute, Bombay, text pages, 59, 3 Appe 54 illustrations, Published by N. M. Tripathi vate Ltd. Bombay, 1963. Price Rs. 10/-.*

The Author, formerly Superintendent Archaeology, Southern Circle, has in this ex lently produced volume—made a distinguis contribution to the Study of Architecture Sculpture of South India during the Chola pe (850-1270 A.D.). The development is trace a scholarly manner, based on the data of ins tions, dividing the topic in three periods, E Middle and Late, with an Appendix giving Geneology of the Cholas. This illuminating vey has been accomplished on the basis of study of Four of the Chola Temples—As poi out by Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer—in his I duction. The scholarly analysis and a numbe well reproduced Illustrations make the wor valuable addition to the artistic and relig history of South India. The so-called "Pan Phase" in Chola Art, claimed by a French s lar has been successfully refuted—in this documented study. One of the great merit Chola Art—is the excellent use of relief scul intimately woven—into the Architectural desi first illustrated in the earlier Pallava tem The outstanding examples—are cited in se reliefs of Shiva, Subramanya, Rishi Agasty Onomaya Maharshi. Three metal images typical specimens of which, a Bhairava is a type. We have nothing but high praise—for work—which reflects great credit on the Au and the Publisher.

O. C.

Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

Printed and published by Kalyan Das Gupta, Prabasi Press Private Limited, 77/2/1, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE PRABASI

INDIA'S LEADING BENGALI MONTHLY

Advertisement Rates For Single Insertion

ORDINARY POSITION	Rs. P.
Ordinary Full Page	100.00
" " Half-page or one column	60.00
" " Quarter page or half-column	35.00
" " One-eighth page	20.00
Page next to and or opposite contents	125.00
Ditto half-page	75.00
Ditto quarter-page	45.00
Ditto one-eighth page	30.00

SPECIAL POSITIONS

Full Page facing second page of the cover	150.00
" Page facing third page of the cover	140.00
" Page facing last page of the reading matter	140.00
" Page facing back of the Frontispiece	155.00
Ditto half-page	80.00

POSITION WITHIN READING MATTER

Full Page	180.00
Half-page	95.00
Quarter page	50.00
" col.	30.00

Space within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

COVERS	Rs. P.
First page of the cover (1"x6")	190.00
Second page of the cover	200.00
Third page of the cover	175.00
Fourth page of the cover **(One-colour)**	225.00
(Bi-colour)	275.00
(Tri-colour)	350.00

SUPPLEMENT size 8"x6" (to be Printed and supplied by the advertiser)

8 pages (or 4 slips) ...	400.00
4 pages (or 2 slips) ...	250.00
2 pages (or 1 slip) ...	150.00

MECHANICAL DETAILS & OTHER PARTICULARS

Type area of a full page	8"x6"
" " " half pgae	4"x6"
Number of columns to a page	2
Length of a column	8"
Breadth of a column	3"
Type area of half-column	4"x3"
" " " quarter-column	2"x3"

Stereos and screen blocks (65 screen) are accepted.
Matrices or unmounted blocks are not accepted.

PRABASI PRESS PRIVATE LIMITED
77/2/1 Dharamtala Street. Calcutta-13

THE MODERN REVIEW

Subscription : Payable in Advance.

Annual — Inland	:	Rs. 15.00
" — Foreign	:	Rs. 24.00
	:	
Half-yearly—	:	
— Inland	:	Rs. 8.00
— Foreign	:	Rs. 13.00

(Advance Payment. Rates are inclusive of postage)

On V.P.P. order—V.P.P. Charges—extra

16 Single Issue :
Inland : Rs. 1.25

Cheque on Banks outside Calcutta are not accepted.

If regular subscribers do not renew their subscriptions and/or send stop-orders in due time, the next issue after the expiary of their current subscriptions, will be sent per V.P.P. —assuming their willingness to continue.

Complaints of non-receipt of any issue of the Modern Review—must reach our office by the 15th of the month in question—and in all cases the *Subscriber Number must be quoted.*

Terms for News Agents :—On application : (minimum 5 copies of the Modern Review per month—should be ordered. Special Rates for 20 or more copies per month—on advance payment.

Manager
THE MODERN REVIEW

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW Price : India and Pakistan Re. 1.25 P. Registered No. C472
Subscription—Ind. & Pak. Rs. 15.00, Foreign Rs. 24.00, Single copy Rs. 2.00 or equivalent

CITY BOOK SOCIETY

THE PIONEER PUBLISHERS OF ILLUSTRATED JUVENILE LITERATURES

Books of Late Jogendra Nath Sircar entertained & enlightened the Children of Bengal
&
Enthused Lakhs of Non-Bengali Children to learn Bengali.

Hasi Khusi I
99th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Hasi Khusi II
38th Edn. — Re. 0.80
The two most outstanding books to learn Bengali)

Mojar Galpa
25th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Asare Swapna
18th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Ranga Chhabi
31st Edn. — Re. 0.80

Khelar Sathi
27th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Chhabir Bai
25th Edn. — Re. 0.70

Bane Jangale
9th Edn. — Rs. 5.00

Galpa Sanchaya
5th Edn. — Rs. 4.50

Khukumanir Chhara
17th Edn. — Rs. 3.50

Chhabi -O- Galpa
19th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

Chhotoder Chiriakhana
7th Edn. — Re. 1.87

Hasi Rasi
33rd Edn. — Re. 1.40

Chhotoder Ramayana
36th Edn. — Re. 1.12

Chhotoder Mahabharat
36th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

CITY BOOK SOCIETY
64, College Street
Calcutta—12.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The MODERN REVIEW

23-2-65

VOL. CXVII, No. 2 WHOLE No. 698

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

The U. S. And Indian Revolutionary Activity: Early Phase of the Gadar Movement
—Prof. Kalyan K. Banerjee

Relations Between The Civil Service And The Ministry
—Prof. V. Lingamurthy

The Fourth Plan Memorandum: An Assessment
—Karuna K. Nandi

The MacMahon Line
—S. S. Bhattacharya

T. S. Eliot: Interpreter of The Intellectual Crisis
—Prof. B. K. Nimkar

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

FEBRUARY—1965

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

For

PRINTING THAT TELLS

CONTACT

PRABASI
PRESS
(Private)
Ltd.

Prints in 3 Languages
English, Bengali & Devnagri.
77/2/1 DHARAMTALLA STREET
CALCUTTA-13

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Why do I need Life Insurance?

My job pays me a good salary. I live with my parents. I'm in good health, and well trained. One day I hope to marry. And I will keep on working, as many married girls do these days...

True, young lady! Life is wonderful *now*. That's why *now* is the time to ensure your future happiness, too! You can easily afford to pay small premiums towards a Life Insurance policy—an excellent form of saving! And, the money will come in useful for your *own* children, won't it?

There is no substitute for

LIFE INSURANCE

CAS/LIC-40

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. CXVII. No. 2 CONTENTS FOR FEBRUARY, 1965 WHOLE No. 698

	Page
NOTES	81
CURRENT AFFAIRS—Karuna K. Nandi	87
THE U.S.A. AND INDIAN REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY—Kalyan Kumar Banerjee	97
RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CIVIL SERVICE AND THE MINISTRY IN OUR PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY—V. Lingamurty	102
THE FOURTH PLAN MEMORANDUM: AN ASSESSMENT—Karuna K. Nandi	108



MILES AHEAD
in quality and performance

Commanding the highest sale in India, *Sulekha* to-day, caters to an expanding export market earning thereby valuable foreign exchange for the country.

SERVING AT HOME AND ABROAD

Sulekha range of products includes: ADSOL Paste & Gum, Sealing Wax (SIKURITI), PENSOL, STAMP PADS, INKS for writing, stencilling, stamping, marking, etc.

PRO/SW—.8

Sulekha
FOUNTAIN PEN Special
INK
Available in
BLUE BLACK ● ROYAL BLUE ● BLACK & BROWN

a product of SULEKHA WORKS LTD.
Sulekha Park, Calcutta : 32
INDIA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BOOKS TO TREASURE

	Rs. P.
N. Y. G. Society—Indian Miniatures	125.00
UNESCO—India: Paintings from Ajanta Caves	104.00
Govt. Publ.—Drawings and Paintings of Rabindranath Tagore ..	25.00
Harle—Temple Gateways in South India	76.00
Kramrisch—Indian Sculpture ..	50.00
Agrawala—The Heritage of Indian Art: (A Pictorial Presentation)	25.00
Randhawa—Basohli Painting ..	35.00
Randhawa—Kangra Paintings of the Bhagavata Purana	30.00
Carell—Hitler's war on Russia	36.00
Irving—The Mare's Nest (German Secret Weapons and British Counter Measures)	40.00
O'Ballance—The Indo-China War, 1945-54	28.00
O'Ballance—The Red Army of China	24.00
O'Ballance—The Red Army ..	24.00
Evans Lt. Gen.—The Johnnies ..	24.00
Emme—The Impact of Air Power	62.50
Knorr and Read—Limited Strategic War	26.00
Thayer—Gurrella	20.00
Manvell and Fraenkel—The July Plot	24.00
Johnson—The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries ..	54.40
Garthoff—Soviet Strategy in the Nuclear Age	46.40
Huie—The Hiroshima Pilot ..	24.00
Huie—Indian Armed Forces Year Book 1962-63 (De-luxed) ..	20.00
Churchill—The Second World War in 12 vols	48.00

	Rs. P.
Gwyer—Grand Strategy 2 Vols.	68.00
Bonham-Carter—Soldier True (Biography F. M. Robertson) ..	40.00
Campbell—The Siege (Story from Kohima)	12.00
Wignall—Prisoner in Red Tibet ..	14.40
Mao Tse-Tung and C. Guevara—Guerrilla Warfare	16.00
Hoehling—The Week Before Pearl Harbour	16.80
Carew—The Vanished Army ..	28.80
Taylor—The Sky Beyond	24.00
Keats—They Fought Alone ..	28.00
Clark—Impatient Giant (Red China Today)	16.80
Tuker—Approach to Battle ..	40.00
Moye and Goodman—With the M.C.C. in Australia 1962-63 ..	16.80
Gee—The Wild Life of India (Illustrated	24.00
The Mountain World 1964 ..	28.80
O' Neill—Ins and Outs	20.00
Moyes—The Changing Face of Cricket	20.00
Karan and Jenkins—The Himalayan Kingdom: Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal	7.25
The World of Camera (Illustrated) ..	76.00
Tom Hustler on Photography ..	20.00
Photography Year Book 1965 ..	30.00
Gibbons—Simplified Stamp Catalogue 1965	30.00
Stuart and Gelder—The Timely Rain: Travels in New Tibet ..	40.00
Henfrey—The Gentle People ..	28.00
Landstrom—The Quest for India (Illustrated)	84.00
Hitler—Mein Kampf	41.70

Available at

THE MODERN BOOK DEPOT

(CLASSIFIED LIST ON REQUEST) (SPECIAL DISCOUNT TO LIBRARIES)

9, Chowringhee Centre Calcutta-13 ● G. S Road Shillong ● Nehru Road Darjeeling

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONTENTS—(Continued)

Pag

ALLAN OCTAVIAN HUME AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE CONGRESS—S. Gopalakrishna 12

PERES de CAVILHAO—Zulfikar 12

TENSIONS IN PLANNED ECONOMIC GROWTH—C. D. Wadhva 12

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE SOVIET MILITARY AID—Krishna Nath Sharma 12

THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA—Durlabh Chandra Bhattacharyya 13

ANCIENT INDIA AND THE DAWN OF SCIENCE—Arun Kumar Biswas 13

THE McMAHON LINE—S. S. Bhattacharya 14

A NOTE ON THE U.P. ZILA PARISHAD ORDINANCE OF 1963—Brahma Bharadvaja 1

T.S. ELIOT : THE INTERPRETER OF THE INTELLECTUAL CRISIS—B. K. Nimkar 14

REVIEW OF ACADEMY EXHIBITION—Prof. O. C. Gangoly 15

INDIAN PERIODICALS— 15

FOREIGN PERIODICALS— 15

BOOK REVIEWS— 15

আপনার পণ্যের

প্রচারে

প্রবাসী

প্রকৃষ্ট

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

MODERN REVIEW

GOES TO PEOPLE
WHO COUNT
AND
ARE YOUR
BEST BUYERS

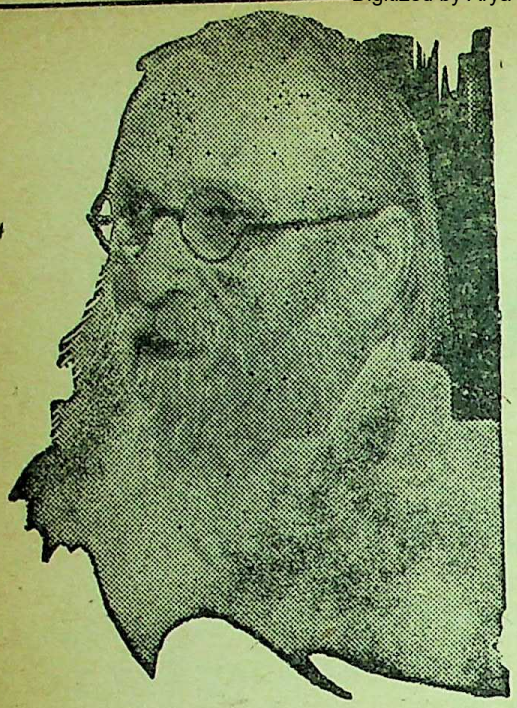
ADVERTISE IN THE MODERN REVIEW

and Reap
the Best of
RESULTS

For particulars:
Contact — **The Manager**
77/2/1 DHARAMTALA STREET, CALCUTTA - 13

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



ভারতমুক্তিসাধক

রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় ও অর্দ্ধশতাব্দীর বাংলা

শ্রীশান্তা দেবী প্রণীত

প্রাপ্তিস্থান : সিটি বুক সোসাইটী

৬৪, কলেজ ষ্ট্রীট কলিকাতা

সিলেক্ট পাব্লিকেশন্সের

একটি অপূর্ব্ব উপহার-গ্রন্থ

অনেকগুলি তিনরঙা পাতাজোড়া ছবি এবং প্রায়
পাতায় পাতায় একরঙা ছবি সঙ্কলিত

খাঁচা নেই যে চিড়িয়াখানায়

(লেখক—শ্রীসুধাংশুকুমার চৌধুরী)

গল্পের মতই চিত্তাকর্ষক এবং জন্তুজানোয়ারদের
শিক্ষাপ্রদ বিবরণ।

দাম —সাড়ে তিন টাকা।

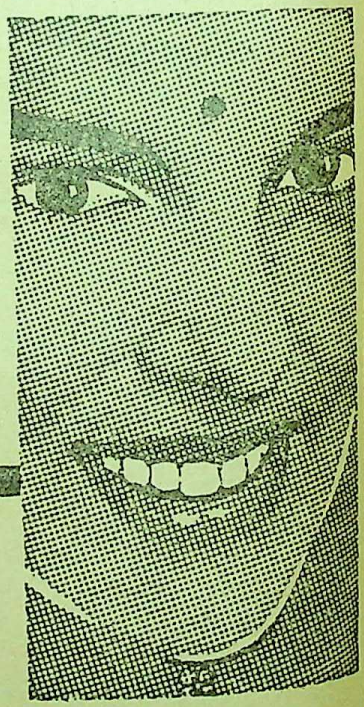
প্রাপ্তিস্থান : সিটি বুক সোসাইটী

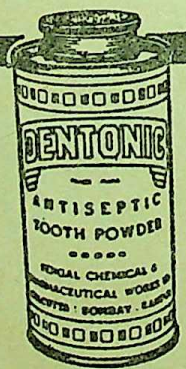
৬৪, কলেজ স্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা-১২

How Sparkling

Pearly white teeth give charm and glamour to a winning smile. You, too, can be the proud possessor of beautiful shining white teeth and healthy gums by following the simple 'DENTONIC' habit.

Chlorophyll added to Dentonic helps in curing Pyorrhea.





Dentonic

ANTISEPTIC TOOTH POWDER

Available Plain and with Chlorophyll.

For your Smile of beauty

BENGAL CHEMICAL

CALCUTTA • BOMBAY • KANPUR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

দুইটি প্রখ্যাত ভারতীয় মহাকাব্য

কাশীরাম দাস বিরচিত অষ্টাদশপর্ব্ব

মহাভারত

রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত

কাশীরাম দাসের মূল মহাভারত অনুসরণে।

প্রক্ষিপ্ত অংশগুলি বিবর্জ্জিত ১০৬৮ পৃষ্ঠায় সম্পূর্ণ

শ্রেষ্ঠ ভারতীয় শিল্পীদের আঁকা ৫০টি বহুবর্ণ চিত্রশোভিত

ভালো কাগজে—ভাল ছাপা—চমৎকার বাঁধাই।

মহাভারতের সর্ব্বাঙ্গসুন্দর এমন সংস্করণ আর নাই।

মূল্য ২০৲ টাকা

ডাকব্যয় ও প্যাকিং তিন টাকা

রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত

সচিত্র সপ্তকাণ্ড রামায়ণ

যাবতীয় প্রক্ষিপ্ত অংশ বিবর্জ্জিত মূল গ্রন্থ

অনুসরণে। ৫৮৬ পৃষ্ঠায় সম্পূর্ণ।

অবনীন্দ্রনাথ, রাজা রবি বর্ম্মা, নন্দলাল, উপেন্দ্রকিশোর, সারদাচরণ উকিল, অসিতকুমার, সুরেন গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় প্রভৃতি বিশ্বখ্যাত শিল্পীদের আঁকা—বহু একবর্ণ এবং বহুবর্ণ চিত্র পরিশোভিত।

পৃথিবীখ্যাত কৃত্তিবাস বিরচিত রামায়ণের এমন মনোহর বাঙ্গলা সংস্করণ বিরল, নাই বলিলেও চলে।

মূল্য ১০·৫০। ডাকব্যয় ও প্যাকিং অতিরিক্ত ২·০২।

প্রবাসী প্রেস প্রাঃ লিমিটেড

৭৭।২।১ ধর্ম্মতলা ষ্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা-১৩

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

—Advertisement Rates—

ORDINARY POSITION

	Rs. P.
Full Page	150.00
Half-page or one column	80.00
Quarter page or half-column	50.00
One-eighth page	30.00
One-eighth column	20.00
Page next to and or opposite contents	180.00
Ditto half-page	100.00
Ditto quarter-page	60.00
Ditto one-eighth page	40.00
Ditto one-eighth cloumn	30.00

SPECIAL POSITIONS

Full Page facing second page of the cover	200.00
„ Page facing third page of the cover	190.00
„ Page facing last page of the reading matter	195.00
„ Page facing back of the Frontispiece	210.00
Ditto half-page	110.00

POSITION WITHIN READING MATTER

Full Page	220.00
Half-page	120.00
Quarter page	70.00
„ col.	50.00

Space within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

COVER PAGES

Second page of the cover	220.0
Third page of the cover	200.0
Fourth page of the (*One-colour*)	250.0
(*Bi-colour*)	300.0
(*Tri-colour*)	350.0

SUPPLEMENT size $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$ (to be printed an supplied by the advertiser)

8 pages (or 4 slips) ..	450.
4 pages (or 2 slips) ..	300.
2 pages (or 1 slip) ..	225.

MECHANICAL DETAILS, Etc.

Type area of a full page	$8'' \times 6''$
„ „ „ half page	$4'' \times 6''$
Number of columns to a page	2
Length of a column	8″
Breadth of a column	3″
Type area of half-column	$4'' \times 3''$
„ „ „ quarter-column	$2'' \times 3''$

Only Mounted Stereos & coarse screen blocks (screen) are accepted.

Subscription Rates 1 year Rs. 15.00. Half yearly Rs. 8.00

Single copy Rs. 1.25P. including postage.

Prabasi Press Private Limited

77/2/1 DHARAMTALA STREET,
CALCUTTA-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



EXPECTANCY

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

FEBRUARY 1965

VOL. CXVII, No. 2 WHOLE No. 698

NOTES

THE WORLD

Sir Winston Churchill

The death occurred on January 24th last of Sir Winston Churchill, the "greatest Englishman" of his time. Our President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, in his message to Queen Elizabeth said "....the Government and the people of India have learnt (with profound sorrow) the passing away of Sir Winston Churchill, the greatest Englishman we have known. The magic of his personality and his mastery of words, renewed faith in freedom in the most difficult years of World War II. He left his imprint on the face of Europe and the World. His unforgettable services will be cherished for centuries."

President Johnson of the U.S.A., when he heard of the passing away of Churchill declared "When there was darkness in the World....a generous providence gave us Winston Churchill....he is history's child, and what he said and what he did will never die."

Pope Paul said that Churchill "contributed more than any other to saving humanity from a hazardous tyranny..... So long as there is a free man on this earth his name will be remembered with gratitude."

These messages have declared in the clearest terms what Winston Churchill did for his country and the world, and there is no exaggeration anywhere. To few legendary figures in history has fate vouchsafed such a prominent part in contemporary history. He had in his lifetime seen two of the greatest wars in history, wars on the outcome of which the fate of the Free World depended. He was First Lord of the Admiralty during the first World War and when there were angry repercussions over the failure of the Dardanelles expedition ordered by him, he had to relinquish it and take a minor post in the Cabinet. He resigned and returned to the Army as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Sixth Royal Scots Fusiliers. But he resumed his parliamentary duties and became the Minister of Munitions in 1917. It was in that role that he rendered signal service to his nation in that War.

At the outbreak of World War II he was out of office as he had disagreed with the Conservative Party's' plans for the ultimate granting of independence to India. It was over that issue that he resigned from the "Shadow Cabinet" of the Conservative Party in 1931. But at the outbreak of World War II, Chamberlain asked Churchill to join his Cabinet, again as First Lord of the Admiralty. It should be noted, in passing, that the measure of independence contemplated by the Conservative Party in 1931, was the form of self-Government which was eventually given in 1936-37. Even that very limited step was vehemently opposed by Churchill.

Neville Chamberlain was asked to step down from his post as Prime Minister of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Britain early in May 1940. Churchill took up the responsibilities of leading his nation under circumstances that were more foreboding and grim than it ever had been in Britain's history. And it is now a shining page in the history of Britain, on which is inscribed the glorious record of his manner of discharging it. His grim, defiant attitude, in the face of what seemed to be inescapable doom, connoting indomitable courage and inflexible determination to fight to the last, inspired his countrymen. His first address to his new Ministers, on his taking up the Premier's post in May 1940, ended thus :

"If this long island story of ours is to end at last, let it end only when each of us lies choking in his own blood upon the ground." **(Winston : a Memoir,** Lord Datton in the **New Statesman,** Jan. 29)

There was, however, another side to his character which was very much in evidence in his attitude towards the peoples held under British colonial sway as "subject peoples." Apologists for his behaviour towards questions involving them have said that on them was focussed "the blind spot" in Winston's eye. More accurately it may be said that it was reactionary to the extreme. Indeed it might be said that the Arabs, the Indians and the Burmese attained freedom despite all the efforts of Winston Churchill and others of that ilk.

But even so, it cannot be denied that in the days when battlements of the Free World were tumbling down before the assaults of Hitler's forces and those of the Axis, and there was "darkness in the World" in the words of President Johnson, if there had been no Winston Churchill and Britain had gone down, the "subject peoples" of those days would have had, perhaps, half-a-century more of slavery.

World Affairs in January

In many ways January 1965 was a singularly uneventful month. There were, indeed, very few events in the international sphere that appeared in the World news with any degree of persistence. Whatever there was, was mostly transitory in nature and l lized in extent. The few exceptions centred mostly around Indonesia and Indo-Chinese peninsula.

In Indonesia, the threatening atti taken up by its supreme executive tow Malayasia, seems to have been modifie some extent. The **New York Times** re ing on the situation about the beginnin the third week of January said :

"I will crush Malaysia before the crows on New Year's Day." With slo such as this, flung out last year, Presi Sukarno has been waging a war of ne against the 16-month-old federation Malaysia. But although the New Y threat tuurned out to be a bluff, Indon troop concentrations in the island of Bo —where Indonesia and Malaysia ha common border—have been strengthene recent weeks and guerrilla attacks a the Malacca Straits have been increas

Last week the fears of a serious in the area receded as the Indonesian Go ment seemed to draw back a little fro brink. On Wednessday President Su told an interviewer for C.B.S. television Indonesia is attacked, the Indonesian p will fight back, but Indonesia will n begin the fighting."

On Thursday the President said would end his campaign against Mala if a U.N. or Afro-Asian commission demonstrate that the people of Sarawak Sabah—the two Malaysian territories o island of Borneo—were content to be of the federation. And on Friday Fo Minister Subandrio said : "Our non-mem ship in the U.N. will not be eternal." donesia walked out of the U.N. on Janu when Malaysia took the Security Co seat to which she had been elected.

It is surmised that Indonesia ma enter the U.N. when Malaysia's two term of the membership in the Sec Council is over. Indonesia has, how officially gone out of the U.N. in Jan

But all the same, though the tensi some what lowered, the "Cold War" situ still remains in South-East Asia as bet Malayasia and Indonesia.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In Indo-China the U.S. had taken some decisions on the extension of the war that is now being fought between the Viet Cong and the South Vietnamese forces which are supported by U.S. forces who are nominally advisors and technical helpers only. These decisions became public knowledge with an announcement from the U.S. War headquarters in Washington, known as the Pentagon. The **N. Y. Times** reported as follows :

Down the spine of the Indochina peninsula runs a network of mountain roads, jungle paths, supply depots and airstrips known as the Ho Chi Minh trail. It is named for the President of North Vietnam because along this route arms and equipment and men have been ferried from that country to the Pathet Lao in Laos and on to the Vietcong guerrillas in South Vietnam. It is thought that these supplies and men have been an increasingly important source of both physical and psychological support for the guerrillas.

The trail has figured in much of the discussion of recent months about the courses now open to the U.S. in Southeast Asia. Attacks on the Ho Chi Minh trail have been frequently suggested as a more acceptable alternative to an outright extension of the war into North Vietnam. Officially Washington's position has been that attacks on the trail were a possible next step but that consideration of any such move was being postponed until the political situation in South Vietnam was more stable. Actually, the decision was made to proceed with attacks on the trail but to keep it secret.

Last week the decision became public knowledge. First came a terse announcement from the Pentagon on Wednesday that said merely that two U.S. supersonic planes had been shot down by ground fire in Laos.

The following day more information came out through Communist China which was believed to be substantially correct. These reports said that a whole squadron of U.S. fighter-bombers had taken part in the engagement, which had resulted in the destruction of an important bridge near Ban Ban, a strategic point on the main route from North Vietnam into central Laos.

Furthermore it appeared that this was only one of a series of raids in the area in recent months and that news of this one would not have leaked out had it not been for the loss of the two planes. The secrecy, it was said, was designed to save the Laotian Government, which had agreed to the strikes from embarrassment. The 1962 Geneva agreement, signed by the U.S., stipulated that Laos should remain neutral and should have no foreign troops on its soil.

U.S. involvement in the War in Indo-China, where China is trying to expand into South-East Asia through North Vietnam, seems to be deepening despite growing dissatisfaction at home over it.

The Anti-Hindi Agitation in the South

Very unfortunate happenings have taken place in Madras following the introduction of Hindi as the official language of the Union as from the Republic Day 1965, that is from January the 26th. Violent agitation launched by the D.M.K. has resulted in police firing, which has claimed the lives of two young students of the Annamalai University, and the self-immolation of two workers of the D.M.K., one at a subarban area of Madras and another at Kodambakkam railway Station. The situation in Madras is reported to be under control at the time of writing these, the Madras Chief Minister Mr. Bhaktabatsalam having given firm assurances to the people of Tamilnad to the effect that they would not be allowed to suffer because of Hindi being made the official language of the Union.

The situation is still tense in the South and there are protest meeting being held in Calcutta against the introduction of Hindi as the official language of the country and calling for a countrywide agitation against "Hindi Imperialism". But now assurances are forthcoming from all quarters, including New Delhi, which would go a long way towards allaying the suspicions of the people regarding the ulterior motives

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

behind the proclamation declaring Hindi to be the official language of the Union.

It is evident that neither the Prime Minister Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri nor the Home Minister Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda realized how deep were the misgivings of the non-Hindi speaking peoples regarding the implications of Hindi being declared the Official Language of the Union. Indeed it is evident now that Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri lost sight of the fact that as the Prime Minister of India be should not evince any parochial or provincial alignment in his speeches and actions at a period when his mother-tongue was being declared the official language of the Union, despite the fact that over 60% of the peoples of India were non-Hindi speaking.

The ebullitions and mistaken statements made by Hindi enthusiasts in the past decade and more had given ample cause for the non-Hindi speaking peoples to suspect that there were ulterior motives behind this "drive" to enforce a language on the majority of the people, without any comprehensive planning for the teaching of Hindi to the non-Hindi speaking citizens of India. Official behaviour towards non-Hindi speaking peoples in Hindi speaking States, such as Bihar and Madhya Pradesh had further convinced non-Hindi speaking peoples that there was a foul conspiracy being carried on by Hindi enthusiasts to deprive the non-Hindi speaking peoples of their fundamental rights. The matter had reached the Centre during the Prime Ministership of Pandit Nehru who—unlike most of his colleagues—had no parochial or provincial alignments, being an Indian first and last. The Law for the continuance of English until such time as the non-Hindi speaking states were in a position to accept Hindi as a workable inter-State link language passed because Pandit Nehru realized the grave implications of an attempt to impose Hindi on non-Hindi speaking peoples. Unfortunately he did not live up to the time when the Law would have to be put to the test. And his successor, who was carried away by the joy and enthusiasm of the occasion on which his mother-tongue was being honoured by being recognized as the official language of the Union, totally f got that the occasion urgently needed fullest assurances from him and his coll gues that not an iota of the birth-rig of the non-Hindi-speaking peoples w likely to be encroached upon or filch away by subterfuge prior to the offic proclamation.

Both the Prime Minister and the Ho Minister had received ample warnin That veteran politician, who was forme "Rajaji" of the Congress but now l formed the Swatantra Party, clearly sta that the disintegration of India will st with the proclamation of Hindi as **"Rasht bhasha"**, and at a Press conference at N Delhi on Jan. 20, he was asked a poin question in that respect. The Press rep was as follows :

The Prime Minister, Mr. Lal Baha Shastri, said here today that the Gove ment had no intention "to precipitate m ters" on the official language policy nor there "any desire to put any handicap impediments in the case of those wh mother-tongue was not Hindi".

Mr. Shastri was asked at the Pr conference here today to give his comme on the fears expressed by non-Hindi-spe ing people at a recent conference in Tiru over the Government's decision to swi over from English to Hindi at the Un level from January 26.

The Prime Minister said that the Ho Ministry had made the position quite cl that in regard to the use of Hindi as offi language from January 26, it was mai for the Hindi-speaking States "to con trate" on it.

In other States, Mr. Shastri said, it suggested that gradually Government ployees should also try to pick up and le Hindi. "There is no idea of precipita matters nor is there any desire to put handicap or impediment in the case of th whose mother-tongue is not Hindi".

It was clear that the Prime Mini did not realize the gravity of the situat nor had he any idea about the consequen of issuing a proclamation on Hindi, in way it was done later, without giving c and categorical undertakings on the ma

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He should have realized that as the Prime Minister of India he had responsibilities.

Despite all warnings and rumbling of anti-Hindi opinions, from non-Hindi areas the Prime Minister and the Home Minister proceeded to declare Hindi as the official language of the Union. Their justification, after the mischief was done, was that they were only giving effect to Article 115 of the Constitution. And later on, while there were signs of a conflagration in the South which might spread to all Hindi areas, they said that the agitation was against the Constitution—as if that were a cardinal sin—and that all the agitation was being instigated and activated by the D.M.K. all by itself!

The facts were, however, quite contrary to what the Prime Minister and the Home Minister were led to believe by their own obsession for their mother-tongue and by the counsel of Hindi enthusiasts in their entourage. The passing of Article 343 of the Constitution was done by the "Consembly" which could not be called an assemblage of the people's nominees elected by a democratic process, by any stretch of imagination. And the moral sanction behind the naming of Hindi as the future official language of the Union was even less, as at the "critical meeting of the Congress Party" Hindi secured a **majority of one vote only** at a secret ballot, which again was the casting vote of the Chairman, who cast it in favour of Hindi in contravention of established traditions, as is revealed by Shri P. Kodanda Rao in an article in the **Hindusthan Standard.** Kodanda Rao quotes Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, in support of his contention that there was "No Moral Sanction Behind Rashtrabhasa" thus, after recounting the occasion and happenings at the critical meeting of the Congress party:

The proceedings of the meetings of the party were private and have not been published. But Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, then the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Consembly, had access to the private meetings. In his book, 'Thoughts On Linguistic States', he said:

"There was no article which proved more controversial than Article 115 which deals with the (Hindi) question. No article produced more opposition. No article more heat. After prolonged discussion, when the question was put, the vote was 77 against 77. The tie could not be resolved. After a long time, when the question was put to the meeting once more, the result was 77 against 78 for Hindi. Hindi won its place as a national language by one vote."

The Prime Minister and the Home Minister, however, proceeded to proclaim Hindi as the Official Language of the Union without any thought regarding consequences and without any idea regarding the hostility towards Hindi that they were enhancing by their precipitate action. On the 26th January Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, the Home Minister, proceeded to declare in a broadcast to the Nation, which was full of puerile assurances, to "people who did not know Hindi at present," of the type that are being observed in their breach thereof by the score by the Government of today. The **Statesman's** report runs thus:

New Delhi, Jan. 27—In a broadcast to the nation on Republic Day, Mr. Nanda gave a "public assurance" that the introduction of Hindi for official purposes of the Union would be regulated to see that it did not cause any hardship to people who do not know Hindi at present.

Recalling the efforts of "thousands of devoted persons from South India who dedicated themselves to the propagation of Hindi under Gandhiji's leadership, Mr. Nanda assured the people of the non-Hindi States that the change-over from English to Hindi would keep pace with "the spread of the knowledge of Hindi in non-Hindi areas".

The Union Government would also be careful that non-Hindi areas do not suffer in the matter of recruitment to the Central services. It would not be necessary to have a prior knowledge of Hindi for entry into these services. They would be able to take advantage of the Hindi-teaching scheme after they enter the Government service.

He wished to make it "absolutely clear" that the propagation of Hindi and other Indian languages "did not mean any opposition to English".

English was a very rich world language and would continue to be of great help in acquiring technical knowledge and maintaining international relations.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

At the same time, the Union Minister reiterated the Government's "firm resolve" to take all suitable measures for the propagation and development of Hindi and for its use in the official work of the Union.

"We shall be earnest in our endeavours to discharge the responsibility that the Constitution, Parliament and people have entrusted to us. The measures which the Government has taken to develop and enrich Hindi will no doubt be continued and accelerated further," he added.

Mr. Nanda appealed for the co-operation of all literary associations, universities and journalists in this undertaking.

The Prime Minister, in his innocence, went one better on the same day at a Conference at New Delhi. The report goes thus :

New Delhi, Jan. 27—Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri yesterday called for quicker steps for the change-over from English to Hindi as the official language but cautioned that while doing so no steps should be taken which might affect the unity of the country, says P.T.I.

He chided the DMK for indulging in violence in Madras and said that those who opposed Hindi must understand that what the Government was doing was only in pursuance of the Directive Principles of the Constitution.

Mr. Shastri was inaugurating the official language conference at the Constitution Club here.

We have already commented on the moral sanction behind this particular part of the Directive Principle. We ourselves believe that Hindi could be established as a link language for all India, if it were properly standardized and propagated. But the first condition precedent should be that all who are now pressing for the establishment of Hindi as a "Raj Bhasa" or "Rastra Bhasa" with apparent ulterior motives, be severely dealt with as their actions are outrageously disruptive.

The Republic Day proclamation by Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda and the statements made by Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri at the Constitution Club, New Delhi, while inaugurating the Official Language Conference, both substantially enhanced the suspicions of non-Hindi-speaking peoples about the co piracy by the Hindi protagonists to depr them of their rights by a subterfuge. I very strange indeed that men like Mr. Bahadur Shastri and Mr. Gulzarilal Na forgot in their enthusiasm for the "glo cation" of their own mother-tongue, the Prime Minister of India and the H Minister were both under obligations to non-Hindi-speaking peoples by virtue their offices. It was undoubtedly the d of both to see that the Fundamental Ri of those peoples, for equality in status opportunity as citizens of India, were abrogated or curtailed by any hasty ac in enforcing Hindi. It is useless to a that they were merely carrying out Directive Principles of the Constitu Article 343 is not an edict by a tyrant where the rights of a people are brea it must stand aside so that no chain-rea involving disruption is set in motion. course one cannot expect the same All-I outlook from either of them as was sh by Mahatma Gandhi or Pandit Nehru, even then statements like what were m by Mr. Shastri in the latter part of his sp at the Constitution Club, which we omitted from the quotation above, mus termed as regrettable lapses. We do want to put them on record as both redeemed their pledges to the non-H peoples substantially, after realizing the plications of the flare-up in Madras, by actions and declarations.

The incidents in Tamil-Nad, particu the cases of self-immolation, are lament But they have shown up in bold relief the people of that area feel about the se breaches in their birth-rights struc made by a too hasty replacement of En by Hindi ! We wonder who told Mr Bahadur Shastri that "Hindi was learnt on a large scale in all non-H speaking areas", as that is not co There is shortage both of instructors are competent to teach and bilingual books and dictionaries that are ava are neither adequate nor quite correc

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

A Shift, Once Again ?

Having regard to the prevailing crisis in the food situation in the country for well over the last twelve months, we have been obliged to discuss the many and varied aspects of the problems involved and the implications and possible consequences of Government's frequent changes of policy from time to time almost ceaselessly in these columus for the past many months. With the final (as then announced) decisions taken last month, however unsatisfactory they might appear to have been, we had hoped that for some time at least to come, we would not be required to revert to the subject again soon. Apparently, however, we had not been able to reckon with the extraordinary volatility of Government's decisions, especially in matters which affect the people's well being. According to a New Delhi message under date line January 19 last, it appears that already there is to be a further shift in the Government's earlier decisions. It is stated that :

"Experience of the last three months appears to have led the Union Government to a major shift in its policy on price controls in foodgrains.

"It is now clearly realised in the Union Food Ministry that whatever the theoretical directives, all thoughts of drastic action against food hoarders and profiteers will have to be held in abeyance not only until the next wheat harvest in March but a much later date. This is in sharp contrast to the mood of the Government three months ago when it announced statutory prices for rice and coarse grains and hurriedly followed it up with a stern Ordinance—barely a few days before the last session of Parliament—providing for summary trials of traders who did not stick to these prices.

"The new policy, which for obvious reasons may never be clearly enunciated in precise language, appears to be to allow a greater freedom to the market forces until such time as the Government is able to command the situation with its own buffer stocks.

"The shift thus lies in moving from a policy of drastic penal action to that of creating satisfactory (?) market conditions under which such action may become unnecessary.

"In a nutshell, it means that *so long as supplies are inadequate, free market prices must rule to a large extent.*"

It may be recalled that the burden of our own arguments on this matter in these columns during the immediate past has consistently been that unless effective means could be devised to ensure an adequate measure of command over supplies, the mere imposition of statutory controls over prices, whether on the floor or at the ceiling, would be bound to remain largely theoretical and infructuous. Effective price controls necessarily presupposes the essential condition-precedent that official agencies concerned are able to enforce these controls by an adequate measure of supplies to the market whenever speculative pressures are found to have been endeavouring to undermine them or, in the alternative, by a system of rigidly and ruthlessly enforced statutory rationing to cover the entire consumption-demand for foodgrains in the country. There, obviously, cannot be a half-way house in between either of these two expedients by which it may be possible to maintain prices operating at the statutory levels. What has lately been happening in West Bengal at the present moment would provide an example of what can be expected under half-boggear measures that were being so far relied upon by Government in this behalf. Calcutta and the Greater Calcutta area have been put under statutory rationing as from the 5th of last month.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

To feed these areas, officials estimates are that a supply of 400,000 tonnes each of rice and wheat would be required. For the wheat the State Government are wholly dependent upon supplies from the Union Government. As for the rice required to maintain rationed supplies in these areas, the State Government have, obviously, been relying upon levies upon rice mills operating in the State which, together, in a normal year, produce roughly 800,000 tonnes of rice, and of whose production Government were to appropriate one-half or 50 per cent. Reports from the Districts indicate that this year West Bengal mills have been very reluctant buyers of paddy so far on the ground that buying their raw materials at the floor prices fixed by Government and selling their produce at the statutory ex-mill price would render the rice milling industry into an uneconomic enterprise. If this difference between the Government and the rice mills remains unresolved for long, it may have the effect of threatening to pull down the very base upon which the system of full statutory rationing in Calcutta is being sought to be built up. In the meanwhile open market prices of both paddy and rice are reported to have sagged well below the statutory floor levels in and around the principal production centres in the Districts of Bankura, Birbhum, Burdwan and elsewhere, whereas in the open markets around the perimeter of the rationed areas in Calcutta and Greater Calcutta abutting on the southern and northern parts of the 24 Parganas District, prices are well above the statutory ceilings imposed by Government.

It will, therefore, appear that already and within only a very few weeks after the produce from the current year's new harvests have commenced to arrive, three sets of prices have been ruling in this one State alone. And as, in course of time, the seasonal pressure on demand begins to mount, it is almost inevitably certain, that the price levels will suffer further and, possibly, quite severe amounts of distortion. At two ends of the scale the primary producer and the end-consumer will be subject to heavy pressures in reduced and enhanced prices below and beyond the statutory floors and ceilings respectively, with the millers and traders reaping considerable measures of "*unaccounted profits*" from both ends of the scale.

Reduced to simple terms of arithmetic, the reported latest shift in the Union Government's policies in this regard would seem to indicate t they are now ready again to completely abro any responsibility in respect of the food crisis the country and would just stand aside to things drift as they have been for so long. the stage thunder and war whoops that Government may have been indulging in in meanwhile have been so much make believe hoodwink and mislead a sorely distressed tragically gullible people. It may be recalled we also suspected as much in course of earlier cussions on this subject in these columns. In we commented in these columns that if Government were not able to go the whole hog impose blanket controls over supplies by tak over the entire foodgrains trade and take of distribution to the end-consumers through rigid system of efficiently administered ratio covering the whole country except the prim producers, it would merely have the result further complicating an already complex critical food situation. It would be far wiser the event not to interfere at all and leave th to their own particular expedients and dyna That would, of course, be a poor solution bu any case it would be better than what, curre is being reported to be the latest shift in Government's policies in this behalf. Wha effect, the latest shift in Government's polic this behalf—it is really far too negative in tent to merit being called a policy—boils dow is that "while the authorities will still go thr the motions of announcing statutory prices wheat at harvest times—as they did for rice coarse grains in October—the likelihood of rigid enforcement under legal threats is remo

The question that one is inevitably led t in this connection is why, after all the addit powers that Government had to assum deal with food racketeers, should they fi necessary to shift again to this attitude of action ? To be able to answer this question factorily, it is necessary to realize clearly the ditions that have contributed to the present p of the food racketeers who seem to be comp beyond the reach of any ordinarily discipl measures. First and foremost, it would seem these powers derive mainly from the control large and illimitable sources of finance which the concerned trade appears to have mand. It is universally agreed that "unacco

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

money" has been playing a very crucial part in the game. All attempts—although there does not appear to have been any intelligent measures so far devised towards this end—to immobilize these sources of large credits have been wholly in vain mainly because there did not seem to have been any serious intentions on the part of Government to do so. Even when assuming additional and summary powers for the purpose in the much boosted new Ordinance, Government appeared to have been only half-hearted. They would not take powers to confiscate to the State the hoarded foodgrains that may be discovered and seized which would be the only means of immobilizing the ill-gotten (although the Finance Minister would stubbornly refuse to concede that they may all be ill-gotten) credits that may have been financing these hoards. Secondly there has never been any serious endeavour that the public knows of to unearth hoarded foodgrains. It is impossible to seriously concede that it might have been impossible and even more than ordinarily difficult to unearth large hoards of foodgrains in the country, wherever they may be held, if any real attempt to do so were at all made. In fact, "inquiries at various points....give no striking evidence of action taken..... Almost invariably questions on this subject are met with the somewhat evasive answer that 'action has been taken but details are not readily available'." Thirdly, so far as enforcing statutory floor and ceiling prices of foodgrains is concerned, it is an elementary requirement for the purpose that there should be an adequate machinery for direct procurement and market supplies by Government at the two requisite ends. The decisions arrived at the last Chief Ministers' Conference in New Delhi did in fact include provisions for setting up such machinery both at the Union and States levels, although indications have been lacking that they have been or are intended to be acted upon so far, especially at the States levels where, indeed, they are most needed. The latest policy shift of the Government now seems to indicate that they never intended seriously to implement any of their earlier decisions.

Why so, is the question that one is now led to ask ? The answer may be variously because, first, the Government find that they simply have not the necessary administrative resources to cope with the basic demands of the situation ; secondly, that they are too chary of provoking those long entrenched vested interests which have mainly financed them back to power and who will have again to be relied upon to once again finance them back to the powers of Government in course of the next two years or so when another general elections will have to be contested ; finally, because their poor imaginative resources are simply too feeble to visualize an effective way out of the present impasse. The last named of the possible answers is, of course, the most charitable so far as the bona fides of the present Government are concerned. But in any case, whatever the reason for their lack of ability to cope, if the Government are comprised of honest and self-respecting persons really concerned with the peoples' welfare, the only decision that would prove their bona fides as honest Indians and true patriots, would be to vacate office. The fact that they may be unable to visualize a possible successor Government drawn from any other party in the present circumstances is hardly any excuse for them to hold on to powers which they have proved themselves wholly incapable of weilding with elementary justice and fairness to the people. They should also have sufficient realism to realize that all parties like individuals, however powerful or great, are wholly expendable to history which has its own immutable way of providing ample and requisite compensations for all emergencies.

Two Convocation Addresses

The two convocation addresses, on successive days, to the Calcutta University on January 20 and 21 by Sir Jehangir Ghandy and Prof. Debendra Mohan Bose respectively are, we feel, deserving of especial notice because they deal with two vital aspects of the future of the country. Sir Jehangir Ghandy has not merely been known as an outstanding leader of large industry in the country but has, moreover, been known for his realistic and creative thinking on matters relating to the problems of the country's industrial development and economic progress. Prof. Debendra Mohan Bose has, equally, been well-known as an eminent educationist and one among the foremost of our leaders of scientific research.

Sir Jehangir dealt mainly with the current problems besetting the course of our economic development which, he said, stemmed principally

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

from the "outgrowth of fundamental weaknesses in India's economic structure." While conceding that the country's failure to reach determined agricultural objectives may have, in part, been due to delays over land reforms and the tardiness in bringing about institutional changes, the main obstacle has been our inability to bring about a "change in the technological basis of farming." He pleaded for the "immediate creation of pockets of modern and dynamic agriculture *within the existing rural framework* (emphasis our own) which could not be changed overnight."

At the same time, he felt, industry must continue to expand with the direction of its growth carefully determined in the interests of an "integrated all round development and co-ordinated in particular with the development of agriculture." The country must, he added, push up the scale of operations to the maximum feasible point and should have no hesitation in adopting the latest and the best among the technological alternatives open to her. We must, he emphasized, "adopt the most efficient technology to guard against the danger of quick obsolescence." At the same time, he said, old established industries like jute and cotton textiles must be modernized to enable India to stand upto the competition from other developing countries, "even if this (were to) reduce employment opportunities."

Sir Jehangir pointed out that the policy makers for the Fourth Plan must realise that employment opportunities were not likely to expand in step with the output of the old established industries and that further additions to the labour force during the quinquennium between 1966-71 would be likely to be of the order of 23 millions. It would, accordingly, be necessary to develop "a new employment oriented sector of industry geared to an identifiable home market. Although this sector would be *small-scale and locationally dispersed* (emphasis, again, our own), it need not be technologically primitive."

Concluding, Sir Jehangir emphasized the need for consolidation as deserving of a higher priority than mere expansion in the immediate future and the "laxness in standards which we were obliged to overlook in conditions of rapid expansion must now he remedied for the sake of both the students and the society which are being groomed to serve" and pleaded facilities for and efforts by the students to a sense of purpose.

What Sir Jehangir had to say on occasion should give food for ample thought both the leaders of Government and their su cabinet, the Planning Commission. He has poi his fingers with insistent emphasis upon one the fundamental weaknesses of planning as being currently essayed in the country, that an obvious lack of balance in the structure development which has been making its co both far too expensive and eccentric with result that the period of development plan has inevitably been coinciding with a develo crisis in the economy. Indeed, as Sir Jeha has said, the country has been facing, perh the gravest crisis since independence today the principal causes that, demonstrably, contributed to this crisis, it is identifi have been flowing from the structure of p ing itself. No one with any sense of his would, we are sure, be mad or foolish enou repudiate the need for a pprogressively sophisti and modernizing phase of development. But essential that this process of modernization be adapted to the basic structure of the exis state of the national economy and, at the s time, conform to the objectives of plan development.

The fundamental fact of the existing of our agriculture is undeniably that it does merely constitute the basic foundation of total economy and still accounts for, after than a decade of rapid industrialization, than one-half of the gross national product, also that it conditions and determines principal trends and environments of life for overwhelming majority of our people. A sophisticated phase of development in the f —in which a more broad-based spectrum industrialization must necessarily play a crucial part—must take into account fundamental facts of the existing struc of our socio-economic foundations formulate plan programmes to conform to conditions. Secondly, development in the producer sectors of industry must be bala by a commensurate and phased process development in the light consumption-indus

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sector if the economy has to be rescued from the paralyzing burdens of exploding demand that have been acceleratingly impinging upon the economy and which have been generating tensions and pressures that have been having the effect of correspondingly attenuating the results of development. This, indeed, has been the principal aspect of the crisis to which Sir Jehangir refers in his address and which has been threatening to jeopardize the very basis of our future economic development.

We would, in this connection, like to draw the pointd attention of our policy-makers in the topmost echelons of the ruling Party, the Government and their Super-Cabinet to the fact that an outstanding leader of heavy industry as Sir Jehangir is, he nevertheless pleads for a "new employment-oriented" sector of industry geared to the demands of an identifiable home market and which would be "small-scale and locationally dispersed." This, to our way of thinking, is the principal key to the present situation. As a matter of both immediate and long-term policy, it is essential that our programmes of industrial expansion must be conceived in the background of the requirements of rapid and all-round agricultural development and must be so formulated that it may both be a sustaining and a promotional factor. The only way to do so would, as Sir Jehangir suggests, be to formulate our new industrial programmes with the objectives of simultaneously sustaining agricultural development and generating quick and large employment opportunities. It has to be recognized, therefore, that while a measure of development in the highly capital-intensive producer sectors of industry is wholly inescapable as providing the necessary base for all-round development in both agriculture and industry, by far the larger proportions of our resources would have to be more and more diverted to the more quick-yielding and generously labour-intensive small industries sector. Modernization and developing use of modern technology and science in this sector would be both a stimulant to increasing supply of consumption goods to sustain the rapidly exploding demand, and would also provide incentives to agricultural development at the requisite rate and without which the economy would be bound to increasingly languish. That, we hope, Sir Jehangir meant to suggest was not urbanization of the rural sector which would create far more numerous and insuperable problems than it could ever hope to successfully contend with, but more sophisticated rural development in both its agricultural and industrial wings. Agriculture certainly cries out for participating in the benefits of modern developments in science and technique in our country, but we do not expect that it would be realistic to hope and plead for any very rapid conversion of agriculture from what the Planning Commission quaintly describe as a way of life to that of a modern organized industry. Apart from the fact that physical, social and structural realities of the present phase of agriculture in our country would make such an objective wholly impossible of attainment, we are not quite sure that such a consummation would also be desirable. Structurally, agriculture in India would be bound to remain more or less what it is for many years to come, perhaps even for generations, but it should be possible and, of course, highly desirable that agriculture, within its present structural framework, were able to progressively apply the results of modern scientific achievements and techniques. This, we suppose, was what Sir Jehangir Ghandy intended to mean when he pleaded for a more sophisticated phase of development in agriculture.

What was most significant in Sir Jehangir's address was the total and integrated view of our goals and problems that it sought to present which was as clearheaded in its analyses, as it was realistic in its approaches. We have reason to believe that the more sober and thoughtful sections of our community wholly endorse the viewpoint sought to be presented by Sir Jehangir and it is principally the personal biases and predilections of our policy-makers which have been of a contrary and for the most part of an opposite view. They should wake up, late as it already is, to a greater sense of both realism and history and begin to give a new and more logical direction to planning without which the whole thing would be bound to crash in the end. Already the juggernant has been gathering increasing momentum towards an abysmal precipice and the chances of rescuing it from utter self-destruction would be wholly lost unless immediately applied and wholesomely forceful twists

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

towards a fresh direction are able to change its present course.

Prof. Debendra Mohan Bose's was an address on the occasion which naturally befitted the scholar, the educationist and the research-director that he is. Nevertheless, what he had to say had a vital bearing on a fundamental aspect of national progress and development. He conceded that the average result of current research activities was commendable and its quality good. Nevertheless there are fewer outstanding break throughs to compare with the achievements of past generations of scholars like the Late J. C. Bose, Meghnad Saha, Prof. Satyen Bose and others. What has been happening is that there has been too much reliance on past achievements on the one hand and too little comprehension that modern innovations in the field of scientific research while, on the hand, placing immensely larger resources in knowledge and technique in the hands of the present generation of research workers, than were available to their predecessors, far larger measures of integrated efforts by teams rather than by individuals has become an inescapable condition of scientific achievements. At the same time the dynamics of progress has acquired such a continually accelerating pace that teacher and student must continually keep on educating themselves to keep pace with its demands.

This is an aspect of post graduate research which cannot, we are afraid, be contained within the framework of hidebound norms and systems. The mechanics of university education unfortunately remains today more or less what it was nearly a century ago and the awareness of the need to conform to the more demanding claims of an age of speed does not seem to have yet awakened in our educational policy-makers and the educationist. If Dr. Bose's address may help to rouse this needed awareness, the first step towards a very long overdue modernization of the educational system in this country will have been taken.

Invitation to Foreign Private Capital

The recent changes in policy indicated by the Union Government as a means of larger inflow of foreign private capital for investment in this country, appears to have aroused a varied pattern of reactions and responses. There has been this ticism, for instance, that by announcing the cial concessions to foreign private capital that been done by the Union Finance Minister a weeks ago which are denied to the indigenous vestor, indigenous entrepreneurial endeav have been placed at a comparative disadvant and will be bound to arrest the growth of en preneurial talent and effort, never adequate to growing requirements in this field as it is, wi the country. More recently, the Union Gov ment have also made it unnecessary for for private capital to seek investment in this cou through the via media of local entreprene collaboration as hitherto. Foreign investors now be accorded the necessary permission to investment in this country at their own inde dent initiative, the only limitation on their di tion being that they must incorporate a com in India and offer a part of the capital—pre ably comprising the rupee component of th quisite capital—to public subscription within country. If the individual Indian investors not find such offers attractive enough—which well happen having regard to the traditional willingness of the Indian investor to take up bearing equities—the requisite rupee comp of the capital may be supplied, it seems to be sumed, by such institutional public sector inve as the Development Bank, L.I.C., I.C.I.C.I. others. These relaxations, it is hoped, will exp the inflow of foreign private capital for speedy implementation of projects allocated t private sector within the framework of the fi So long private foreign capital had to fin vestment in India by way of collaboration Indian capital and enterprise, the initiative with the Indian entrepreneur. The result ha been as fruitful as, it was presumed, might been the case. The usual procedure was Indian promoters would plan the concerned ject and obtain the necessary permit from Government of India ; then they would seek boration from foreign investors and entrepr ial personnel in the related field for the impl tation of the project. Although many projects thus been developed under foreign collabor the speed with which it has been possible t so had not acquired the desired momentum a many cases, have never even been develop indefinite periods. The reason may

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

diverse ; the unwillingness of the Indian entrepreneur to go through with the project in hand ; the poor response obtained abroad ; and possibly also on account of other reasons. By eliminating the need now to wait upon Indian entrepreneurial enterprise before foreign private capital could seek investment in this country, it is hoped that the present lag in this field could be successfully circumvented and the process of economic growth correspondingly speeded up.

It has been argued that foreign capital obtained through collaboration in Indian industry is far more economical as well as conducive to a faster rate of development than the employment of foreign loan capital. The burden of the loan capital already incurred for development—and not all this bears repayment obligations in foreign exchange, a very substantial proportion being under agreement for amortization in rupees—will, it has been calculated, entail a repayment obligation in foreign currencies of the order of approximately Rs. 1,100 crores per annum over the quinquennium between 1965-66 and 1970-71,—Rs. 500 crores per annum being towards redemption of the loan and Rs. 600 crores per annum being accrued interest. Foreign collaboration will not entail this obligation. Besides, the latter will provide its own related entrepreneurial resources and know-how. At the same time there must be corresponding obligations for repatriation of earned dividends and a fairly substantial portion of the salaries and allowances earned here by foreign managerial and technical personnel employed on the project under collaboration. There will also be corresponding losses to the public exchequer by way of tax exemptions and other concessions that are being extended to such personnel employed in India. It is possible that in a precise estimate of the comparative advantages of either foreign loan capital or foreign private investment in India, the balance may be marginally in favour of the latter at least for some time in the immediate future. But while loan capital entails redemption and interest obligations, as well as that of employing a limited number of foreign personnel over a limited period of time, there can be no period limit in this behalf in respect of private foreign capital invested in this country. Dividends will have to be repatriated to the investing country, as well as the obligations in respect of employed foreign personnel in perpetuity, at least over indefinite periods unless, of course, Government may decide for nationalization of such projects in which event the compensation bill also will be bound to be a pretty heavy one. The cost of collaboration to the country may, therefore, prove to be unconscionably higher than that of incurring foreign loan capital both in the long run as well as in the ultimate analysis. But even apart from the financial costs involved, this would be bound to prove in the long run and if continued to be employed over a wide enough area of Indian industry, a severe deterrant against and a deep depressant upon Indian enterprise and the development of Indian technical know-how and technological skill. We may have to revert, in the eventual future under such a process of industrialization in this country, to much the same conditions as prevailed during our subjection to foreign political domination. True there is no longer any political power to boost the interests of the foreign investors in this country as in the past. But economic power in the modern era is far more potent than mere political power without a strong economic base and if the economic power of the foreign private investor is allowed to grow in the manner envisaged for the purpose of boosting immediate Plan development, it is not impossible that our independent political initiative may have to suffer considerable attenuation in the eventual future. While widening the areas of attraction to foreign private capital to seek investment in our development projects, one should be constantly aware of the dangers that may also germinate in the process.

The fact of the matter seems to be that the sources of foreign loan capital either on a Government to Government basis or from institutional sources are not likely to enlarge commensurately with the requirements of such capital needs envisaged for the Fourth Plan and the inevitable gap in foreign exchange resources that will, therefore, be bound to arise is being sought to be covered by putting out enticements to the private investor abroad to employ their idle funds here. Even now the general burden of complaint by foreign investors is that taxation in this country, in spite of the concessions offered, remains heavy and makes investment in this country unattractive. Government's fiscal policies are also said to be a deterrant. The one attractive feature being that there is a measure of political stability here which is generally

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

absent in most other developing countries. The apparent political stability, however, is deeply overlaid with such a measure of developing tensions in the economy over the last several years and, especially over the period of the Third Plan, that the present political stability may only be worth a very temporary purchase unless means may be found to immediately and effectively dealing with this crisis of which, however, there does not seem to be any indication either in Government's economic and fiscal policies or in their administrative measures. The continuing explosion of *ineffective demand* is not likely to yield to the disciplining influences so far conceived and sought to be applied by Government to deal with it. The resulting crisis in prices on the one hand, especially affecting the essential edibles and other consumables, and the increasing concentration of income, wealth and economic power within a microscopic area of lavish affluence, would have precipitated a complete breakdown of the political structure in a more politically aware society and may yet heavily erode at the base the foundations of our present political stability. Anyone with a sense of history could clearly read into present Indian economic and social conditions these dire future eventualities and it is not quite impossible that the enticing terms notwithstanding, there may not be the desired measure of response from private foreign capital for which so much is being staked. All the result that may eventuate from this is to expose the inherent weaknesses of our present developmental process to the gaze of even the most casual foreign observor.

Durgapur and the Plan

The Congress Party at its plenary session in Durgapur last month appears to have been speaking on the Fourth Plan with two distinct and separate voices. There was Shree Kamraj's Presidential address which dealt with the question of Planning at fairly great length and which vehemently pleaded that the size of the Fourth Plan be suitably scaled down because of the dangers of inflationary pressures arising out of large outlays. The impact of such pressures on the "poor and weaker" sections of society makes it impossible, according to the Congress President, to sustain Plan outlays of the size of between Rs. 21,500 crores and Rs. 22,500 crores which has been proposed by the Planning Commission and accepted by the National Development Council. He pointed out that Rs. 21,500 crores is more than the total outlays of the first three Plans put together and the burden of covering the gap of Rs. 3,000 crores by the Centre and the States to implement such a Plan would prove, according to Shri Kamraj, too heavy. On the other hand there is the traditional official resolution, reported to be *unanimously* adopted by the Congress which states, *inter alia*, that "the rate of economic growth must be stepped up substantially" and that "more far-reaching social and economic policies must now be formulated to implement a bolder Fourth Plan." There are, of course, a great deal in addition relating to advance towards socialism, social justice, reduction of disparities, etc. which have been the traditional burden of the song and dance of the annual Congress session for many years past.

Apparently, therefore, there would seem to be a sharp cleavage between the Congress President and the Party over which he presides so far as the latter's expression of its social and economic policies are concerned. Remembering that the official resolution in this behalf has been unanimously adopted, this would appear to be a striking instance of a rift, which can be presumed to have been existing beneath the surface so long and which has now boldly floated up on to the level between groups in the higher echelons of the Party's Central presidium; for one naturally presumes that the official policy resolution in this regard must have been endorsed by a very substantial majority among the Party top-rankers. Also significant in this connection would appear to be the fact that the Union Finance Minister promptly came to Shri Kamraj's support. It seems likely that the latter's views in this connection have been already initiating a measure of rethinking in the top levels which is presumed from the decision taken by the Prime Minister to induce the Planning Commission to reconsider the size of the Fourth Plan and it seems likely that a meeting of the National Development Council will soon be summoned to recast the Fourth Plan outline in the light of the high level discussions recently held in this context. It may be underlined, *inter alia*, that in view of the rises in the price levels (which they still continue to spiral further upwards) the comparable investments in the Fourth Plan in real terms is appreciably less ambitious than the fi

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cial figure of Rs. 21,500 crores suggests. It has been estimated that the wholesale price index of all commodities taken together has risen over the period between 1960-61 and 1963-64 by 25.4 per cent and that of food articles by 55.4 per cent. Assuming that a mean between the two is the actual effect of price rise over the period in real terms, the incidence of rise may be assumed at approximately 35 per cent. The value of Rs. 21,500 crores at current prices would be attenuated to just about Rs. 13.975 crores in terms of 1960-61 prices.

What, however, seems to have been missed by both the framers of the Party's policy resolution and the Congress President alike is that neither cutting down the Plan size nor the opposite extreme of adhering to it would, by itself take the country to the desired millennium. In an inflationary situation such as the present one, the problem of financial resources is neither important nor an insuperable one. The economic situation is bad enough as it is. But there is no doubt that with determined action at an earlier stage some of our current difficulties might have been avoided. It is not today that the awareness should have suddenly impinged upon us that agricultural production is normally subject to fluctuations from year to year and that food production has been sluggish or even stagnant. Nor did it call for a great deal of intelligence to anticipate that from year to year the community would be required to spend more and more to cover increases in population, rises in incomes and increasing employment. In addition, of course, there has been the added burden of a vastly inflated defence budget during the last two years. It would be idle, even foolish to deny that the earlier assumption—based more upon emotional fervour than logical and consistent thinking—that defence and development would mutually sustain each other and would go ahead with a sort of chain reaction, has not been realised in actual experience. Again there have been enough lessons from the immediate past to induce the realization that some short term remedies can be far worse than the disease and have the only result of benefitting an advantageously placed and microscopic section of the community. The frantic reappraisal of the Second Plan would appear to have reappeared as the transport, power and other bottlenecks of the initial years of the current Plan and that the foreign exchange crisis of the Second Plan was, in turn, the fruit of the "realists'" solution for the unemployment scare of the First Plan. No one, alas, cares to ponder over these lessons of the past; they are in too great a hurry to find a solution of the present price problem!

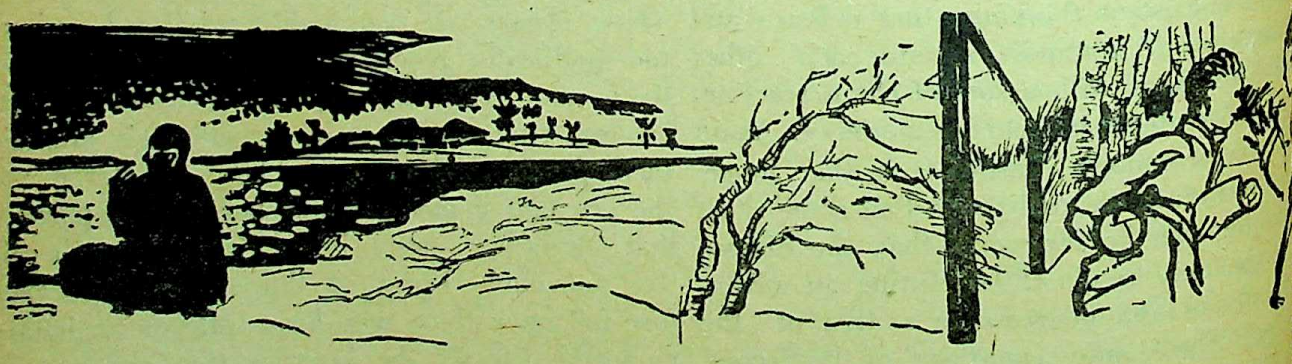
There may be a fascination in the game which pretends to find means to reduce demand and contain prices in a matter of weeks, But in real life things do not conform to whatever rules may be devised for the game, especially so when one has to deal with essential consumables required for plain ordinary living. It is on this point that one is required to strike if any appreciable dent is to be made on the contents and processes of demand. It is clear that the most important point at which reduction of disposable income will have to be made if any appreciable reduction of the demand for primary edibles and other essential consumables has to be achieved, must be related to the more wide based lower income levels. Here is an apparent paradox for it follows as a matter of course, that reducing demand for essential consumables cannot be achieved without reducing employment in the lower income ranges or, alternatively, without reducing the rates of remuneration to the workers. It is undeniable but a consistently ignored fact that the excess demand has stemmed from the employment and income increases that have occured over the years in a considerable range of incomes at the lower levels. This does not, however, mean to imply that a considerable proportion of the excess fat in the higher income ranges and in the distributive trades cannot be cut without detriment to the quality or quantity of production. But the prospects of any very seriously organized attack upon this point is only a remote possibility. These classes are too highly privileged and are too politically powerful to be dealt with effectively and with the requisite measure of ruthlessness. Any attempt to even moderately attenuate their privileges has always been countered with the cry that democracy was being endangered or that incentives were being destroyed thereby. The inevitable brunt of the attack must therefore fall upon those who have little or no incomes to spend. Clearly the incomes that are most expandable are those that do not yet exist. But if the Third and Fourth Plan outlays are carried out according to schedule, there would be further

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

increase in employment and disposable incomes with the people and for those who are concerned with the present price problem these additions of incomes that are yet to eventuate would be an additional burden on their feeble arsenal of expedients and resources.

In fact there is no easy way out of the present impasse which is largely of our own short-sighted making. One does not, of course, discount the value of a pragmatic approach as an essential of economic statesmanship but, surely, the better part of such statesmanship is a clearer vision of the future that is the objective of all these efforts. Here a great deal of confusion and loose thinking seems to prevail both at Party and Planning levels. There is yet time, but not a great deal of it, that the situation may be retrieved from the impact of the political stampede that threatens it. Scaling down investments will not achive it, nor adhering stubbornly to a large programme of outlays do so. It is the strategy of investment and, even more so, the mech of implementation that is of far-reaching i tance here. Investments must conform to a pattern with built-in measures for certain of marginal adjustments to decelerate the flationary pressures of large outlays. In words the strategy must aim at a progr adjustment of the balance between input output designed, coincidentally, to dispers effects of rising demand due to incr employment and disposable incomes by c pondingly accelerating supplies of essentia semi-essential consumables and, progressivel more gradually, also of other less essentia sumables. It is this self-adjusting balance i formulation as well as in the implementati related projects which is of prime impor And of this only a feeble awareness seem exist both at Party and Planning levels. gmatism in Planning may be a de approach, but if it merely has the effect petuating shortages it can achieve none desired objectives of Planning.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE U.S.A. AND INDIAN REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY :

Early Phase of the Gadar Movement

By KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE,
Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur.

In the November 1964 issue of the Modern Review the writer discussed the pioneering activity of the Indian revolutionaries in the United States. The story was brought down to the foundation of the Pacific Coast Hindustani Association and the start of the weekly newspaper 'Gadar' under the editorship of Har Dayal.

The name Gadar was subsequently modified to Hindustan Gadar to make it clear that the organization and its weekly organ did not advocate revolution in the United States.[1] That country had provided the Gadar organizers with a safe area to work in. They had now to be in touch with the revolutionaries in India and Indian revolutionaries elsewhere, and wait for favourable opportunities. In the meanwhile the Gadar organization had taken shape in San Francisco where was founded the Yugantar Ashram, named presumably after the revolutionary group and their journal published in Calcutta.[2] Har Dayal was not destined to be in the United States for long. Exception was taken to his speeches and he was arrested on March 16, 1914 by the Immigration Department of the Department of Labour "and held as an anarchist for deportation." He gave a bond under that proceeding but jumped bail and absconded to Switzerland.[3]

Early in the previous month Har Dayal had been appointed by the Indian Community of San Francisco along with two others, Dr. Sudhindra Bose of the State University of Iowa and Dr. Bishan Singh to proceed to Washington to make representations to the U.S. Government and legislature on the issue of the Asiatic Exclusion Bill. But,

---

1. Mark Naidis, Propaganda of the Gadar Party, *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XX, No. 3, August 1951, p. 251.

2. John W. Spellman, The International Extension of Political Conspiracy as, Illustrated by the Gadar Party, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 37, 1959, p. 28.

The Yugantar began its publication in 1906, faced Government prosecution, and finally disappeared in 1910.—*Indian Sedition Committee Report*, 1918, p. 193-94. The political group continued to function for decades to come.

The following conversation between Mr. Preston, the U.S. District Attorney and Nawab Khan a Government witness at the San Francisco Trial is worthy of note. Preston : Was there any use made of the words "Yugantar Ashram" in connection with this paper (*Gadar*) ? Nawab Khan :— Yes. Q. What was it ? A. There was a paper being published in India by the name of *Yugantar* and it was decided to start another paper at this place for the purpose of disseminating the revolutionary ideas. United States of America vs. Franz Popp *et al.* Reporter's Transcript, p. 1221. (Hereafter to be called Trial records).

The writer is indebted to Prof. Robert C. North of Stanford University and the Asian Studies Center, University of California, Berkeley, for permission to use the microfilmed copies of selected pages of the Trial records.

3. Trial records, p. 13 ; Sedition Committee Report, p. 146.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

whatever the reasons, it seems that Har Dayal did not proceed with the other two and took no part in the delegation.[4]

It is quite likely that but for the developing international situation the activities of the Indian revolutionaries in the United States would have continued primarily on the emotional and propaganda plane coupled with fund raising efforts for the benefit of their compatriots at home. This would have been very much like the efforts of the Irishmen on the American soil. It should be made clear, however, that the anti-British propaganda was meant not only to instigate Indians to revolt but also to inform public opinion in America about the situation in India and to neutralize British propaganda in the U.S.A. and elsewhere. Even after the outbreak of the War considerable attention was paid to this propaganda work. Ram Chandra who became leader of the Gadar organization in San Francisco and edited the weekly paper after Har Dayal's departure from America, also contributed to the columns of the *New York Times* and other American papers on the issue of India's freedom or, in defence of the work of the Gadar organization. He also challenged in the columns of the American Press, the views of the apologists of the British Indian administration on the real situation in India. The *New York Times* published several of his letters prominently and his pamphlets on the Indian question were circulated in the country where he had chosen to work. Chandra also started a news agency for the circulation of Indian news in the United States. There were a few others who tried to educate American public opinion on behalf of other groups or in their individual capacity. The most notable amongst them was Lala Lajpat Rai. He could not return home in 1914, because of the Government's repressive policy in India and had to be in the United States till about the end of 1919. During his stay there Lajpat Rai published several books including *Young India*, started a monthly organ of the same name and also organized the India Home Rule League in America. On one occasion he said, "The Liberal and Radical Press of the country has been extremely generous and considerate to me. Even the *New York Times* allowed me much space at first, but when the war dragged on it dropped me and would not let me contradict things said against me in columns. At this stage it was Mr. Villard (*New York Evening Post*) who with his in sense of fair play and justice came to my resc

To return to the main current of the s The San Francisco group started fairly wel had an organization and its own organ. F were raised from time to time and the resp of the people to the exhortations of the leaders was encouraging. The staff of Hindustan Gadar were a devoted band of w ers. Some of them lived at the Ashram and practically wholetime workers receiving food and a monthly allowance of only dollars.[6] Although the majority of the se on the Pacific coast were Sikhs, the Gada its early years, was a broadbased organiz having within its fold the Hindus and the and the Moslems, and, "originally cut acros ligious lines and for a time gathered virtual East Indians into a common structure."[7] start with, the Gadar movement was a non- munal, non-sectarian, democratic and revol ary enterprise thinking in terms of Freedom India.[8] Ram Chandra Bhardwaj to whom ference has already been made, was not a A Hindu from Peshawar, in the extreme n west corner of undivided India. Ram Cha was about 25 years of age, when he became virtual leader of the Gadar organization in Francisco.[9] Like some other Indian patriot the United States, Chandra was a young man political antecedents. One of the founders o first Congress Committee in Peshawar in he also joined the Bharat Mata Society of L and was prosecuted by the Government for

4. *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, May 1914, p. 571-72.

5. *Young India*, February, 1920.

6. Spellman. *op. cit.*, p. 132.

7. Harold S. Jacoby, A Half-Century praisal of East Indians in the United States Sixth Annual College of the Pacific Faculty search Lecture), p. 25.

8. A book in Hindi—*Gadar Patrika* by Pritam Singh Panchchi, (Atmaram & Delhi), though unauthenticated, is interesti points.

9. The author had the privilege of m Mrs. Padmavati Ram Chandra, the wido Ram Chandra and their second daughter L Berkeley, California and getting some inf tion about Ram Chandra from them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tion. Between 1907 and 1910, Ram Chandra edited the *Aftab* and the *Akash*, two nationalist newspapers of Delhi.[10] He and his young wife eluded the vigilance of the Police, left India in 1911, and with several aliases, finally came to San Francisco via Hongkong and Japan in 1913. It is no wonder that with his background and abilities Ram Chandra succeeded Har Dayal as leader of the Gadar movement in San Francisco.

The outbreak of the war enlarged the scope and the nature of the work of the Indian revolutionaries at home, in the United States and elsewhere. The Indian patriots had pinned their faith on the principle that England's adversity would be their opportunity. In America, Gadar leaders like Ram Chandra, Barkatulla and Bhagwan Singh[11] exhorted their compatriots to go back to India to take part in the revolt, and about four hundred of them left in the autumn of 1914.[12] In the early years of the war, the revolutionary impulses and aspirations were organized on a level higher than mere intrigue and propaganda, and assumed, in the opinion of an American scholar, the character of an international conspiracy.[13] The people who might speak with some authority on the major details of their revolutionary project were the organizers of the conspiracy itself. Despite the differences in the emphasis, or, a subjective treatment of the story of its development, they would be the persons in the know of things. Unfortunately, most of them are in their graves. Besides, since a secret organization and movement does not always have its chroniclers or historians, we have to search for important details of this plot-making adventure story from other sources like the records of the court trials, the findings of the investigating committees, and the reports of the different agencies that had been trying to keep a vigilance over the activities of some of these revolutionaries.

These bits of information, when pieced together, give one the impression of a far-flung conspiracy in which the main trouble spots were Berlin, San Francisco and New York, Bengal and the Punjab in India, and the other areas involved were, Japan, China, Siam, Batavia, Singapore, Burma, Afghanistan and Turkey. As the story emerges one gets the impression that initially, the Indian patriots were not mere puppets in the hands of Germany although both in the matter of the arms supply and finance they banked almost exclusively on German support. It will appear, however, that with the passage of time and. the inflow of more and more of German money central direction passed into the hands of the financial patrons.

An analysis of the causes of the failure of this Indo-German conspiracy on the American soil and elsewhere during the First World War is beyond the scope of this paper. It will be enough to say that not all the conspirators were men of proven experience and merit. Neither was the German handling of the situation perfect and unexceptionable. This would apply not only to the international aspect of the Indo-German conspiracy but also to the Gadar movement in the U.S.A. The British Secret Service and through

---

10. *The Frontier Mail*, 15th August, 1960.

11. Muhammad Barkatulla, a distinguished evolutionary from the Bhopal State was for ometime Professor of Hindustani at Tokyo here he edited a bitter anti-British paper called *he Islamic Fraternity*. The paper was suppressed by the Japanese authorities. Early in 914, Barkatulla was deprived of his teaching ob and then came to San Francisco to join the adar movement. Sedition Committee Report, 918, p. 178.

Mrs. Ram Chandra told me that her husband et Bhagwan Singh in Hongkong in 1911 and e latter was invited to join the Gadar Organiation later.

12. Trial records, p. 15.

The situation has some parallel with the and taken by the Chinese Students' Monthly—an of the Chinese Students' Alliance, which in e of its editorials in the March, 1915. issue id, "....China now needs capable men more an anything else.... Our duty is, therefore, in : Go home." Quoted in Chow tse tung—e May Fourth Movement, p. 26. The editorial s a sequel to the publication of the news of Twentyone demands on China.

13. Spellman, *op. cit.*, p. 23. "I think that India gives the first major example of what has now become practically a *sine qua non* of revolutions—international conspiracy. Hitherto, the existence of terrorist conspiracies had not assumed either the importance or the extensions in political theory that it has since."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

them the American Government, even though neutral during the first phase of the war, kept a watchful eye on the doings of the Gadar members and other Indian revolutionaries in the U.S. The following news item published in the *New York Times* dated March 8, 1917, is revealing:— Responsible officials let it be known today that the Government knew of the existence in the U.S. and in other countries of German intrigues to induce a revolt against British rule in India.[14] This is corroborated by a very important authority in India who had first-hand knowledge of the Indian unrest during the war.[15]

The expenses incurred by the British to keep track of the Indian revolutionaries in America and by the U.S. Government to run the State trial at San Francisco (as distinct from the other trial at Chicago) for a period of about six months (November 22, 1917, to April 24, 1918), were quite considerable. The cost to the British Government must have been close to $1,000,000. The real expense was probably twice that amount. Two hundred members of the British Secret Service were in San Francisco for more than two years working on Indian cases. The evidence of conspiracy was provided by a group of Indians especially imported under military guard. "U.S. District Attorney John W. Preston believed that the case will have cost the Government $450,000 at the very least." The transcript of testimony runs into more than 6,000 pages. A single copy of the transcript costs $3,600. "Witnesses have been summoned from every corner of the globe at a tremendous outlay."[16]

The financial aspect apart, the Indo-Ger Conspiracy trial proceedings were of import and significance otherwise also. They rev the international character of the conspiracy nized by the Gadar group on the American Some have also questioned the fairness and partiality of the trial. Exception has been t to uncalled for interference by the agents o British Government at different stages of the An American Professor has even gone t length of castigating the San Francisco tri "one of the most disgraceful episodes in judicial history." He maintains that the tria conducted by the U.S. District Attorney unde direction of George Denham, Chief of the C of the Government of India, "who actively the prosecution throughout the trial."[17] professor cites other cases of British interfe and assistance relating to the trial. He q Taraknath Das as saying that when the Ame police came to search his apartment witho warrant Denham was with them. Mr. Das is said to have informed the Professor that, " address to the jury the District Attorney heavily on patriotic duty to our Allies."[18] K. Chakravarti, a leading accused in the objected at the early stage of the trial, t British agency handling the messages and evidence for the trial. "If the American G ment alone handled this evidence, I hav objection to its becoming a part of the record stated.[19] The British interest in the trial an

14. The *New York Times*, March 8, 1917 : 1 :4. The news item was dated Washington, March 7.

15. Dewitt Mackenzine, *India Through the Eyes of an American Journalist*, p. 121. "The schemes all miscarried hopelessly ; remittances had a way of getting intercepted by the wrong people; ships on secret German errands kept knocking up against the Allied warships.... and most of the plots were promptly reported to us by our own agents." These were the words of Sir Charles Cleveland, Director of Criminal Intelligence for India to Mackenzie in October, 1916.

16. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 22, 1918, p. 9.

Robert Morss Lovett, The United States and India : A Footnote to Recent History, *The New Republic*, April 1, 1931.

17. Robert Morss Lovett, *All Our Yea* autobiography, pp. 157-60—"Apart from pe reasons, however, I have been more deeply tated by the treatment of the Indians i United States by British Agents, acting th our authorities, than by any other instanc foreign interference in our affairs. I have of this interference to Englishmen whom I met in this country, to H. G. Wells, to H. L. ford and Lord Robert Cecil and S. K. Ra From all I reveived in effect the same an nothing doing."

M. N. Roy's *Memoires*, p. 64. "The Ch the British-Indian C.I.D. Denham, had co San Francisco to conduct the 'Hindu-German piracy' case.-'

18. The New Republic, *op. cit.*

19. The *New York Times*, Decembe 1917, 4 :3.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

concomitant implications were not refuted by Preston when he conceded to Mr. Roche, a defence lawyer cross examining Otto O. Orr, (who was in the employ of William A Mundell International Detective Agency), "....if you want an admission that Mundell is employed by the British Government I am perfectly willing to say that it is my understanding that it is true."[20] McGowan, a defence lawyer declared that the whole case "is being tried at the initiation of the British Government. The United States Government has never found anything seditious in the writings of these defendants."[21] Sometime after the trial, the official representative of American Justice, a woman district attorney (who was associated with the San Francisco trial) was feted by the British Empire Society in New York.[22]

An appreciation of the part played by the British Secret Service agents is necessary to understand the comparative ease with which many of the conspirators were put under arrest on the American soil quite sometime before the entry of the United States into the war. They kept a vigilance on the activities of the revolutionaries and patriots working in that country and supplied the relevant information to appropriate quarters in the United States. Such vigilance was also maintained on the Indian suspects in other countries friendly to Britain. The Conspiracy trials that were held in India and Burma and the information that could be gathered from the witnesses in these trials, or, from some of those arrested under suspicion, also gave the British valuable information. The Anglo-American accord worked satisfactorily in this respect. The news of the arrest of Indians, Germans and Americans on the American soil made headlines in the American Press. It was full of stories of conspiracies that had been hatched on the U.S. soil. Reports of the Lahore Conspiracy trials in India and of the Burma Conspiracy trial which had some bearing on the plots in America also received publicity. The *New York Times devoted* editorials to the Indo-German plot. The San Francisco newspapers published pictures of the accused and also of the court scenes. "The trial ....was one of the most picturesque ever conducted in an American court. The turbaned Hindus lent an oriental atmosphere. Among the evidence were publications in six Indian dialects, also coded messages, all of which called for constant translation by interpreters and cryptographers. Witness after witness recited his amazing story of adventure. The action shifted quickly between the three focal points, Berlin, the United States and India, with intermediate scenes laid in Japan, China, Afghanistan and the South Seas."[23]

In his opening address the U.S. District Attorney, John W. Preston fathered on the Indo-German conspirators a very ambitious project in which, "the object and purpose of this conspiracy reached the entire world, (and) was to engage the assistance of every Hindu and every sympathizer in every neutral country practically in the world." "We will show you," he said, "that they had.... for their further object seducing from their loyalty to the British Government the troops[24] that were in operation on the British fronts and on the French fronts."[25]

---

20. Trial records, p. 1725-27. Roche's question to Orr was : "Don't you know that at that time (1916) the work which you were doing for Mr. Mundell was being paid for by A. Carnegie Ross, the local British Consul ?"

21. The *New York Times*, March 1, 1918.

22. Robert Morss Lovett, *op. cit.*, p. 157. Lovett refers to the following interesting case as well. Proceedings were drawn up against some Indians in New York in 1918. A British Secret Service man named Nathan was allowed a quasi-judicial status in questioning Americans who sympathized with these alien refugees. P. N. Sinha was brought before the officers of the Military Intelligence Department, charged with trading with the enemy because he had warned his countrymen in Mexico of their danger of arrest. When Nathan's presence at Sinha's trial was challenged the American head of the local bureau admitted that he had brought him in as "an expert on Indian names." The New Republic, *op. cit.*

23. Capt. Henry Landau, The Enemy Within: The Inside Story of German Sabotage in America (1937), pp. 28-33.

24. Indian troops—made clear in an answer to a question from the Court.

25. Trial records, p. 17.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CIVIL SERVICE AND THE MINISTRY IN OUR PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

By V. LINGAMURTY

Parliamentary Democracy in its evolution has reached a stage where its vitality and vigour depends upon the harmonious relations between the Ministry and the Civil Service. "The influence of the Civil Service is a comparatively modern phenomenon."[1] Bagehot in his classic work, Government of Britain, did not discuss the influence of the officials. In its early stages parliamentary democracy was synonymous with the supremacy of parliament. Later on there arose the "dictatorship of the Cabinet", under which the parliament was merely to "advise and admonish", the Cabinet having arrogated to itself all responsibilities including the power to "kill its own creator", *viz.*, the parliament. Today with the emergnce of the welfare state and planned economy, with the change from the negative state to the positive state, there has arisen the importance of the Civil Service on whose shoulders have fallen colossal responsibilities of guiding and animating the entire administration. So the crying need for the successful working of parlamentary democracy is the harmonious relations that exist between the parliament, the Ministry and the Civil Service. "In a parliamentary democracy there are three partners engaged on a common enterprise—'the endless adventure of governing men'—the legislators, ministers and civil servants. But the success of the partnership depends upon the proper understanding of their respective roles by the partners concerned."[2]

The relations between the ministers and civil servants are so intimate and intricate that they are not amenable to law or logic. Writing on this subject Mr. C. C. Desai aptly compared the relations between the Minister and his secretary with those of a huusband and wife and rightly observed that the "relations are incapable of modification—Every thing depends upon mutual confidence, mutual respect, mutual accommod and mutual goodwill."[3]

The Ministry and the Civil Service are co mentary to one another and one is as imp as the other for the success of parliame government. It is for this reason that along its progress, the civil service has been growi its strength. On the eve of India's indepe there were about 1,150 I.C.S. Officers, their number has mounted to over 2,096. parliamentary democracy like India engag the building up of a socialist society, there is ceptible growth of the Civil Service not o its number but also in its fuctions. It is th cendancy of the Civil Service that is look with apprehension by a party like the Swat in India which considers that democracy is superseded by bureaucracy and by writer Lord Hewart who describes it as the "New D ism". The question arises, "are .... the m try and the civil service complementary o tradictory to one another ?" A proper u standing of their respective roles reveals tha Civil Service is not inimical but essential t parliamentary system of government.

Of the two wings of our parliamentary s *viz.*, the ministry and the civil service, latter is often looked at with prejudice and described as "an engine of oppression" "an patriotic class" and the enemy of democracy. reasons for the prvalence of such prejudicial against the civil service in India are quit dent. The Indian Civil Service was held great paradox, as neither Indian nor civil ser vice. Its composition and functions unde British role largely justify such a conclu While the majority of members in the higher service were aliens, their chief functions collection of revenue and maintenance of law

1. H. J. Laski—*Parliamentary Government in England*, p. 309.

2. *Morale in the Public Services—Introduction*, p. 5. (Indian Institute of Public Administration).

3. Minister and His Secretary In P mentary Democracy—*Commerce*, Annual Nu December. 1959.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

order. With the gowth of the national movement in India, the duty of suppressing the national agitation fell on the civil service and this naturally made them appear as unpatriotic and anti-national.

The dawn of independnce and the complete Indianisation of the Civil Services opened a new era in the relations between the Ministry and the Civil Services. Now they have become partners in the common enterprise of nation building. No doubt, psychological adjustments cannot be made in a day and the services who formed a "caste" by themselves, have to slowly reconcile themselves to their new position. In the first few years following "the transfer of power, this maladjustment (between the ministers and administrators) remains one of the biggest obstacles to good administration."[4] It must, however, be said that the "ruling complex" in the Civil servants ts gradually disappearing and they are realising more and more that they should not be discourteous in their relations with the common man or his representatives. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, the Union Finance Minister, has truly observed that "the Younger Officials in the I.A.S. had a feeling of oneness with the people. Eighty per cent of the I.A.S. boys have set up a good reputation."[5]

The great challenge that paprliamentary democracy in our country has to face to-day is the proper adjustment of relations between the Ministry and the Civil Service. According to the theory of parliamentary democracy the ministers, being the representatives of the people, are at the apex of the administration and the Civil servants are subordinate to them. "The Civil servants are an instrument and a tool in the hands of these representatives who form the directory."[6] The subordination of the non-political to the political wing of government is the *sine qua non* of democracy. So the concern of the Civil service "is with means and not with ends."[7] But in practice this principle is often violated and the non-political wing is having the upper hand. In a modern parliamentary government parliament is in the hands of the ministers and the ministeters are in the hands of their Civil servants. Mr. Ramsay Muir argued that parliament has surrendered its real authority "to the bureaucracy which behind the veil wields so much of the reality of power."[8] G. D. H. Cole expressed a similar view in his lecture on "A Better Civil Service". He remarked, "in practice the Civil servant often becomes the master of the minister he is supposed to serve. He is the expert who knows all the ropes ; and what he knows best of all is that ministers are but amateurs who blunder sadly if he does not continuously save them from themselves."[9] Cabinet government has been traditionally held as government by amateurs. One who has hardly any knowledge of mines and minerals may become the Minister of Mines and Minerals and a failed Matriculate may become the Minister of Education. Then why should not a person well-versed in a particular field be appointed as minister in that Department ? Those who adhere to the traditional system of parliamentary government are allergic to the appointment of experts as administrators, for they fear that an expert is enthusiastic about his own particular subject and is lacking in knowledge of the needs of the people. "The amateur brings a fresh mind which the administrator is not familiar with, is not expected to know. The expert knows more and more of his subject and less and less of others."[10] This Disraelian prejudice towards the experts has no justification. In fact an expert appointed as minister by virtue of his special knowledge can have a better understanding of the needs of the people and will be in a better position to deal with the Civil servants. How fantastic it is to think that an amateur appointed as minister is closer to the people's hearts and possesses a larger understanding. of their needs than experts like Sri C. D. Deshmukh, Dr. K. L. Rao and Mr. Chagla ! Apart from properly comprehending the needs of the people, the expert minister will also not come under the "iron grip of the Higher Civil Service." It is not the amateur but the expert appointed as minister that can prevent bureaucracy from superseding democracy. Moreover, the growing complexity of modern adminis-

4. Gorwala's Report on Public Administration, p. 27.
5. *The Hindu*, June, 1964.
6. N. C. Roy—*The Civil Service in India*, p. 313.
7. Lindsay—Essentials of Democracy, p. 66.
8. *Cited* by H. J. Laski—*Parliamentary Government in England*, p. 215.
9. Cited by R. Dwarkadar—*Role of the Higher Civil Service in India*, p. 167.
10 M. Ruthnaswami—"The Expert as Minister"—*Swarajya* (Weekly), August 10, 1963.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tration necessitates the appointment of an expert as a minster. To formulate general policies, or exercise supervision over the administration or even to answer the criticism raised on the floor of the legislature on the huge projects which involve colossal expenditure, and similar other duties of ministers require expert knowledge. The traditional system of appointing amatuers as ministers makes individual or collective responsibility a mockery. The appointment of experts and "technocrats" as ministers will thus have a double advantage, namely, while they can taken decisions with understanding and confidence, they will not be puppets in the hands of the civil servants.

Parliamentary democracy can have a smooth flight only when both the political and the non-political wings are properly adjusted. Such an adjustment can be had if both the Civil servants and the ministers follow certain principles in the discharge of their duties. (1) The first and the foremost duty of the civil servant is "to tender and render advice" to the minister under whom he works. It is said that the British monarch still possesses "the right to be consulted, the right to encourage and the right to warn." To some extent the same may be said of a civil servant in a parliamentary system. "The civil servant is entitled to advise, to warn, to encourage and to explain."[11] (2) Besides the advisory functions, the work of providing the relevant and available information required by ministers is equally imporant. "The Civil servant's function is thus to advise, to warn, to draft memoranda and speeches in which the government's policy is expressed and explained."[12] Their function is not to direct but -to do, not to decide but to carry out the decisions of the minsters. It is well remarked that "the civil servant must be on tap and not on top." (3) Though the minister's word is final on any matter, the civil servant should not develop a servile mentality and offer only such advice which is acceptable to the minister. Sir Warren Fisher rightly observed that "it is the traditional duty of Civil servants . . . . to make available to their political chiefs all the information and experience at their disposal and to do this without fear or fa irrespective of whether the advice thus tend may accord or not with the minister's view."[13] Whenever any issue is under consider it is the duty of the Civil servant to spo the loopholes with courage (4) The Civil se may argue with, differ and warn the mi before the minister takes a decision. But a policy is determined it is the unquestioned unquestionable business of the civil serva strive to carry out that policy with precisel same good will whether he agrees with it or n (5) While the civil servants are closely ciated with party men, namely the ministers, have to dissociate themselves from party po "The ethics of the civil service is detachmen neutrality."[15] They should not project their and dislikes into administration and their duty merely carry out the decisions of the cabine sincerity and efficiency. The civil servant s serve a communist or socialist ministry w much devotion as he might have served a mi belonging to another party. In some of the in the Indian Union like Kerala, the Civil ser had such experiences and it must be said to credit that they played their role well. In B when the Labour Party under the leadersh Mr. C. Attlee came into power, some L publicists felt that it may become necessar change some officers occupying key pos But their fears were belied and "the L Ministers spoke emphatically of the assi which they had received from the service."[16] The most outstanding contri of Britain to parliamentary democracy clear division between politicians and servants on the one hand and the close re ship between policy and administration other. (6) The Civil servant should give unstinted and wholehearted co-operation minister and he should not demean or atta cause him any embarrassment either by w deed (7) Above all, anonymity is another ciple which the civil service has to bear in in the discharge of its duties. It should k aim at playing to the gallery or any k

11. W. A. Robson, *The Civil Service in Britain and France*, pp. 8—9.
12. Ivor Jennings—*Cabinet Government*, p. 126.
13. Quoted by Ivor Jennings—*Ibid*, p.
14. Ivor Jennings—*Cabinet Govt.* p.
15. H. J. Laski—*Parliamentary Gove in England*, p. 338.
16. Ivor Jennings—*Cabinet Govt.*, p.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

publicity. The administrator has merely to do his job incognito leaving to the politician the receipt of honour or dishonour from the public.

In India the anonymity principle is strictly enforced by the Civil Service Conduct Rules. The Civil servant is not only prevented from having any contact with current politics, but is also prohibited from making even a comment upon public affairs by way of speech or publishing an article. Active participation by the Civil servants in current politics is certainly undesirable and harmful, for it will make them more of politicians than administrators. Moreover, it will create disharmony and misunderstanding between the Civil service and the Ministers. But it seems to be equally undesirable to completely isolate the Civil service from having any contact with the public whom it is intended to serve. Moreover their isolation may produce a dehumanising effect and make them treat the people as mere abstractions and statistical data. "The warmth of flesh and blood, the spaciousness of ideas that move humanity become the cold, nice and narrow calculations of the logarithmic table."[17] Moreover, by having contact with the public, the Civil servants can present their case before the public and vindicate their position. This might help in many cases towards removal of suspicions and misunderstandings that the public may entertain about the Civil service. Hence H. J. Laski's statement, "And this leads me to the insistence that just as the maximum publicity is desirable for what may be termed official thought, so is the maximum relation between the Civil Service and pubulic desirable."[18]

In a parliamentary system of Government while it is incumbent upon the Civil Service to regulate its conduct by such principles, the ministers in their turn should be quite aware of their responsibilities in their dealings with 'the Civil servants (1) The ministers in their arrogance and self-conceit should not develop a sense of false prestige that it is beneath their dignity and honour to consult their subordinates, namely the civil servants, and seek their advice. The ministers should realise that parliamentary Government will work successfully only when the Cabinet is "butteressed by Citadels of knowledge." (2) A minister should never entertain the view that the Civil servant who studies the mind of his master and just gives advice acceptable to him is the most faithful and efficient administrator. What would be the competence of a doctor who prescribes the medicine desired by the patient or of a teacher who imparts instruction in accordance with the wishes of the taught? (3) Parliamentary Government signifies a net-work of reciprocal understanding between the political and the non-politicial branches of Government and as such the two branches should develop good-will and understanding. The ministers should not lend their ear to false propaganda and allow their minds to be prejudiced against the Civil servants. Until the charges levelled against a Civil servant are proved, he should not be suspected, nay he should be given the honour due to him. (4) The key-note in the Ministerial—Civil Service—relations is that the minister should protect the Civil servant from public criticism on any administrative faults and must bear the brunt of the attack. "If a mistake is made in a Government department the minister is responsible even if he knew nothing about it. .. Now and again the House demands to know the name of the officer responsible for the occurrence. The proper answer of the Minister is that if the House wants any body's head it must be his head—."[19] As the minister is ultimately responsible for all acts of commission or omission in administration, he may take the necessary action against the Civil servant, but it should be a matter between himself and the Civil servant. It is rightly remarked that "the Minister should praise the work of the officers when such praise is due and admonish them when necessary. But it will not be in the interest of morale, if they indulge in public criticism of the actions of the departmental personnel."[20] On this issue of ministerial responsibility in respect of the actions of the Civil servants, the view expressed by the Home Secretary in Britain in the Crichel Down Case (1954) is of immense significance. When a Civil servant acted in accordance with an explicit order of the Minister, the latter must protect him

17. H. R. Greaves—*The Civil Service in the Changing State*, p. 52.
18. H. J. Laski—*Parliamentary Government in England*, p. 345.
19. Herbert Morrison—*Government and Parliament*, p. 323.
20. *Morale in the Public Services*—Report of a Conference, p. 6. Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

from any criticism in the Parliament and take responsibility himself. When, again, in the absence of an explicit order in a particular case the Civil servant acted in accordance with the general policy of the Minister, he must be given the same protection. Thirdly if a Civil Servant made a mistake in taking action in a particular matter but the mistake was not very serious, the minister should accept responsibility for it in the legislature. But if a Civil servant had taken an action of which the minister disapproved and of which he had no previous knowledgde, the minister would be within his right not to support his action. He would be constitutionally responsible to Parliament for this action taken by a functionary of the department over which he presided."[21]

How far are these principles adopted in practice by ministers in India? In the famous Mundhra case relating to the purchase of shares worth one crore twenty five lakhs of rupees by the L.I.C. in the Mundhra concerns, the principles were hardly respected.[22] The Finance Minister Sri T. T. Krishnamachari, let down his Chief Secretary, Mr. H. M. Patel, I.C.S., openly stating that the latter did not fully inform or properly advise him on the matter. The Principal Secretary in his turn argued "my case throughout has been that whatever I did was done openly and with the full approval of the Minister and his other principal adviser."[23] Tragic episodes of this kind will rudely shake the relations that exist between the ministers and the civil servants. It must be said to the credit of parliamentary government in India that cases of this type have not frequently arisn during the past fourteen years. The behaviour of Sri N. Sanjiva Reddi in tendering his resignation of the Chief Ministership (A.P.) in February last on the Supreme Court's decision on the nationalisation of Bus Transport in the Kurnool Dist. is much to be appreciated in maintenance of healthy relations between political and the non-political branches of government. Without casting any aspersions on Advocate-General (A.P.), Sri Reddi clearly stated, "this is my own personal decision."[24]

(5) Another notworthy principle in Ministerial versus Civil Service relations is the ministers should lay down general policy and leave the details to be worked out by expert administrators. For example, it is for Cabinet to decide the general policy regarding nationalisation of Road Transport or Banks, even in this matter, the minister should consult the civil servant, for "the relationship between the Minister and Civil Servants should be—as usually is—that of Colleagues working together in a team, co-operative partners seeking to advance the public interest and the efficiency of the department."[25] (6) A principle of vital significance in administration is the non-interference of the political executive with day-to-day administration. It is incumbent on the minister not to meddle with the normal administration so long as the Civil servants work in accordance with the general policy laid down by the minister. Frequent and meddlesome interference by the politician with the details of day-to-day administration will not only hamper the smooth working of government but also affect the morale of the Civil servants. (7) Policy-making is no doubt the concern of the minister. But certain problems of public administration may necessitate the delegation of rule-making power to the civil service. On simple matters, in the interests of prompt administration, the Civil servant must be given the freedom to take decisions which may later on be placed before the minister for ratification. In the name of Cabinet responsibility too many hurdles should not be created in administration. Stressing the need for a quick pace in Indian administration. Dr. Paul H. Appleby remarked that, "by a curious perversion of the conceptions of parliamentary responsibility and cabinet responsibility and by reliance on excessive procedures and cross-reference there has been built an extraordinary evasion

21. Cited by N. C. Roy—*The Civil Service in India*, pp. 314-315.

22. Then also he was Finance Minister and on the findings of the Chagla Commission he resigned (1958). After the Third General Elections he was again appointed as Finance Minister; the appointment of the same person who has previously resigned on grounds of loss of public confidence, in the same post is not a sound precedent.

23. Cited from an article published in the "Current"—*Swarajya*, Sept., 1959.

24. *The Indian Express*, Jan. 30, 1964.

25. Herbert Morrison—*Government and Parliament*, p. 318.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

individual responsibility and a system whereby everybody is responsible for everything before anything is done."[26] In the interests of good and speedy administration, the Civil servant must be given due freedom to take urgent decisions on matters of day-to-day administration.

How far are the principles stated above adopted by the ministers and the civil servants in India? It must be said that all is not well with either of them. The Civil servants who are expected to provide the expertise and honest administration are found lacking in both. The required efficiency in the Civil servants is lacking mainly on account of the retirement of exjerienced officers and the heavy responsibilities thrown on inexperienced young officers, responsibilities which followed in the wake of independence. The strength of the Civil service fell from 1150 to 450 in 1947 and so either unworthy persons had to be promoted or inexperienced new entrants entrusted with responsible posts. Under the British rule only those I.C.S. personnel who had 10 to 15 years of service were posted as Dist. Collectors or Secretaries : but to-day an I.A.S. Officer who has hardly five years of experience is posted as a Collector. Mr. V. P. Menon rightly remarked that "we did secure good material for our Indian Administrative Service, but the difficulty was that we could not give them adequate training." The Five Year Plans and the diverse developmental activities have made district administration difficult and complex and it is found quite essential to post only experienced personnel as District Collectors. Along with inefficiency the Civil Service is not free from corruptpion. Dr. Paul H. Appieby's testimony that the "Government of India is" one of the dozen or so governments in which honesty has been carried to the highest level,"[27] does not give us much of a satisfaction. The report of the Special Polic Establishment for 1963 reveals the growing evil of corruption in Public Services.[28] During 1963 it is reported that 4851 cases of corruption involving public servants were dealt with. Of these 818 were gazetted officers of the government and 5 of the rank of Under Secretary and above. How far the anti-corruption measures taken in recent years by the Union Government prove effective is yet to be seen.

The conduct of the Ministers in their dealings with the Civil Servants is no better. The two cardinal principles which the ministers have to observe, namely to lend a respectable ear to the expert advice offered by the Civil servants and to remain aloof from matters of day to day administration are often violated. There are several instances where a minister with a casual remark "I do not agree," set aside the report prepared by a Civil servant after spending much time and energy over it. To add to this, ministerial incursions into affairs of routine administration are matters of frequent occurance. Sri Gorwala in his report on Public Administration[29] referred to the following instance. An M.L.A. approached a Dist. Collector with a request which the latter could not concede in the larger interests of the people. Then the M.L.A. with the permission of the Collector lifted his telephone and had a talk with the Minister. After completing his talk the M.L.A. handed over the telephone to the Collector. The Minister desired the Collector to oblige the M.L.A. ! Prominent thinkers on public administration in India are of the opinion that ministerial misbehaviour is the tap-root of all evils in our administration.

In conclusion, it must be said that the functions of the ministers and of the Civil servants cannot be rigidly demarcated. Government is an organic unit and both are engaged in Governmental work and therefore both are administrators. "In the final analysis, then, we see the Citizen, Citizen groups, political parties, political leaders, Civil servants as technicians and administrators and workers of many kinds—all these as complementary elements, interdependent featurs, of the organic whole which is democratic government."[30] The relations between the ministers and the Civil servants are undefinable, for the two must depend on mutual good-will, understanding and co-operation.

---

26. *The Mail*, Aug. 15, 1956.
27. *The Mail*, May 14, 1953.
28. *Indian Express*, May 17, 1964.
29. Cited by R. Dwarkadas—*Role of Higher Civil Services*, p. 183.
30. Paul, H. Appleby—*Public Administration for a Welfare State*, pp. 44, 45.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE FOURTH PLAN MEMORANDUM : AN ASSESSMENT

By KARUNA K. NANDI

(Continued from the previous issue)

Agricultural Incentives

But the progressively falling incentives in agriculture cannot be explained away merely by the admittedly wide differential in the economic contents of agricultural and industrial occupations only. In spite of the much lower income yields of agricultural effort as compared to these in industry, living in rural environments, where agricultural occupations have to be pursued, offers a variety of compensations, economic as well as social, which have traditionally made up for the demonstrably wide divergence in income parities. Conditions, however, and, consequently, also of the orientations of the people have been rapidly changing under the pressures generated by the trends of development planning which, as we have already observed earlier in course of the present discussion, has an overwhelmingly urban emphasis. It is the rapidly gaining prestige rating of urban industrial development as compared to that of agricultural pursuits, that may have been contributing, at least in substantial measure, to the growing disincentives in agriculture. This is a matter which, we feel, would bear closer examination and a clearer factual assessment.

In planning for a more rapid rate of agricultural development under the Fourth Plan than has been possible during the last and, especially, during the earlier years of the current Plan, the primary and initial requirement would seem to be to re-establish incentives in agriculture on their traditional footing. This can be done not merely by offering a pre-determined measure of price-support to the farmer at the harvest levels, as is being currently conceived by the Planning Commission, but also by removing the causes for the obvi ly lower prestige-rating that occupa in the agricultural fields have been co to increasingly acquire. This, the Plan Commission seem to feel, can be achi by transforming agriculture "from a dominantly traditional way of life int industry based more and more on adoption of science and technology, ma efficient use of the resources available, viding greater **economic incentives** phasis our own) for greater investment the part of the farmer and giving him a measure of protection against price fl ations and high costs and, to the ex possible, against risks of crop failure account of national calamities."* The medies, thus envisaged in their broad lines, would seem to be primarily econ in content and do not seem to take account the social causes which woul assessed to have been causing a rather lent shift in the basic orientations of people who do not merely form the bone of the agricultural community who, moreover, comprise the overwhel bulk of the country's population.

The attitudes and the thinking of Planning Commission would seem to predominantly conditioned by the desir increasing employment of the fruit modern science and advanced techn on the agricultural field as elsewhere i production techniques. A progress widening base of what, for the lack more adequate expression, could be de ed as scientific farming, is admitte need of the moment especially in vie the rapidly accelerating demand for

*Memorandum on the Fourth Five Plan, p. 27.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cultural products stemming from the rapid growth of the population. The Planning Commission estimate that the current Plan is likely to close with foodgrains production at the level of some 90-92 million tonnes, but demand for it is likely to grow to the level of some 120 million tonnes by the end of the Fourth Plan allowing for the growth of the population as well as a certain measure of improvement in the consumption standards of the people. It is demonstrable that the basic consumption-demand for foodgrains would be much less than here estimated although it should not, at the same time, be regarded as an overestimate having regard to the essential need for a comfortable surplus production of foodgrains above basic consumption needs with a view to correcting, to the extent it may thus be possible, the present acute vulnerability of the foodgrains market to overwhelming price pressures originating in speculative activities. It would, conceivably, be impossible to raise our production levels to the estimated level within the next Plan period—it would mean raising foodgrains production by 30.5 per cent to 33.3 per cent over presently estimated levels—unless means were found, on the one hand to raise the per acre production and, on the other for the reclamation and utilization for agricultural cultivation great deal of the present fallows and waste lands. This would inevitably mean the employment of methods of scientific manuring, irrigation and other techniques in more increasing measure than has so far been possible. The integration of holdings for making it possible for using the means of mechanized farming may also be a requisite for the purpose. But the transformation of agriculture into a modern **technology-based** industry is a possibility which we can regard with only a large measure of apprehension and suspicion.

Technology and Employment

It is necessary to realise that the use of modern technology in those parts of the world where it has been successfully employed has stemmed, primarily, from the need in those societies to find means to compensate shortage of man power in the developing acceleration of growth. It was only natural, therefore, that modern technology in industrial and agricultural production should have been developed and evolved only by the advanced countries of the world where more or less a measure of full employment has existed. Conditions, however, would seem to differ fundamentally in the underdeveloped countries like in India where the primary problem is not to find compensatory means to obviate the impact of labour shortages, but really of finding suitably conceived employment opportunities for a backlong of the unemployed running to millions and whose numbers are being added to at the rate of between 5 and 6 millions more every year. Abstract evaluation of the requirements of **economic growth** may postulate that the increase of per capita production is the only measure of development. But this per capita increase may be assessed in either of two ways, either by the measure of production of the per capita **employed personnel,** or by that of the per capita production of the society as a whole. In the one the emphasis, primarily, is on productivity, while in the latter case the primary emphasis is on production rather than on productivity. One does not, however, imply thereby that per capita productivity is of any lesser importance in the long run. That must have to be taken care of eventually when the growth of the economy has been able to reach a more or less full employment level and when, therefore, the cost of labour per unit of production would begin to assume an increasing measure of importance. But until this stage has been reached it must be the quantum of increase in the gross production that would continue to remain of more primary importance.

In such a view of the matter it could not be denied that the employment of advanced technology in production would, at least in the immediate future, remain a heavy drag on the development of employment opportunities. Employment of advanced technology in production methods, whether it be in industry or in agriculture,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

inevitably implies a corresponding measure of **capital-intensification** of the production structure. A matter for the most serious and searching examination is the question as to whether we are yet ready for such a process in this country having regard, both, to our scarce capital resources as well as the abundant and cheap manpower that has to be found suitable employment opportunities. It was, one concedes, quite unavoidable that some of the newly established heavy industries recently laid down in the key industries' sector, would have to be mainly technology based and capital-intensive in structure. It was, perhaps, equally inevitable that having regard to the overwhelming pressures of increasing unemployment many of these industries would be obliged to employ a far larger labour force than would, otherwise, be required for the purpose of obtaining maximum production from these plants. But in most of the lighter engineering industries and in most consumption industries it might have been wiser to avoid the use of modern technology to enable the largest employment potentials to be created per unit of capital employed in such industries. Unfortunately, however, neither the Planning Commission nor their supposedly very high level economic **expertise** seem to have been viewing this matter from this angle. The Fourth Plan as much as the previous one would appear to have been conceived under an overwhelming technology orientation and not so much employment orientation as they should have been done.

One has to realise certain fundamentals of the current economic situation in this country. Firstly, it must be clearly realised, our resources in capital in spite of the growth of the last two decades, are still comparatively scarce and it is necessary to conceive our development plans on as large and broad a spectrum as possible to cover not merely the requisites of future growth but also those of immediate existence. We must, having regard to the realities of the present situation, employ our scarce resources, primarily for giving employment coverage to as large an area of the backlog of the unemployed as possible and then only use the available balance laying the foundations of future gr Unless we orient our Plans to this f mental and elementary requirement shall never be able to effectively elim the increasingly heavy backlog of the employed. Another equally fundam aspect of the question relates to the a ability of basing our plans for futur dustrial growth on overwhelmingly development. We have already tri demonstrate how this has been having tarding effect on the development of cultural incentives. It is an objecti very doubtful wisdom and even prop whether industrial growth in this co should at all be based on urban de ment but should remain primarily ru its orientations. Apart from the que of social and moral hygeine, any rap banization of a traditionally rural with basic agrarian orientations woul for huge outlays of scarce capital against the creation of compara fewer employment opportunities. It indeed, be a far more desirable obj that means should be found to de employment opportunities commen with the growth of the population would remain primarily rural in their and agrarian in their orientations.

One does not know why, in spite rural orientations of the economic Gandhiji, in the fundamentals of most of the top-ranking leaders of the sent ruling coterie in the country cla have had their basic grounding, our have been seeking to establish what only be regarded as a violent shift rural to urban orientations. This have stemmed from the almost me effects that modern technology may been having on the so-called archite planning in this country. What, ho may be the real cause is that although may claim to have had a nodding ac tance with the external expressi Gandhian economics, most of the who have been directing the course o nomic planning for India are a b western educated intellectual elite knowledge about the basic foundations

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

n this country and the primary motivations of our people would seem to be only vague nd rudimentary. The Planning Commission n their anxiety to initiate a period of brisk gricultural development during the Fourth lan, wish to **transform** agriculture from a **way of life** into an **industry based more and more on the adoption of modern science and technology.** In other words, they would seem to be aiming at transforming agriculture so that it would assume the shape and contents of a modern organized industry. What, however, they would seem to have been ignoring is that the present burdens on agriculture have stemmed primarily from the basic trends that industrial development in this country have been ollowing, trends which have been further einforced by the programmes of development under the Five Year Plans, and which ave been increasingly robbing the agricultural worker of his traditionally pursued ubsidiary occupations. Gandhiji's economics f **cottage industries** would appear to have een based on a clear-headed conception of his fundamental fact of history and of our cio-economic organization. Successful emloyment of modern science and technology ay, possibly, provide a fuller measure of cupation and employment to the agricultural worker than at present, but it is also most inevitable that in such a process the sired measure of fuller employment ould be offered to a far fewer numbers of gricultural workers than were possible nder the traditional systems of farming. he Planning Commission must, it seems sential, be absolutely clear in their own inds as to the measure of "science and chnology" that could, with benefit, be lowed to enter into the processes of agriltural production; whether they should the whole hog to transform the entire e of Indian agriculture into a modern **ganized industry,** or whether the use of h advanced scientific methods should y be limited by the measure of the needs a moderate and legitimate acceleration production within the present pattern of ployment in agriculture.

Basic Pattern Of Industrial Development

Such an understanding of the requisites of the basic development of agriculture should also, at the same time, realise the need to immediately reorganize the bases of current industrial development, especially of those in the consumption and small servicing sectors, to enable the present trends of urban emphasis in the process of such development to be arrested and gradually replaced by an increasing rural and agrarian orientation. This will not merely offer to agricultural occupations the much needed subsidiary support within their own native environments, but would also, at the same time, release a great deal of the resources that are now being more and more employed on measures of large and often quite ineffectual urban development programmes for creating new **capital-intensive** industrial complexes to enable a far broader employment base to be created than could ever be possible within the present structure of the Plans. One does not, of course, need to go the whole hog all the way to the purely Gandhian system of cottage industries for the purpose and to wholly eschew the use of machinery as the instruments of the devil. But it should be possible to conceive of power-based small rural industries which might fulfil the needs of both growth and employment more adequately within its more flexible structure. That such a scheme of industrial development should also be economically fully viable has been amply demonstrated by successful experiments carried out in this particular technique of development in countries which are now regarded as among the most highly developed economies in the modern world.

In any scheme of industrial development in an under-developed country like India, the primary need would seem to be, first, to so broad-base its foundations as to conform to the pattern of population growth as well as to the basic motivations of the people. The second and an equally important need would seem to ensure the optimum and effective utilization of scarce resources

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

for the purpose of simultaneous development of essential industrial bases and servicing structures on the one hand and of broad-basing the employment pattern to enable the maximum coverage to be provided in this behalf as possible. It is the business of balancing the conflicting demands of these two aspects of development and the assessment of appropriate priorities of the numerous facets of such a development process, that is the fundamental of planning. Finally the programmes of development formulated must, at the same time be calculated to assume a self-generating dynamics to ensure even growth in all the sectors of the economy. On paper, the Planning Commission seem to concede most of these fundamentals of planning except that a far greater emphasis is placed upon the development of certain selected sectors than would seem to be justified by both the basic foundations on which the superstructure of future growth has to be built in and the basic pattern of the country's socio-economic structure. What they seem to wish for is a complete break away from the traditional pattern of life in the country and the peoples' basic economic motivations, so that a wholly new type of socio-economic organization should characterise the growth of the economy based upon the concepts and techniques of the fully developed economies of the occident.

In basing their concept of planning upon such a foundation, the Planning Commission appear to have also ignored one of the fundamental lessons of the history of industrial development in these countries. In the U.S.A., for instance, rapid industrialization followed and did neither precede nor was simultaneous with, the establishment of broad agricultural bases and the laying down of adequate agricultural surpluses. In the U.K., the process was somewhat different where a huge superstructure of industrial growth had, indeed been built up with a far too inadequate agricultural base. But conditions in Britain differed fundamentally from those of the insular economies of other developed countries; the Empire which then formed a single unit with Britain at the apex supplied necessary agricultural base from which sinews of industrial growth had derived. During recent times the U.S. has, perhaps, been the only co where rapid industrialization was or less successfully essayed even b a strong agricultural base could be down. But the U.S.S.R. had advan being under a totalitarian dictat were beyond the reach of other cou and is certainly beyond the power prerogatives of the Indian Govern But even in the U.S.S.R., however, growth came to be very substan hampered by reason of the then inade agricultural base and the Govern being all-powerful, soon came to the need to suitably emphasize and a rate agricultural growth to enable earlier imbalance to be substantially c ted.

In India planning, except durin initial five years, assumed a direction too early in its course, which aimed highest priorities for and the emplo of an overwhelming proportion of the resources available in industrial de ment far in excess of the requireme a commensurate development patt agriculture. This can be proved to been the basic folly especially in a co like India where, even after a dec comparatively rapid industrial develo agricultural production still contin comprise more than one half of the national product and, what is even important in this context, remain basic source of sustenance, direct indirectly, of very nearly 80 per cent country's population. It would se have been imperative especially country with such a basic pattern economic foundations upon which superstructure of growth would have raised, that the plan for growth mainly conform to and be complem to the existing agricultural base a unavoidable urban-industrial develo should be confined within certain key producer bases. It might also been advantageous, in such a pat

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

development, to debate the advisability of developing a large area of the numerous small servicing enterprises for the key producer sectors through decentralized small units within rural settings.

Plan Development So Far: Its Lessons

The legitimacy of the observations offered in the foregoing paragraphs would be evident from the results of planning so far obtained and the lessons that one can derive from them. One of the basic lessons of economic development in the more fully developed countries of the West has been the balancing factor as between demand and supply that has been ensured by the pattern of development in those countries. This balance has been ensured mostly by the element of free competition in those economies which has enabled the people to obtain a fair deal in the satisfaction of their consumption demands while ensuring a legitimate measure of profit incentive for the producers concerned. There have, of course, been occasions when expedients had from time to time been devised by groups of powerful producers acting in unison to eliminate competition and thereby appropriate larger measures of profit than they would otherwise be legitimately entitled to. On these occasions the State has generally always stepped into intervene and by necessary legislation and other measures attenuated the area of the formers' discretion and thus re-established the balance in the economy. India, however, has been endeavouring to evolve an entirely new pattern of economy where the element of free competition would be confined to a very attenuated area related to the rather inadequate base of consumption industries in the country and the rest would be under the monopolistic control of the State. Free competition not merely helps to ensure a legitimate balance between supply and demand, it also ensures progressively developing efficiency in production, marketing and other ancillary fields as a basic condition of survival. These conditions do not obtain under monopolistic organizations, whether they be under the ownership of the State or under private individuals and corporations. In estimating resources for the Fourth Plan, the Planning Commission visualize the need for an upward adjustment of prices of produce generated in the public sector to yield a sizeable surplus. Much the same expedient was earlier visualized by the Union Finance Minister in an earlier statement on the subject. Production organizations in the public sector being mostly belonging to the key producer and servicing sectors, such possible readjustment of the prices of their produces or services might not be ordinarily deemed to have any direct impact on the cost factor in consumption industries. But that would be an entirely erroneous assumption. The recent recommendation by a Centrally appointed Commission for an upward revision of tariffs of the State Electricity Boards in the country, if implemented, would be bound to lead cost factors to rise to a corresponding extent in a variety of consumption industries all over the country. What would seem to point the finger even more insistently to the evils of such monopolistic organizations even when they function under the State, is the fact the already operating tariffs of the power supply organizations in the private sector are comparably far below those of the State Boards which desire an even higher adjustment of tariffs in the future to enable them to take care of their own economics. Instances could be multiplied where this has been happening in respect of State-owned production units and in every such case the final burden has to be borne, directly or indirectly, by the end-consumer.

In fact the course of industrial development under the planning aegis has, so far, been mainly characterised by three factors: inadequate development in respect of establishment of capacity and in relation to the investment of resources; insufficient production; and uneconomic costs of production. This, as we have already seen, is being increasingly reflected in power production and supply of which a measure of the differential in performance in the areas under public sector management and those outside it is easily obtainable. In other spheres of industrial development as, for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

instance, steel, where the private and the public sectors function side by side, this may not be quite so obvious as in the case of power supply only because necessary data in this behalf have not been made publicly available. But the cost of plant depreciation in the public sector steel plants where production, generally, has so far reached only a fraction of plant capacity, is all too obvious to need any very elaborate calculation to reach a fair estimate.

And yet planning has, so far, been increasingly aiming at progressively enlarging the public sector area with obvious intentions to extend even to the consumption-industries' sectors in the eventual future. This, on the basis of past performances and experiences, may prove to be an even worse folly than heretofore and the time has been long overdue when a careful re-examination of the entire spectrum of planning and the respective roles of the private and public sectors in the process is urgently called for. If it is not considered desirable to revert to conditions that would enable the re-establishment of the element of free competition in the over-all production-structure of the country, necessary alternative measures need to be devised to enable efficiency and economy to be ensured and, thereby, for a balance between demand and supply to be ensured. The structure of planning as so far envisaged also in the Fourth Plan in which, as already observed, no fundamental departure from previous policies can be espied, will have to be redevised to enable an even and balanced growth process to be ensured. This evenness and balance, on fundamental considerations, would seem to be even more importatnt that ensuring a rapid acceleration in development which seems to be the principal objectives of the Plan as so far formulated.

Foreign Assistance And Collaboration

And while considering the problems of development of our basic and key industries, it is necessary to examine the crucial part that foreign assistance by way of both loans, aid and collaboration by foreign investors, that such assistance has been playing in the process and which, as the Planning Co sion frankly admit in course of their M randum on the Fourth Plan, would co to play an equally important part in assessable future. A certain meas foreign assistance, having regard t present level of export performances the rather precarious balance of pay position, may be considered quite in able, whatever the measure of the thereof. But a consideration of the r cost of such assistance should, legitim make the architects of planning extr circumspect about using such assis The measure of U.S. assistance to only on a Government to Government comprises a total of Rs. 2,602.5 ($5,465.3 millions) between June 195 14th August, 1964. Of this loans repa in dollars with interest (at an avera per cent per annum exclusive of ser costs which generally comprise anot per cent per annum) amount to Rs. crores ($1,362.3 millions), loans repa in rupees with interest, Rs. 1,124.3 ($2,361.1 millions) and grants not repa Rs. 648.8 crores ($1,362.3 millions). It h doubtedly been very generous of the Government to have made such a large sure of non-repayable grants as Rs. crores. But of the grants which have repaid, a large proportion has to be abs for purchases of capital goods in the U Prices in the U.S. of such goods have reputed to be approximately 37 per higher than average global standards. what is worse, these also entail a measure of use of U.S. consultation vices, apart from the use of on-th U.S. technical known-how at the site o establishment. Thus, what goes ba the U.S. from out of these loans, is ap mately 67 per cent in purchases of goods (purchases elsewhere in the would be calculated to absorb only 42 per cent), 5 per cent for the technical know-how payable in (which is an annual commitment p over a number of years until a proje been brought to the stage of operation annum, say for an average period of 5 for each project, 6¾ per cent in intere

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ervicing costs per annum spread over a pecified number of years and a further 1 er cent as consultation costs again spread ver a number of years. Thus, assuming hat the average period for redemption uch loans is 10 years, interest and loan ervicing costs would, on an average comprise 3.75 per cent of the principal; purchases would absorb 67 per cent and the cost of onsultation and technical know-how would espectively absorb 5 and 25 per cent of the principal. Thus, for every such loan the country would be committed to have to pay ack to the U.S. 130.75 per cent in addiion to the principal amount in loan. Very imilar, conceivably, should be the position n respect of loans from other aid giving ountries, except that the cost of purchases nd technical know-how in those cases would be substantially lower than in relaion to U.S. loans.

In the case of foreign collaboration in ndian industries, the position would, of ourse, be fundamentally different. Here here is no question of redemption of a apital loan, nor of interest on the principal. he only charge on the country, apparently, ould be the dividends that the foreign inestor would be entitled to. But such llaboration also entails importation of rge measures of management and techni- l personnel a part of whose earnings in is country has naturally to be remitted in reign currrencies. It is not known what oportion such costs generally bear to the nount of foreign investments in such instries under collaboration, but it is conivable that the amounts would not be nall and would be bound to be far beyond r own national standards.

Apart from this, there is also the loss at the public exchequer has to bear on count of tax remissions, cost of free and rmissible perquisites that foreign pernnel in Indian enterprises, whether they in the public or the private sectors, would normally entitled to. No principle or licy appears so far to have been clearly unciated in this regard by the Governnt of India. It is understandable, that hnical know-how of a level not available thin the country, will have to be imported in selected cases whatever its cost. It is also necessary that it is permitted only to fill lacks and gaps in our own resources for a limited period only until they can be adequately replaced by Indian skills of the requisite quality. In no case should any skills be allowed to be imported at the cost they generally entail where corresponding indigenous skills are available, nor should foreign personnel be allowed to be imported to fill only general administrative needs of the organizations to which they are seconded. Unfortunately, there does not seem to be any policy decisions of the Government of India in this respect in operation, and one finds abundant foreign personnel, irrespective of the skills they possess being imported into this country at enormous cost to the country and the public revenues alike. Even at the cost of slowing down the pace of so-called development this should be stringently controlled and the area and quality of such imports regulated under a well conceived system. There is not the slightest doubt that in the present melee a great deal of quite sodden goods are being imported at enormous costs which have been doing no good to any one except certain unemployables of other countries who have been finding unbelievably lucrative employment in our country.

It is, therefore, necessary to evaluate the beneficent contents of the very large measure of foreign assistance we have been incurring for our development plans on a stringent yield basis before incurring further large commitments in this field, even if that meant slowing down the pace of development to a certain extent. In fact, as we have endeavoured to demonstrate in the foregoing pages, it may become essential to redesign the entire development structure to ensure that measure of even and balanced progress which should be both the immediate and ultimate objective of planning. If our wise men in Yojna Bhaban can really be pursuaded to do so, foreign assistance and collaboration may not continue to play the large and crucial part in development as they have been doing hitherto, although a certain measure of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

assistance just beyond our own export earnings may still continue to be entirely unavoidable for a time to come.

Export Performances

Export performances must, naturally, play a very important part in any plan of economic development of the country which is largely dependent upon the import of foreign-made capital goods, technical know-how and, in some measure, also spares and certain kinds of industrial raw materials. Unfortunately, however, in our bid to raise our exports we have been entering into commitments which, on the very face of it, would seem to be extremely short-sighted. Our exports of iron ore, for instance, is a case in point. The average price of the ore we have been selling abroad at their sources have been calculated at approximately Rs. 10 per tonne. It is true that we have, for the present, and in relation to our present manufacturing capacity, almost illimitable deposits of very rich iron ore and we could, perhaps, without any very great danger to the foreseeable future, continue to export several million tonnes of these ores for years to come. But, in a long view of the question, frittering away our mineral resources in this manner to meet an immediate need, however urgent its call, may not be considered very wise or intelligent. Similarly our export performances in respect of several other minerals in which India holds a virtual monopoly may be equally shortsighted and foolish. We could, on the other hand, process these minerals into intermediates which are in great demand abroad and which would fetch the country a much higher profit and larger export earnings. For instance, if instead of 10 million tonnes of 60|67 per cent Fe rich iron ore at Rs. 10 per tonne, we were able to export only 6 million tonnes of pig iron, our profits both in export earnings as well as the enlargement of the area of employment potentials within the country would be much larger. We have in the past, and we should be able to now that our knowledge and resources in the field must have considerably extended during recent years, put up a number of small economically viable blast furnace uni or near the sources of the iron ore where export-mining is being carrie entirely with Indian materials, and and with but only a limited measure o ported equipments and instrument devices. This would help to boost ou port earnings to a considerable e enable larger profits to be made, and derable enlargement to be effected i areas of employment within the co Instead of continuing to think ineffec in terms of large integrated steel pla our attention were to be concentrated small pig iron manufacturing units problem of enlarging our steel capaci another 100 per cent within the next would be much easier to resolve.

Large or Small Plan?

It has been necessary, to arrive at a concept of the basic requirements economy and their incidental corroll to enter into a certain measure of digression in the foregoing parag What, however, it has been possibl hope, to demonstrate in the process i the very structure of planning needs redesigned to fit into the pattern of mate development in conformity wit basic foundations upon which the structure of this development will h be built. It is not, therefore, import debate whether the Plan should be a or a small one. Provided that res can be made available, it would be be envisage a large Plan. If the bette of the requisite resources can be from the accumulated capital reserves in the country and from current yields, it would be all the more de because such a mopping up of money the community without recourse to ments with obvious inflationary co would also be highly desirable with to arresting the currently raging inflat spiral. It has, for some time, been fortunate symptom of current official ing that the accelerating price pr with their inevitably more than prop

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ately heavier impact upon the essential consumables, especially upon the edibles sector, have been sought to be explained away by the excuse that these are an inescapable concomittant of development. A certain measure of price pressure may be inescapable, it is conceded, in the process of developing prosperity, but it has to be contained, if development in **real terms** has to be achieved, within certain pre-determined limits. According to Prof. A. C. Pigou, this should not be allowed to go beyond an annual 1 per cent rise in the wholesale price index and that anything like a 2 per cent annual rise in the wholesale price index should be regarded as a symptom of **raging inflation.** We have already seen that, according to official statistical evaluation, while over-all wholesale price indices have risen between 1960-61 and 1963-64 by as much as 25.4 per cent, wholesale food prices have risen, over the corresponding period, far more steeply by as much as 44.4 per cent. The increase in the gross national product, as reflected by the national income over the indentical period, it has also been seen, has been of the order of only 10 per cent at current prices. In other words, in absolute terms, there has been a demonstrable deceleration in development over this period instead of any upward progress.

This has been the most crucial lesson of planning in the manner in which it has been undertaken so far. It would, however, be a tragic mistake to assume that this demonstrable deceleration in development has been mainly due to certain lacks in the current Third Plan only and that with a certain measure of acceleration of Plan implementation during the ultimate two years of the current Plan period to cover earlier shortfalls, the gap in development would be covered. If the price pressure continues to burgeon upon the economy at the rate it has been doing over the last two to three years, the achievements of development would be found to be correspondingly attenuated in real terms. In other words, even if in terms of money incomes development may conform to estimated targets, the measure of real development when assessed on the basis of the purchasing power of such money incomes would be inevitably circumscribed by the inflationary pressures on the price structure. Thus, even if the national income may be assumed to rise by the currently assumed level of 20 per cent at current prices between 1960-61 and 1965-66, having regard to the rise in the price level by 25.4 per cent (even if it were possible to arrest any further rise in this level by the end of the current Plan period), this increased income, in terms of the price level prevailing in 1960-61 will buy less than one-third of what it would otherwise have been able to do. That is to say, the actual measure of development in real terms over the current Plan period would be only about a 6 per cent rise in the national income in real terms over the entire period. If the process were to be re-evaluated in absolute terms, that is at the price levels prevailing in 1950-51, when Planning was first put under way, the achievements of the last three quinquennia of development planning would be found to have dwindled even further in real terms.

It is not, therefore, of any crucial importance, as to whether the coming Fourth Plan should be as large as it has been conceived to be or rather smaller in the size of its estimated outlays. What really is of far more vital importance is, whether the scheme of development envisaged conforms to the basic lay-out of the foundations of the economy sought to be put under way towards self-generating as well as self-sustaining development. After all is said and done, the ultimate determinant of economic development must be the progressive enlargement of the area and content of **effective** demand. Enlarging areas and contents of effective demand would also, at the same time, widen the area and structure of employment. Measured by these yard-strticks our achievements of Planning would be found to have, so far, fallen far short of the minimum expectations that outlays so far undertaken should have been able to justify. We have been able, we hope, to demonstrate that what has really been wrong with planning is not the size of the outlays incurred but in the fundamental orientations which have characterised its programmes. When one

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

plans for the development of a national economy one does so, primarily, for the people. Mere increase in the gross national product without dispersal of the increased product to ensure a corresponding improvement in the living standards of the people, cannot be regarded as real development. But even in this respect, that is, the mere increase of the national product, development in real terms has been far short of what should have been expected. It is now demonstrable that under the aegis of development planning the overwhelming majority of the people have grown poorer and the benefits that are claimed to have flowed therefrom have been very largely appropriated by a microscopic section of the community belonging to the affluent categories. In the process the abjectly poor living standards of the people in general have been further severely affected. The reason is, as we have tried to demonstrate, that while on account of the comparatively colossal outlays undertaken for development —and the manner of using a certain instrument for raising necessary resources for the purpose with inherent inflationary contents has added to its contents far more than proportionately as could have only been apprehended—demand has been exploding in all possible directions. The very **ineffectiveness** of this demand has led to corresponding pressures on the price structure burdening the peoples' all too slender resources to the heaviest possible extent. There have, of course been other factors which have also played their respective parts in raising this level of ineffective and infructuous demand ; increased but inescapable defence expenditure, for instance ; the tremendous acceleration in the consumption expenditure of the Central and the State Governments etc.

These, however, are mere symptoms of a deep seated malady and it would be a tragic mistake to continue to think, as the Planning Commission and the Government alike seem to have been doing, that it might be possible to eliminate the basic disease obstructing Plan development, merely by treating the symptoms. In our current analysis we have been endeavouring to diagnose the real character of the di... from which planning has been suffering. enumerate them once again, they are, Planing has, so far, largely disregarded basic requirements of development in particular context of the Indian econo... the need for prior agricultural develop... has, quite early in the process of plan... been largely disregarded and has only given an incidental and definitely a se... rating in the priorities of plan program... following, neither preceding nor com... surately with, the programmes for ... industrialization. Secondly, programme... industrial development have been hi... technology oriented which does not form to the basic conditions upon w... development has to be posed in this cou... This has ignored a fundamental conditi... the increasing employment of techn... that of prior affluence and full employ... Where labour is in illimitable supply additions of some 5 or 6 millions more year to year, where moreover, ther... already a heavy residuary backlog o... unemployed running to many millio... able-bodied workers, and where, fu... stark tragic poverty makes capital reso... extremely scarce and feeble in its dyna... to plan for the increasing employme... advanced technology for purposes of in... trial development would be bound to p... disastrous for a variety of reasons. ... first of these is, of course, that we are yet ready in this country to devel... capital-intensive industrial structure. condly, much of the resources neces... employed for urban development, that an inescapable requirement of mainly nology-based industrial development, have been far more fruitfully employe... pursuing a pattern of industrial develop... which would not merely release large ... for creating quick-yielding results but w... by virtue of their necessarily labour-in... sive structure, would also yield a far hi... employment potential which is a prim... quirement of the economy at the mo... Thirdly, planning, so far, appears to ... consistently ignored the basic fact that ... is overwhelmingly a rural-based agr... economy, and development to be ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

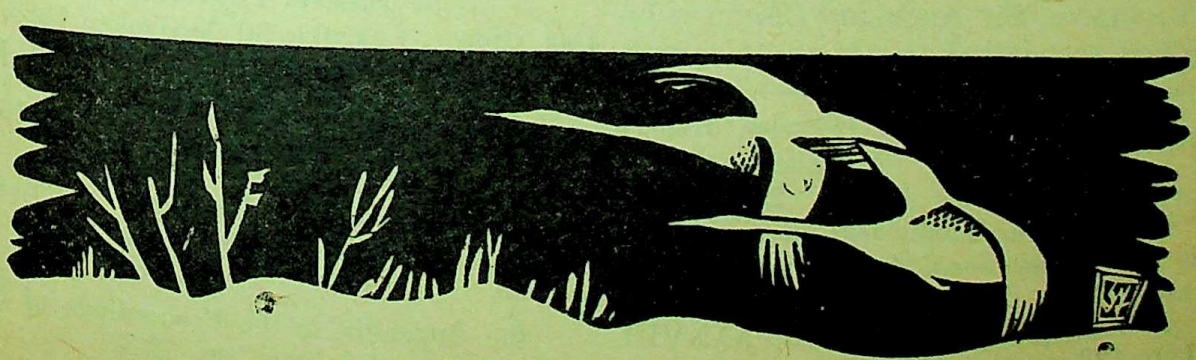
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

wholesome and concentrically balanced, should primarily aim at laying down a broad industrial base in agrarian environments and mainly as a method of sustaining and stimulating agrarian occupations and life.

The Fourth Plan as envisaged in the Memorandum under assessment would seem to still continue to ignore these basic fundamentals of development in the particular context of the foundations of the Indian economy. The matter of the size of Plan outlays will, therefore, seem to be of comparatively minor importance. The pattern of planning, large or small, will fail to yield the desired goals, however large the outlays undertaken. Similarly, a smaller plan outlay will also not make much difference to the process of development except that with a smaller outlay the addition to demand will be correspondingly less and the acceleration in the inflationary spiral may, correspondingly, be somewhat slowed down. No one, we feel, should be small enough to acknowledge past mistakes. The pattern of planning, so far, has clearly been designed upon mistaken assumptions and wrong premises. This has to be frankly acknowledged and the entire structure of planning has now to be remodelled and its basic designs redrawn to achieve the goals of development. Examples are not entirely wanting in the modern world to prove that it is possible to achieve quite a rapid rate of economic development even on a primarily agrarian base and without launching into tremendously expensive and largely infructuous experiments in wholesale urbanization of a mainly agrarian people in a desperate bid for industrialization along advanced technology based lines. One does not, however, repudiate the need for the application of technology and modernizing processes in selected areas of Plan endeavours. That is both desirable and inescapable. But the basic pattern has got to be mainly agriculturally oriented.

Given this realization and the courage to redraw basic plan designs even at this stage, the largest possible development outlays, so long as resources are not sought to be drawn from the application of inflationary instruments, should be the most desirable objective. Such a Plan design should also considerably reduce the area of our current dependence on foreign assistance and the correspondingly paralyzing costs of acquiring such assistance. But it must also be clearly realized at the same time that mere redrawing of the Plan in the desired manner will achieve little or nothing unless the implementation of its objectives can be sustained and supported by an efficient, alert, wholly incorruptible administration which will be above all pressures of both fears and favours.

(Concluded)



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ALLAN OCTAVIAN HUME AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE CONGRE

Prof. S. GOPALAKRISHNA

There has been much speculation over the possible motive which prompted Mr. Allan Octavian Hume to organise the Indian National Congress in 1885. B. L. Grover has recently suggested that the motive of Hume was to perpetuate the British rule in India and as such he "served the cause of the British empire more than the cause of India's freedom".[1] The purpose of this paper is to examine the veracity of the statement of B. L. Grover on the role of A. O. Hume in the foundation of the National Congress.

The Congress was the result of the maturing tendencies which had been working in India since Raja Ram Mohun Roy. It was the culmination of a movement essentially national and Indian. The ground had been prepared by political associations in the provinces and the idea of a national organisation was first given by Surendranath Benerjea in 1883.[2] The liberal administration of Lord Ripon supplied the momentum for the establishment of the Congress in 1885. "The Indian National Congress emerged as the outward embodiment of a new spirit and a renaissance which were but a rich harvest of what had been sown earlier during the nineteenth century in the shape of English education and modern ideas of administration".[3]

The British authorities patronised the Congress only for three years. The Allahabad Congress in 1888 encountered the active opposition of the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, Sir Auckland Colvin, who in 1884 had recognised the birth of a new life in India. Lord Dufferin just before vacated the Viceroyalty, denounced Congress and its programme and ref to the educated community as a "micros minority".[4] Indian officialdom took its from him. Mr. Hume's stirring pamp appealing to educated Indians to rally the Congress provoked the anger o Lieutenant Governor of the United Pro who, not only wielded his pen in a controversy, but also placed many diffic in the way of holding the Congress s at Allahad.[5]

The English Government and English people considered the Congr the greatest enemy of the British r India. **The Times,** commenting on the lutions adopted in the first session Congress, observed that if they were c out, very little would remain to En except the liability for the entire debt. The **Times reminded** the Co that "India was won by force and m governed by force."[6]

Hume was not a henchman of imperialism. We have evidence to that he was a noble-minded Engli wedded to a liberal ideology. A s nationalist such as Lala Lajpat Ray of Hume as a man, who "had a pass liberty.....and knew full well th Government, whether national or had conceded popular demands

1. B. L. Grover : 'Allan Octavian Hume's Political Testament—An Appraisal'—*Modern Review* (Calcutta), October 1964, p. 269.

2. G. N. Singh, '*Landmarks in the Indian National and Constitutional Development.*' Vol. I (Banaras) 1930, p. 23.

3. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part II, p. 379.

4. Lord Dufferin's speech at the St. A Day Dinner, Calcutta, 30 November 1888 in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* XXXI, 150. For the full text of the speech, vid *Dufferin's speeches delivered in India* 18 (London 1890), pp. 237-44.

5. Surendranath Banerjea, *A Na making* (Oxford University Press, Londo p. 109.

6. Appendix to the Proceedings of t session of the Congress, pp. 80-82.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

pressure from below".[7] In his letter to the graduates of the Calcutta University, he gave them the clarion-call "to strike a blow for their country's sake".[8] Hume did not become a friend of India overnight. Even in his early years, he "exhibited his remarkable capacity to identify himself with the Indian people and their problems".[9] He laboured for "the cause of popular education, police reform the liquor traffic, the vernacular press, the juvenile reformatories and other domestic requirements. His one interest was the village and its agriculture, his one care and concern was for the people".[10] It was this Hume who founded the Indian National Congress. Such a man cannot be dubbed as an apologist of British imperialism in India.

Great Indian patriots like Dadabhai Naoroji, W. C. Banerjea and Surendranath Banerjea in the north and G. Subramanya Aiyar, P. Ananda Charlu and P. Rangaiah Naidu in the south threw in their lot with the National Congress from the very beginning. All their efforts were directed towards the overthrow of the British rule in India. If Hume's motive in establishing the Congress was to perpetuate the British rule in India, is it conceivable that these leaders would have associated themselves with him? This alone should be enough to show that the Congress was far from being a bulwark of British imperialism in India.

The Indian politicians of all shades of opinion in those days felt that the Government would not look with kindly eyes upon any political organization of the Indians demanding self-rule. But if the leading part were taken by an Englishman who once held a high office, the hostility of the official class could be considerably neutralised. Gopalkrishna Gokhale gave expression to the view when he said that "if the founder of the Congress had not been a great Englishman and a distinguished ex-official, such was the distrust of political agitation in those days that the authorities would have at once found some way or the other of suppressing the movement".[11] The Indian national leaders therefore pitched upon Allan Octavian Hume to start the National Congress so that it would receive wide support at home and abroad.

It is unfortunate that much contemporary evidence is not available which might elucidate further the inside story of the inception of the Congress. But a study of the available evidence, scrappy as it is, leads one to suppose that the motive of Hume in establishing the Congress was not to perpetuate the British rule in India. On the other hand, the clever Indian politicians of those days made an effort to use A.O. Hume to fight the British authority in India. It was this strategy which made the organisers of the National Conference of Calcutta to merge it in the Indian National Congress.

---

7. Lala Lajpat Rai, *Young India*, pp. 141-42.

8. Soon after his retirement from Government service in 1882, Hume wrote this open Letter the graduates of the Calcutta University dated March, 1883.

9. Republic Day Number, *The Statesman*, Calcutta, 26 January, 1961.

10. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *The History the Indian National Congress* (Allahabad), 35, p. 129.

11. F. M. DeMello, *The Indian National Congress*, p. 2.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PERES de CAVILHAO :

The First Portuguese to Mark the Itinerary of the Voyage to India

By ZULFIKAR

School History tells us that the first European navigator to reach the shore of India from the West, was Vasco da Gama.

In the year 1497,[1] King Manoel of Portugal sent da Gama with four ships, to sail over an almost uncharted sea beyond the Equator, for exploring the possibility of a maritime route to India. Vasco's fleet reached Calicut in 1498,[2] circumnavigating the dark continent of Africa.

But nearly ten years before Gama, another Portuguese Captain came to India in a Moorish vessel and it was he that first showed that the East might be reached by cruising round the south of Africa.

In the early and middle part of the 15th century,—in that twilight age of geographical knowledge, the famous Dom Henrique[3] or Prince Henry, 'the navigator' as he popularly called, fitted out and sent a s of naval expeditions, continuing ov period of nearly 42 years, with a vie exploring the vast Atlantic Ocean, wa the shores of Portugal and extending far the South and West, beyond the Equ (about which, according to the views by the then geographers, lay a torrid encircling the globe,—so hot, that no being could ever withstand its te intensity) and to find out a sea-route to and the adjoining eastern countries, fine muslins, gorgeous brocades, rich-t spices and sweet-smelling perfumes such rarities in Europe, valued almo their weights in gold.

The Capitaos (Captains) of Prince H hazarded perilious voyages and disco the islands of Azores and Medeira and also Cape Verde islands, off the Coast of Africa. In the later exped the ships or caravels, on their voyages, brought gold-dust, ivory, and negro slaves. The object of Henrique's explorations was not on open a passage to India, and thereby blish the commercial supremacy Portuguese over other European n but to find out Prester John and to en valued help, for expelling the Turks the Holy Land of Palestine. In those there was a general belief that somewh the East, there existed a prosperou powerful kingdom, found and ruled o Prester John, who would surely prove a mighty ally of the crusaders.

II

Prince Henry passed away in 146 ing his hope unrealised and maps inco Dom Affonso V, his nephew, who was throne, when the prince died, got some of sufficient accuracy prepared, wh

1. According to de Barros, Vasco sailed out from Lisbon on the 8th July, 1497, Gaspar Correa gives the date as 25th March, while Osirino fixes it on the 9th July.

2. Different historians give different dates of da Gama's landing in India, *Viz.*—
29th August (De Barros and Goes)
18th September (Correa)
1st. September (Custenheda)

3. Prince Henry was the son of King Joaoi of Portugal and the nephew of King Henry IV of England. He fought bravely for his country in the great naval battle of Gibraltar (Jab-El-Tarik of the Moors) against the Moors in 1415. The Moors suffered a memorable defeat and Ceuta, their stronghold on the African side of the straits of Gibraltar passed into the hands of the Portuguese. It was a glorious victory and the whole of Christian Europe rang with the praise of the heroic prince. Prince Henry had a profound interest in navigation and built a naval school and an observatory in Lisbon. He kept an office near Cape St. Vincent, for recording information brought in by mariners, returning from distant voyages and where maps and charts were drawn on the basis of their reports.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

help of the data left by the Prince. In Affonso's time Sierra Leone was discovered by Pedro de Cintra and Fernao Gomes crossed the Equator, reaching 2° southern latitude and thereby exploding the traditional belief in the intolerably scorching solar heat, prevailing in the equitorial region, causing instantaneous death. Dom Affonso, however, could not pursue his uncle's unfinished task in right earnest. A war with Spain broke out and he could hardly give any serious and undivided attention to the work of sending fresh expeditions. A period of inactivity followed and the national enthusiasm, which was so high, during the life-time of Prince Henry, was considerably damped. People's mind became captious and they were seized with doubt. The benefit of discoveries of a few islands and capes, in the long-continued and expensive naval enterprises, was not worth reckoning; for, after nearly half a century of perilious voyages, Portugal had got nothing but some gold and a few black slaves. The kingdom of Prester John remained untraced and India, the land of splendour and plenty, was still a far cry.

Dom Affonso was succeeded by his son Dom Joao II[4] in 1481. The new monarch took upon himself the unfulfilled mission of his illustrious grand-uncle, Joao II and sent an expedition under Capitao Diogo Cao, who in the year 1484, discovered Congo and sailed a further distance of 200 leagues. Cao returned to Portugal, accompanied by the ambassador of the African king of Benin. The ambassador intimated king Joao that his royal master wanted that some padres from Portugal should visit his Kingdom, and spread the Gospel among his people. From him, Joao also learnt that there was an African monarch named Ogane, who wielded temporal as well as spiritual power, over a fairly large number of subjects and that his Kingdom lay about 350 leagues off from Benin, far into the interior.

4. Although Dom Joao had a very keen interest in navigation, he did not lend his support and patronage to Colombus (he was trained in the naval school of Lisbon) who was dismissed as a visionary, when he submitted his scheme of discovry of a new world, beyond the Western horizon.

III

It struck Dom Joao that King Ogane might be the Prester John, for the description which the envoy gave of him was somewhat identical to that of the legendary potentate. An opportune time had arrived, thought he, for the preaching of Christianity and expansion of commercial activities of his country. So, forthwith he despatched a fleet of caravels under the joint command of Peres de Cavilhao and Pavia Affonso, both of whom had travelled widely in the Barbary states and were proficient in the language of the Moors.

Cavilhao and Affonso left Lisbon in 1487 and arrived Cairo, via Naples, Rhodes and Alexandria. Here they met a company of Arab merchants, proceeding southwards to Aden. From them, the Portuguese Capitaos learnt that there was prospect of an immense profit, in the trade with Calicut, one of the busiest and the most important trading centres of South-West Asia.

They joined these merchants in the trek and crossing the deserts on camel, finally reached Aden. Here, the two Portuguese captains bade good-bye to each other. While Cavilhao prolonged his stay at Aden, with the object of visiting India, Pavia crossed the Red Sea and proceeded to Ethiopia. It was arranged that the two friends would meet at Cairo, on their return from tours abroad, before sailing homewards. Cavilhao possessed excellent manners and knew Arabic fairly well. Soon he become quite friendly with the Moor traders of Aden and in one of their ships, sailed across the Arabian Sea and visited some Indian ports, namely, —Cananore (near Mahe), Calicut and Goa. He had also been to Ormuz and Mombasa and Zanzibar (Xengibir) and even to Sorala on the African coast, far south of Zanzibar. Cavilhao had intended to prepare a map of the routes pursued and the countries visited by him, for submitting the same to the King, along with the report of his journey, for which he carefully collected data.

At Sofala (a port on the Mozambique Channel, separating the island of Madagascar from the African Main-land) he learnt

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that the West Coast of Africa was navigable to its entire length and not far from it, lay the very big island of the Moon (Lua) (now called Madagascar).

Cavilhao sent his despatches through the Moorish merchants, bound for Alexandria or other North African ports, from where, these could be carried to Lisbon by some Captains of Portuguese vessels, happening to visit those places.

In these despatches Cavilhao related all he had seen and learnt in his trips to different Indian and African sea-ports.

Cavilhao informed the king that it was quite possible to cross the eastern seas from the African side and reach the famous port of Calicut, which had an enormous trade in spices, like ginger, pepper, cloves and cinnamon. He expressed his firm belief that Africa was circumnavigable and the statement made by Hipparchus and Ptolemy that the African continent extended to the South Pole, obstructing the passage of ships, sailing west,—a view still held by contemporary geographers, was simply baseless.

It was Cavilhao, to whom really belongs the credit of 'having been the first to map the itinerary of the voyage to India'. When Cavilhao returned to Cairo, he learnt that his friend and colleague Pavio Affonso had died some times before. He then found his way to Ethiopia (Abysinia) and there met the King, who ruled over a Christian Kingdom. Obviously, Prester John, whose whereabouts the Portuguese explorers sought so much to find, for almost a century, was not, after all, a fictitious person.

Cavilhao spent the rest of his life (about 33 years) in the Ethiopian court, where he rose to become a prominent figure. He adopted the manners and customs of the country and became a naturalised citizen.

It is rather strange that he did not send any news of his memorable discovery to the King, nor did he ever return to Portugal and thus the chapter of his activities relating to the Portuguese expedition to the Indies was closed for ever.

———



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TENSIONS IN PLANNED ECONOMIC GROWTH

By C. D. WADHVA

The purpose of this brief paper is to present a theoretical analysis of the tensions and pressures that arise in the process of planned economic growth of an under-developed economy. The analysis specially draws upon Indian experience of economic development which provides the living example of the description that follows.

Need for Planned Economic Growth :

The need for planning the economic development of an under-developed economy is now recognised even by the economists of the free world. Economic development requires an all-out effort, particularly in a country where the economy has been stagnant for many decades. The under-developed economies are surrounded by a "vicious circle of poverty" characterised by a very low level of per capita income. These economies are generally over-populated and predominated by agriculture. This structural weakness of the economies can be rectified only by enormous public expenditure on economic and social over-heads and in all the sectors of the economy in a **well-planned** manner. This imposes a great responsibility on the government of the under-developed economy to actively participate in initiating and strengthening the process of planned economic growth of the economy.

Tensions arising in the Process

The journey of an under-developed economy on the path of economic development is no less hazardous than the journey to a mountain peak. During the process of economic development, the economy has to face various types of pressures. These pressures can be divided into **autonomous** and **induced** pressures. The **induced** pressures are the ones which are generated by the process of economic growth. The purpose of "planning" is to try to reduce the intensity of such pressures to the minimum. The **autonomous** pressures are generated by non-economic variables.

The Induced Pressures

The following are some of the **induced** pressures which accompany the process of economic growth of an under-developed economy :

Rapidly Increasing Population

The process of economic development of an under-developed economy is accompanied by increase in the **rate** of growth of its population. With the initiation of the process of development, it is the death-rate which comes down first of all because of the availability of better facilities in respect of food, medical aid, health etc : birth-rate remaining the same, the **net** result is a population-explosion. An under-developed economy has to provide for more and more inhabitants than it can afford. The growth of population in India bears testimony to this generalisation. The population of India according to the 1961 Census is 439.235 millions compared to the figure of 361.129 millions in 1951. With 2.4% of the total land area of the world, India has to support about 15% of the world's total population which it is finding it hard to do at moderate levels of living. What is worse, the rate of population growth has got accelerated from 1.3% per annum for the decade 1941-50 to about 2.2% for the decade 1951-60, resulting in the largest net addition of 78 millions in ten years. This increase is well beyond the most generous guesses of the experts about the growth of India's population. It is estimated that the present rate of growth of population provides a severe check on the attempts to raise the per capita income in the country,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which is regarded as one of the best indicators of the level of economic development of any country. This can be seen from the fact that whereas India's national income has gone up by 42% over the decade 1951-61, the per capita income has risen by 18% only.

Increasing Unemployment

Rapidly increasing population aggravates the problem on the employment front especially in an under-developed economy where an unemployment problem is already in existence in acute form both in the shape of open unemployment and the more important shape of "disguised" unemployment. The Indian economy is also suffering from increasing severity of the unemployment problem. The backlog of unemployment in India in 1961 was estimated at 90 lakhs and another 1.5 to 1.8 crores of persons were estimated to be under-employed. The problem is not of adding to the supply of labour-force but finding new avenues of productive employment of the unemployed persons. Besides economic harms of unemployed labour-power in the form of wastage of national resources, unemployment problem has got social implications and hence is one of the main obstacles to sound economic growth of an under-developed economy.

Accentuating Food Problem

A concomitant of rapidly increasing population in an under-developed, over-populated economy is the increase in the severity of food shortage. Malthus used food-scarcity as an index of over-population. Population growth adds more to the demand for than to the supply of food and thus aggravates the food-problem. The initial impact of economic growth in the form of increased incomes also increases the demand for food articles. The backward rising supply curve of food owing to increased consumption by agriculturists results in inelastic supply of marketable surplus and adds to the gravity of the food problem. This hampers the process of economic growth because an industrialising economy requires a huge surplus of food-supply for feeding her working-force. The experience of Indian economy substantiates this state Whereas the output of foodgrains ha registered any significant rate of g over the planning period, the increase demand for foodgrains has far out-str the available supply resulting in sha creases in their prices. Thus, where index number of wholesale prices o articles with 1952-53 as the base st 86.6 in the year 1955-56, the index n has risen to 136.8 for the year 1963-64 impact of such a sharp rise in the pri the necessaries of life on the poor mass obviously been severe. On top of thi demand for foodgrains, including the lative demand, is continuously incr at a rate that is much higher than the rate of production or availability of grains.

Continuously Rising Prices

The result of inelastic supply of a tural marketable surplus is a sharp the prices of agricultural commod both food articles and industrial raw rials. The cost of production of fi industrial goods, therefore, rises. The price spiral also aggravates the prob rising prices. Thus, there comes to all-round increase in prices of all c dities. Another factor that goes towa creasing the intensity of the problem "demonstration effect". What is mor cause of expectations of further rise in the over-all level of demand in the ec rises still faster over-taking the av supply and thus resulting in soaring levels in the economy. Supply can crease at a matching rate because of tion lags of the capital-goods projects. inflation perpetuates. This is exactly is happening in India. The econo haunted by the perpetuating inflation can be seen from the fact that the number of wholesale prices with 195 the base has risen from 92.5 in 195 139.3 in March 1964. This inflationar sure has many hazardous effects sound functioning of the economy path of economic development.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

istorts the cost as well returns structure in he economy. The worst-hit is the class of xed income and salaried groups. The dis- ontent sprreads in the economy and jeopar- ises the initiative towards accelerating the ace of economic growth.

Unfavourable Balance of Payments

The process of economic development f the under-developed economy requires a uge programme of imports of strategic apital goods. Not much can generally be one with regard to increasing export- arnings. This is so because of falling sup- ly of and demand for an under-developed ountry's exportable surplus. The supply f exportable surplus which consists of tradi- ional items falls owing to greater demand n the home market and industries. The eneral rise in the prices of all commodities also makes for lesser exports thus resulting n unfavourable balance of payments. The eveloping economy of India is facing a situation of continuously unfavourable alance of payments on account of all the easons mentioned above. The deficit in ndia's current balance of payments for the ear 1962-63 is estimated at Rs. 333.9 crores. t is because of this phenomenon that a seri- us shortage of foreign-exchange results.

rowing Inequality of Distribution of Incomes, Wealth and Economic Power

Another facet of the process of economic rowth which creates tensions in the minds f the masses and the government dedicated o the policy of establishing an egalitarian ociety, is the growing inequality of distri- ution of incomes, wealth and economic ower. As enterprise is shy and capital carce, it is the few people who possess them ho benefit from the initiation of the pro- ess of economic growth in the initial stages. his results in concentration of higher in- omes, higher values of assets and control ver economic affairs in the hands of private ig business. Moreover rising prices, which enerally accompany the process of econo- ic growth also make for unequal distribu- ion of incomes in favour of big business and against the common man. Thus, the com- mon man begins to lose faith in the benefits of economic growth. Sometimes, when the concentration becomes of a very high degree, the economy has to pay the price in terms of bearing all the disadvantages of monopoly.

Pressures Generated by the Process of Planning

Apart from the pressures generated by the process of economic growth, some pres- sures are generated by the imperfection of planning. As planning can never be with perfect foresight of the outcome, some pres- sures are generated by unbalanced planning —whether deliberate or unconscious. Where- ever the economic calculations of the plan- ners go wrong, they give birth to new prob- lems. For example, if the amount of deficit financing undertaken with a view to meet the exact extra demand for money in the economy happens to be more than what the economy can digest, the result would be an inevitable rise in the general price-level. This will distort the relationships between various variables of the process of planned growth and thus disturb all the calculations of costs and returns in all the sectors of the economy.

The Autonomous Pressures

The second category of pressures accom- panying the process of economic growth of an under-developed economy is that of **autonomous** pressures. These are generat- ed not by economic variables but by non- economic variables. The imposition of huge defence expenditure in the face of threat or occurance of war with an enemy country is a purely autonomous factor that generates pressures all-round on the economy. This is an **autonomous** pressure. The **autono- mous** pressures are most difficult to plan for in advance and, therefore, sometimes give a big jolt to the process of economic growth. The developing economy of India has also faced the situation of an emergency in view of the Chinese aggression which necessitated the stepping up of expenditure on defence.

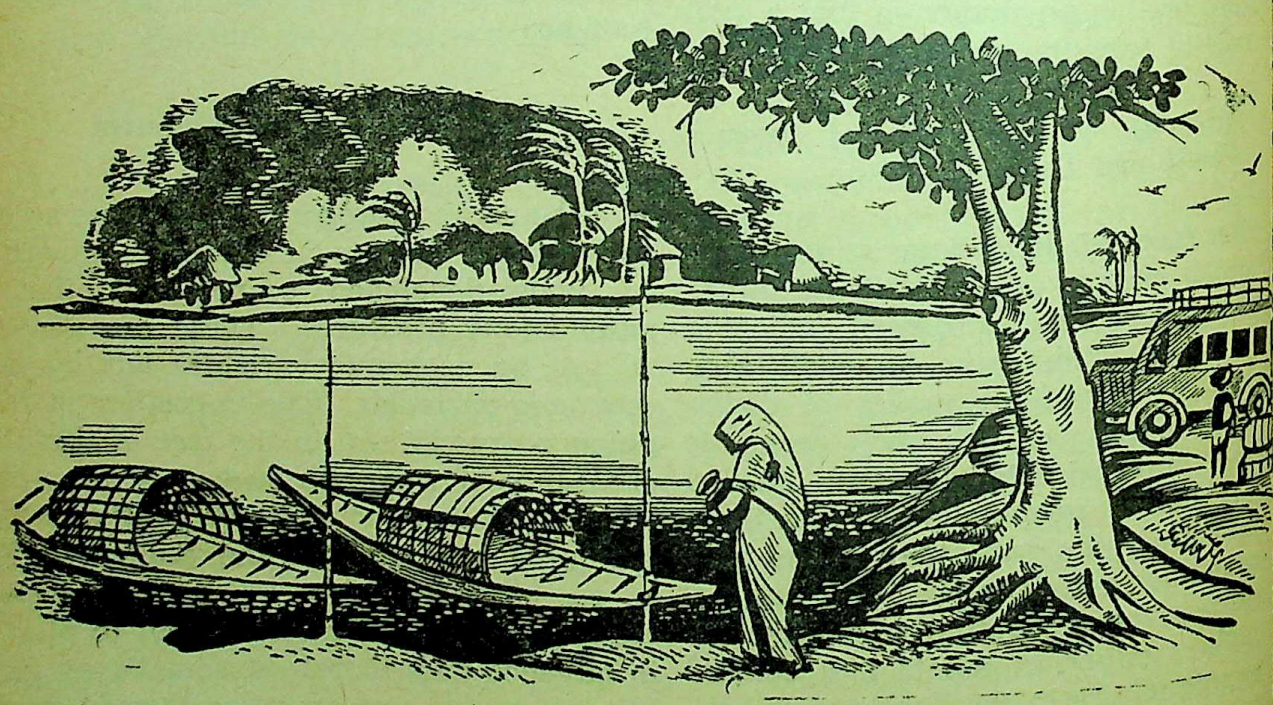
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This naturally put additional burdens on the economy.

Conclusion

The conclusion can now be very easily drawn. As long as an under-developed economy passes through the process of economic development, it has to pay it in terms of bearing various types of sures generated in the economy. The nomy which bears them patiently ultim tastes the sweet fruits of a higher le economic development. Therein lies true reward for efforts at pulling the u developed economy out of the vicious into self-sustained economic growth.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE SOVIET MILITARY AID*

By KRISHNA NATH SHARMA

Now that the first doubts about the continuing Soviet military aid to India, among other things, have been removed, it would be well to study some of its implications.

But what is the fuss about?

The Defence Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, it may be recalled, gave Parliament, some time back, broad details of the military aid which the U.S.A., the Soviet Union and Britain have offered India for the implementation of her five year defence plan. In a 2,000 word statement made in the Parliament on September 11, 1964, the Defence Minister explained the outcome of his visit to the U.S.A. in May and the U.S.S.R. during August-September, 1964.

The Soviet Government, Mr. Chavan disclosed, had agreed to provide plant and machinery for the Mig complex of factories. Agreement has also been concluded for the purchase of a certain number of Mig-21 aircraft and associated equipment. The supplies under the initial August 1962 agreement and the agreement negotiated in Moscow on September 11, 1964 would enable us to re-equip three of the four fighter squadrons with Mig-21 aircraft.

The Soviet Government have also agreed to the supply of a certain number of light tanks and associated equipment. A contract has also been concluded with the Soviet export organisation for the supply of 20 MI-4 helicopters. The Soviet Union had also agreed to offer, in principle, to supply naval equipment, including submarines. Britain has also, in the meantime, offered to supply such a submarine. Asked which of the two offers was more favourable—British or Russian, the Defence Minister replied in the Lok Sabha on November 30, 1964 that both offers were suitable. The final decision on acquiring a submarine from either of the two countries would be taken after considering fully the financial implications and other factors. It may, however, take some time before such a decision is reached.

These purchases, the statement added, would be paid for in time in rupees which could be used by the Soviet Government for purchasing goods in India "according to existing arrangements."

All this and more, it may be recalled, started with the Migs—six Mig-21s last year, six this year and the Mig complex in the years to come. It is, therefore, well to review, first, the story of the Mig. And, seconddly, to analyse some of the implications of the Soviet military aid to India.

First things first. These Mig-21 fighters, were ordered by Mr. Krishna Menon to the distress of the British and United States Governments and promised by the Soviet Government to the distress (it is surmised) of the Chinese Government. The relevant agreement with the Soviet Government was signed in August, 1962. It took the Soviet experts over a year to submit their project report for the two factories—for the airframe at Nasik in Maharashtra and for aero-engines at Koraput in Orissa—to the Government of India. And in another six months, the Government of India received the Russian experts' project report on the third factory under the Mig project, to be located at Hyderabad. The factory is designed to manufacture guided missiles and electronic equipments.

The Mig complex, thus, comprises three factories—one for the air-frame at Nasik, the

*The author wishes to thank the Librarian and his colleagues in the Reference Section of the Indian Council of World Affairs Library, Sapru House, New Delhi for permitting and helping him to use the research material on military aid to India. He also wishes to acknowledge with gratitude the comments of his colleague, Shri Girish Mishra on an original draft of the article.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

other for aero-engines at Koraput and the third for guided missiles etc., at Hyderabad. This scheme to manufacture engines at Nasik and the air-frames at Koraput, nearly a thousand miles from each other, is being criticised in certain quarters. It may have been "ill-conceived." One needs to be reassured that the triangular location is devised strictly on technical and strategic grounds, and not on political grounds—regional pressures, interest-groups and the like.

Again, the setting up of the project has been delayed beyond doubt. Not all the blame attaches to the Soviet Government, although it is obvious that Moscow has not expedited the same with dispatch. It is after two years and more that the recent agreement promises to expedite the project. The delay, however, is not inexplicable. For well over a year or so, since the Chinese aggression of October, 1962, the Soviet Government was faced with a difficult choice. It was embarassed by its conflicting commitments to friendly India and to its ally Communist China. It may be pointed out that in November, 1962 press reports and statements and the near consensus in India concurred that Russia would do well to let it be known that the Mig fighters will not be available. Amidst all this, Pandit Nehru had the courage of conviction to express his confidence, more than once, that the Russians will honour the contract, and that the aircraft will be delivered on time.

In an interview to the **Washington Post,** Mr. Roberts asked if the Soviet would give in to the Chinese insistence that there should be no further aid to India, the late Prime Minister replied: "I should think not." Asked whether he meant he hoped not, Mr. Nehru smiled.

The mounting Sino-Soviet tensions reinforced this line of thinking, and the Mig aircrafts were delivered almost on time, sometime in March, 1963. **The Indian Express** (March 23, 1963) reported: "The Mig aircraft that have been delivered to India have already been assembled and test-flown."

Recommendations on sites, proje ports etc., followed. And, now the agreement referred to above was to dite the setting up of the Mig comple

Now, since Khrushchev's fall in O last, the question arose: Will it lead beginning of an end of the Sino- conflict? And, again, may not the g tween the two Communist powe bridged at India's cost? And, finally the rapproachment, if and when it is not stand between India and the Union? Or, more precisely, will th Soviet leadership honour the agre regarding military aid to India?

The visits abroad of Mrs. Indira G and Sri Swaran Singh and a glut of ments and communications from the K have gone to make assurances about nuing Soviet military assistance doubl Furthermore, Moscow-Peking are ag loggerheads. And, therefore, the cha bridging their gulf at India's cost se worst, only remote and not immedia

This is, in brief, the story of the military aid to India and of its pr and prospects.

Now, that it has come to stay, wh its implications?

The Soviet military assistance to could have the following, among implications:

1. It would vindicate India's stan her policy of non-alignment "work the distress of the pro-Atlantic in India and abroad. It would also that her acceptance of military aid the West had not affected that poli the Chinese would have it. Al India's foreign policy has leaned a too much on the Atlantic side for "d for development, as also on the side for "vetoes" on Kashmir. The ing of military aid from both blocs amounts to extension of this polic the fact that India is becoming increa dependent on the West for her defen development. Concretely, as of no U.S. and U.K. supplies of defence not the emergence of a new one.

However, it would be too much

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ment are too big to be equated with the Russian military aid. The claim that the Soviet military assistance in terms of Migs, missiles, transport aircraft, light tanks, etc., might easily equal, if it does not exceed, American arms aid programme" is exaggerated. For, it is reliably learnt that the Soviet aid is worth around Rs. 70 crores. Whereas, the U.S. commitment would amount to about $550 millions over a period of five years. This is in addition to the generous emergency military assistance. Over the five year period, the U.S. commitment is, therefore, around four times the Soviet military assistance.

But there is yet another aspect of the problem. Even as far back as November 1, 1962 **The Guardian** has pointed it out thus: "Both in war and in any efforts to end war the Indian Government clearly has much to gain by trying to ensure Soviet support."

The Indian Government has now clearly much more to gain by the continuing Soviet aid than ever before, say, in the Khrushchev era.

This leads us to the next point in the chain-reactions.

2. Soviet military aid would, time and again, help to sharpen the contradictions between the two Communist powers—the Soviet Union and Communist China—to an extent that would make a rapprochment difficult, if not impossible.

It is significant in this regard that the Soviet Government is no longer "unduly secretive" about its continuing military assistance to India; and is no longer inhibited by the fear that its assurances made doubly sure might further worsen Moscow's relations with Peking and make a rapprochment even more difficult.

3. Moscow would, perhaps, in the long run, give India more military aid both to offset Western influence and to counter the Chinese threat to its own borders. New Delhi would, in its turn, prefer Soviet aid both in view of its policy of avoiding dependence on the West, as also for meeting the Chinese threat—actual and potential.

4. The Soviet Union would move closer to the West in aiding India against Communist China. Though this may not lead to the 'convergence' of the two world systems, it would perhaps be a dialectical move towards the unity-of-opposites. Within the country, the right wing of the Communist Party of India would perhaps come closer to the Government. The alienated left, in its turn, would perhaps become a whit more anti-Government and pro-Peking.

Lastly, India's getting arms from the Soviet Union as well as the United States and United Kingdom would further inflame Pakistan's jealousies. In its wake, Rawalpindi-Peking axis would perhaps be strengthened. It would tend to jeopardise India's defence if India would realign its sizeable forces against Pakistan. This contingency is, however, not at all difficult to avoid. Of course, it assumes a clear perspective of the purpose of the Soviet military aid, as also of the nature of the threat —actual and potential.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

By DURLABH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, M.A., Dip. Lang.

THE new regime of South African Republic, youngest in the world, had started its activities after the proclamation of the South African Union, a white republic, in May, 1961. In reviewing the activities in the past few months of this Republic it will appear to all concerned that the South African Government being apathetic to intensify Government drive to "bolster up the colour bar by closing every remaining loophole which might benefit non-whites" could not expect to hear the unprovoked brave speech made at Oslo by Albert Luthuli, the Zulu leader and the Nobel Peace Prize Winner and also a great disciple of Mahatma Gandhi against the governmental machinery based on apartheid. His speech revealed the new heart of Africa. He said "South Africans who have not yet awakened to the fact that a new Africa exists could make no greater mistake than to underestimate the significance of his words. It is this black man in Africa who "until recently stagnating in the backwaters of history, is catching up rapidly with the march of civilization, set in motion irreversibly by the impact of Europe on Africa's 200 million people." In the background of the present day tension which exists in South Africa the brave words of Dr. Luthuli have been received by the governmental authority in a queer way to make their basis of apartheid policy more strict by intensifying the drive of apartheid. Actually the South African Government under Dr. Verwoerd want to separate the regions of South Africa into two clear worlds, —one is for white people—a legendary utopian land with all modern facilities and the other is Bantustan or a land for the non-white and black-skinned people where lack of all opportunities of life and pessimism are the salient features. After all it is the hope of Dr. Verwoerd and his colleagues to push out all the black people to one place, namely, Cape Province. In the meantime provisional arrangements for separate townships for coloured people have also been made. Under the Group Areas Act the people of Natal and Transvaal are already being compelled to move from their ancestral land to other territories even when these territories are miles away from their working places. For this shifting scheme Rands have been spent, for instance, the Durban City Council opened a new housing scheme for Asians costing £11,000,000, (about Rs. 70,500,000). All the costs are being spent out of the revenue paid mainly by white and coloured people. This kind of segregation policy is the outcome of a no-compromise slogan which is being advocated by the Foreign Minister Louow at the United Nations.

It is the general rule of the universe that if a person ignores one side of a fact he compensates the other side by paying heavy penalties. This is the case with South Africa which while trying on one hand to gain grounds by intensifying the policy of apartheid from the other white supremacists, they are losing grounds in the field of economy and trade on the other. In the modern world no country is self-sufficient. So it is the necessity for a country like South Africa of coming into contact with other countries in the field of trade and commerce. This has taken a practical shape been forced by circumstances to forget their racial policy in South Africa. For instance, South Africa has racial policy and meet in a friendly manner with other neighbouring and other countries in the field of trade and commerce. From a recent report it is gathered that in "Pretoria and other places, Asians and whites mixed together at a banquet in an exclusive hotel. The occasion was a party in honour of Mr. E. A. Bawany, a Pakistani jute exporter. Among the white guests who dined alongside the Asians were the Afrikaner Mayor of Pretoria and the Secretary of the newly established Department of Bantu Affairs, Mr. A. M. van Schoor." But the most silly thing ever heard in the world in the international politics is the childish nomenclature of "white" by which it has been possible to call Japanese to be called as Europeans leaving

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Chinese who live in Transvaal "to whom the sign 'whites only' means 'Keep out'!" For decades they have, like other Asians, been debarred from trading or living in the btter parts of cities like Johanesburg." "The reasons behind this is that South Africa exports large quantities of wattle bark, wool, minerals and maize to Japan, but trade between South Africa and China is non-existent."

Future of three British Protectorates within South Africa

The three British enclaves in Southern Africa are Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland with 1,300,000 African inhabitants. After the decision of Dr. Verwoerd to disconnect the link of commonwealth, a new problem has come to the fore and poses a great danger to South Africa from the economic and security point of view. After World War II it was generally believed that the British enclaves would automatically be absorbed with the South African Union, and be a part and parcel of the Union. But now the picture has been turned into otherwise and though the apartheid policy is being ruthlessly applied to these three protectorates, the inhabitants themselves are creating a strong opposition to defend themselves from the indiscriminate political exploitation of Dr. Verwoerd's government. These territories, especially Basutoland is most dangerous and Dr. Verwoerd takes special precautions against all the possible sabotaging attacks on South Africa from this land. It has already been planned to hold a meeting for the future of these British Protectorates, which may take place in the very near future, of all political leaders not only of these protectorates but also of all other leaders especially from the neighbouring countries, namely, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Mozambique and South-West Africa. These territories are now being administered by the Colonial Office as High Commission territories since Dr. Verwoerd has shattered the connection of commonwealth. Indeed Bechuanaland, the biggest of the territories, is practically a desert and holds an "important position on South Africa's north-western frontier and also dominates South-West Africa." Next comes Basutoland, a territory which completely stands on a different situation. But the relation of this territory with the South African Union is not friendly. South African police often kidnaps or takes away people from this territory which is inhabited mainly by Basuto hillmen. Here also people are anxious to be free from the foreign yoke. The third Protectorate Swaziland, though in size smallest of the three, is more or less on a sound economic footing. This is a place which is rich in mineral wealth and at the same time here are great chances of building a more sound economic system.

But everywhere Africans are being largely conscious of their fate under the Portuguese, British or South African rule. Now it has become a very general feature that when the neighbouring countries are set free and given independence, South African Union and other adjacent territories which are still under the Imperialist rule will cry for freedom. It has already been reported in the newspapers that "three neighbouring countries of East Africa are due for independence this year. This will swell the African membership of the United Nations to 32". So the hope of African countries for freedom is a settled fact.

United Nations—Africa's Second Parliament

United Nations has been called by Mr. Russell Howe, an international critic on African affairs, as "Africa's other Parliament". Really in this world of ours, countries, which have colonies in Asia and Africa, are troubled at the unity of the great Asian and African people in the United Nations. These countries especially South Africa, Portugal, etc., are trying to sever all links with the commonwealth and even to avoid United Nations which they fear will be a new hope for the vanquished countries which were so far under colonial rule. United Nations brings a new hope to all vanquished nations and prepares silently a death blow to the imperialist countries who have colonies in the world. According to Mr. Russell Howe "At the United Nations, Africa's other Parliament, the struggle to recover international control, from South Africa, of the former League of Nations mandated territory of South-West Africa, the greatest producer of gem diamonds in the world, is reaching a new and acute phase."

"In South Africa itself, recent bombings of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

public buildings have been heralded as the preamble to revolutionary opposition to the racist Verwoerd regime ; while 5,000 miles to the north, tiny French Somaliland may shortly be the scene of a violent struggle to see it reunited to Somalia". Taking into consideration all these points it is hoped that a new hope is being created by the struggling people of Asia and Africa towards ushering in a new world through the United Nations.

It has already been said that in trade and commerce South Africa is forced to maintain liasion with other countries. From this point of view South Africa is all along maintaining a close link with Portugal. For economic reasons Portugal's Mozambique is the main area which is closely linked with South Africa. "Mozambique's link with South Africa is the vital factor in maintaining the buoyancy of the country. Under the Mozambique Convention South Africa has for years employed a minimum quota of 100,000 Portuguese Africans as unskilled workers in the gold mines, which the authorities in Mozambique help to recruit. In return for this assistance, the South Africans divert a large percentage of the goods destined to and from the rich gold mining areas around Johanesburg through the port of Lourenco Marques and over the connecting railway line. This is a very important source of revenue for Mozambique."

The economic considration and after all the political support of Portugal makes the South African Government more conscious to maintain a friendly link with it. Because South Africa is to maintain buffer areas to save the country from any revolt provoked from outside elements or any foreign attack, especially from the north. So any wrong or weakening of power of Portugal in Angola will be a serious threat to South Africa. "For this reason Portugal is assured of military aid from South Africa once she runs into serious trouble in Africa ; and since the end of World War II there has been very close liaison on a military as well as political level."

The growing African nationalism pos great threat to the colonial rule in the wor exposes the brutal administration of both gal and South African Governments. The changes which are taking place in the continent, specially in South Africa, mak Verwoerd government more determined to sify the campaign of apartheid against nationalism. But on the other hand the peo the world are extremely conscious not o the need to crush apartheid theoretically bu to put a concrete proposal to the United N by which all the colonial powers like Africa and Portugal are forced to lea administration of this continent to the who are still under colonial rule.

The Future of Indians in South Afr

The fate of the Indian population in Africa which amounts to about 500,000 uncertain. Day after day new restriction being imposed on them. The South Minister for Indian Affairs, Mr. Willie said in Parliament on 9th February, 1962 the capital resources of the Indian Comm in the country were not being properly em for the benefit of the Indian community. hinted a further curb on the commercial ac of the Indian Community". This is a example of state control on the Indian pop in South Africa.

After all Africa is the last remnant of t obsolete administration of the world—*i.e.* nialism. The 200 million people with th hearts and mute mouths are ready to acc kind of outlet to gain their freedom from rule. It is natural that spontaneity cannot pressed, especially of a continent which gav according to some schools of thought, to human being to the world.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ANCIENT INDIA AND THE DAWN OF SCIENCE

By Prof. ARUN KUMAR BISWAS

Neither the East nor the West can claim a monopoly in the history of scientific progress. In this second half of the twentieth century, the developed as well as the developing countries are surging forward in science, and contributing their mite in the joint endeavour. Even in the past, Asia's and particularly India's role in scientific advancement was remarkable. The growth of modern science in Europe would have been hardly possible without the background of pioneering contributions from China, Arabian countries and India, well up to the 12th century A.D.

It is difficult to retrace the evolutionary stages of human endeavour in science. The capacity to accurately observe, infer, experiment and interpolate existed in the human mind even at the time of the classical discovery of fire. Since then, Man has only sharpened his intellect, amassed useful information and acquired more fruitful techniques. To defend himself against the wild animals and vagaries of nature, and to satisfy the needs of food and clothing for himself and his kith and kin, were the basic urges which led man to improve his techniques ; this process is far from complete even today.

The wise men of ancient India (also of Egypt and China) developed the faculty of speculation, with which they laid foundations not only of theology and primitive religion but also of scientific thinking. The observation of heavenly bodies and nature inspired some of the thinkers towards religious fervour ; the more pragmatic ones however utilised their careful observations for weather prediction, navigation and agriculture. The ancient phioslophers like Kanad and Kapil represented the very best in speculative thinking. They talked about five "immutable" elements which were constituents of all matter. The concept was developed that all macroscopic objects consist of microscopic *Anu's* and *Paramanu's*. Samkhya, Rig-veda etc., are full of philosophical questions as regards the univrse, how it was created, how life came on to this earth, and so on. Kanad proposed the undulatory theory for the propagation of sound and made the speculation that light and sound waves are only different manifestations of the same energy.

There are reasons to believe that the pre-Vedic civilisation (ruins of which have been discovered at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa) was quite advanced in arts and crafts. The people knew how to extract and use metals, fabricate ceramics, make bricks and build roads and houses. Since the Mahenjo-daro scripts have not been completely deciphered, we have no idea if those people developed like the Aryans, the speculative part of science, and whether their arts and crafts were locally invented or partly borrowed from Egyptian civilisation. In any case, the immigrant Aryans found in India a suitable background for fruitful pursuit of science. The propagators of Vedic civilisation realised that division of labour was necessary for the optimum maintenance and growth of the social structure; this was a flexible concept though it resulted eventually to a rigid caste-system. While some people had to specialise in technical arts, trade or administration, the job of advancement of knowledge was left to the Brahmanas. The educational system in the peaceful environment of forests and the emphasis on the concept that inner wisdom is more desirable than material comfort, predestined the future growth of Indian science to a very large extent. To illustrate this point briefly, the educational environments, isolated from urban production centres were ideal for the pursuit of natural sciences and psychological science but not for rapid growth of technical arts and crafts. This is one of the points to be borne in mind while discussing the decline of Indian science during the mediaeval ages.

Nevertheless the Indian conditions were ripe for remarkable progress in astronomy, geometry and botany. In the Rig-Samhitas, we find the mention of seven rays of sunlight, twenty-seven star systems and the bold conjecture (long before Galileo !) that tthe Earth moves round the Sun

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

once a year. The concepts of axial rotation and orbital motion of the Earth were postulated on the astronomical observations. It was recognised in Aitareya Brahmana that the Sun is responsible for the wind-patterns and climate on the Earth. The authors of Rig-Samhita (written before 1500 B.C.) were accurate observers of winter and summer solistices and solar and lunar eclipses. Even in that early age of rituals and dogmatic religious beliefs, a statement was made in the Atharba Samhita to the effect that though the solar eclipse is popularly believed to be due to a monster called Rahu, the more likely cause is the inter-position of Moon between the Sun and the Earth. Expressions of scientific opinion contrary to religious beliefs were common in the Vedic ages ; the fact that there were scarcely any religious persecution bears testimony to the spirit of tolerance in Hindu culture.

The ancient Hindus were also interested in geometry of ritual altars, particularly the area of squares, rectangles and circles, as well as volume of spheres, cones, etc. The discovery of the geometrical theorem stating that the square of the diagonal of a rectangle equals the squares of the two sides is usually attributed to the Greek savant Pithagorus. While this belief has not been substantiated by any proof, it is worthwhile noting that there are references to this geometrical theorem in Satapatha Brahmana and Sulyasutra's written in the Vedic ages. The Hindus also discovered the decimal system of numbers in the post-Vedic age ; the system was later perfected by Aryabhatta.

In the rural academic environments, the ancient Indians had an ideal opportunity to study different kinds of plants. They observed minutely the behaviour of plants, their reaction to the surroundings and external stimuli and came to the logical conclusion that plants must have life ; this was explicitly brought out in the Manusamhita texts. Plant anatomy and physiology were well understood. Studies on medicinal herbs went on for centuries and culminated in the classical works of Jivaka, who was a contemporary of Lord Buddha. Jivaka studied medicinal plants at Taxila, the famous Indo-Hellenistic academic centre of his time ; he also specialised in surgery.

Before proceeding to discuss the Indian achievements in science during the Christian era, it owuld ze worthwhile to comment on the socio-economic factors in ancient India which [illegible] no small role in the growth of science. [illegible] of epics, *i.e.*, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* [illegible] heralded the rise of large states under [illegible] monarchs and a transition from rural to [illegible] economy. This transition was scarcely [illegible] by the advent of Buddhism which [illegible] Indians on the religious and ethical planes. [illegible] Greek invasion of India brought about close [illegible] tact between the East and the West. The [illegible] of international trade increased. Merchant [illegible] adventurous explorers helped Indian thinkers [illegible] be conversant with and profit from Greek [illegible] and technology. All this promoted technical [illegible] advancements in India. Megasthenes, the [illegible] explorer, described the extraordinary [illegible] Indian craftsmen. The political situation [illegible] reasonably stable in the Maurya age and [illegible] of minor warfares (which completely died [illegible] towards the end of Ashoka's regime), the [illegible] men were respected and merchants free to [illegible] national and international trade on many [illegible] herbs, spices, silk and cotton etc. Kautilya [illegible] cribed the economic conditions during the [illegible] age in his famous treatise 'Arthasastra', Many [illegible] were organised in guilds (sanghas and [illegible] Free labourers worked on the basis of wages [illegible] tracts and Kautilya's code contains a whole [illegible] tion on labour-management relationship. [illegible] sans and craftsmen were protected by the [illegible] against any cruelty from their employers [illegible] merchants compensated for loss of merchandise [illegible] by theft or robbery. There is little wonder [illegible] in such ideal economic and political conditions [illegible] improvement of technical arts and crafts was [illegible] unabated. The advent of Buddhism helped [illegible] growth of Indian science in two indirect ways [illegible] (1) more educational institutions (*e.g.*, Nalanda) [illegible] were estalbished (connected with monasteries [illegible] where people pursued astronomical and medical [illegible] cal studies apart from theology) and, (2) the [illegible] lical spirit of the early Buddhists resulted in [illegible] spreading out of Indian culture in South, [illegible] Central and Western Asia and assimilated [illegible] scientific knowlerge possessed by communities [illegible] foreign countries.

During the early Christian era, Charaka [illegible] Susruta flourished as great Indian experts [illegible] Medicine and Surgery. Charaka Samhita and [illegible] Susruta Samhita are the outstanding medical [illegible] pilations made during the 2nd and 3rd

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

D. The Bower manuscript, 'Navanitakam' (discovered by Mr. Bower at Kasgarh, Central Asia) mply testifies to the pinnacle of fame attained y Indian medical science during the centuries llowing the birth of Christ. The names of Jatuarna, Parasar, Susruta, Harit, etc; were well-nown outside the borders of India.[1] Some of the mments found in Charaka Samhita and Susruta amhita reveal an amazing degree of objective nd scientific thinking :

"To gain experience in Surgery, one has to roperly dress and dissect a corpse and minutely bserve the anatomical details".

"The Veda's are valid ; but the consistent onclusions reached by the wise men after accuate observations and experiments are no less alid".

Charaka and Susruta were experts in medinal chemistry and wrote several treatises on rganic and inorganic compounds. Susruta disussed some properties of caustic alkali. Indians ad mastered the techniques of metal extraction ven before the birth of Christ. Nagarjuna, the reat chemist of the 2nd Century A.D., made exeriments on strong and mild alkalies and their ctions on metals. The techniques of distillation, eam distillation, calcination, etc., were perfectd in India long before the Moslems entered India. he Arabs eventually mastered these techniques om Indian teachers and then transmitted the owledge Westward.

Uptill 1200 A.D., Indians continued to lead e rest of the world in Astronomy and Mathetics. The great Scientist-*cum*-historian, Prof. D. Bernal writes in "Science in History" :

"There was also, and this is of the greatest portance for the whole world, a new developent of science, particularly Mathematics and Asonomy, associated with the names of the two, ryabhatta and Varahamihira in the fifth century d with Brahmagupta in the seventh..... A cisive new development was made there about is time : the perfection of a number system th place notation and a zero (Hindu numbers) .The Arabs also incorporated the work of a ries of Indian mathematicians on the means of dealing with unknown quantities which we call Algebra,,.

Aryabhatta, the great Indian astronomer, was born in 476 A.D. at Pataliputra (near Patna) and at the young age of 23 wrote his famous book on astronomy. He made the discovery that the earth rotates round its axis. His other scientific contributions include : discovery of trigonometric sine, accurate evaluation of II, perfection of decimal system of numbers, evaluation of A.P. and G.P. series and square and cube roots of numbers, accurate calculation of number of days in a solar year (upto seventh decimal point which is better than Ptolemy's figure), discovery of the causes of solar and lunar eclipses, prediction of duration and angular extent of eclipses, etc.,—a long list indeed ! Aryabhatta had been truly the first and the foremost mathematical genius, this earth ever produced, and a forerunner of Newton and other European mathematicians who were born more than a thousand years later.

Varahamihira (born in 505 A.D.) made several observations on comets. He compiled Panchasiddhantika—five systems of astronomy, wherein apart from the Indian systems, Alexandrian and Roman astronomical systems were also discussed. Varahamihira also made references to gems (which, he believed, are nothing but metamorphosed stones), searing of hard rocks, hardening of steel, preparation of steel, etc.

After Aryabhatta, India produced many more reputed astronomers and mathematicians : Latacharya, Bijiay Nandi (famous for his studies on Venus), Pandurangswamin, Simhacharya (who made astronomical observations from Ceylon), Manjul (born 932 A.D.), Sripati (1039 A.D.), woman-astronomer Lilavati, etc. Brahmagupta of the seventh century (born 598 A.D.) deserves special mention. He improved the astronomical calculations initiated by Aryabhatta, devised new methods to calculate latitude and longitude and formulated techniques to solve quadratic equations. Bhaskaracharya (born 1114 A.D.) was the last astronomer of repute produced by ancient India.

Moslem invasions of India resulted in greater contact between the Indians and the foreigners ; however, this turned out to be an one-sided advantage. While the Arabs and Persians benefited themselves with the newly acquired knowledge of Indian science, the invaders had very little desire to patronise any further growth of education or science in India ! In spite of the un-

1. Much later, Indian texts on medicine were nslated in the Arabic language. Haroun-Alschid (8th century A.D.) invited Indian medimen to Bagdad and with their help, establishan upto-date hospital.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

favourable circumstances, the Hindus did not give up scientific pursuits abruptly. The proof of the statement just made, lies in the following facts : a compilation on botanical science was made in Sargadharpadhati as late as 13th century A.D. ; there were reputed schools on Astronomy patronised by the Yadavas of Devagiri ; in the 11th and 12th century, a medical school flourished at Tiruvadutarai in South India, which was still successful in resisting the Moslem invaders. However, for all practical purposes, the glory of Indian science had been over, long before the twelfth century.

The two questions which should concern any historian of science (particularly in India) are :

(1) why science flourished in India in the ancient ages and (2) why there was a steep decadence of science in mediaeval India.

In this article, we are interested only in the first question, a satisfactory answer to which should throw light on the second one as well.

The confluence of Aryan and Dravidian (or pre-Aryan) cultures was the starting point of Indian science. Crafts and techniques were not lacking in India when the Aryans entered this country. The logic and philosophy of science were however developed only in the Vedic period. Congenial climate and scenic grandeur naturally turned the Indians towards speculative thinking ; Kapil, Kanad etc., were the products of this beautiful era when astronomy and geometry were developed in rudimentary form. There was the necessity of construction of specific altars and of calculation of astronomical events for different religious rituals. This need coupled with the provision by the Vedic Society for a special group of thinkers and educators boosted the early pursuit of science.

However, this rural civilisation could not possibly develop diverse arts and crafts ; it was only after the age of epics and particularly during the Maurya dynasty, that the transition from rural and agricultural to urban and capitalistic economy took place, the role of money was established and merchants and craftmen became supremely important in the society.

It has been aptly said that necessity is the mother of invention ; the diversified needs of consumer goods in the affluent Indian society, where the producers and suppliers of the materials were abundant, naturally sustained steady growth of technological specialisation and the general economy thrived for many centuries till it re a perfection during the Gupta period (30 A.D.) which is rightly called the "golde of India." During this period, trade and ind were organised in guilds and banking opera for raising necessary working capital were uncommon. Fourth century sealings of a guild of bankers, traders and transport merc with branches in towns and cities all over nor India, have been unearthed at Basarh, a Vaisali. For the purpose of transportation, k ledge of navigation and astronomy was nece and the merchants patronised the study of sciences. Some of them were able astron They were also resourceful in the wielding o and could raise a militia at a short notice. were direct commercial relations with the by way of the Presian gulf, Red Sea as well a routes. Big Indian ships were engaged in sea-way trades. Indian embassies visited Roman empire in the reigns of Aurelius, tantine etc. Some Brahmins visited Alexand 470 A.D. and stayed in the house of Severus. Hindu temples were constructed i upper Euphrates valley.

So, this was truly a period of c expansion of India. The Hindu society wa dogmatic and open-minded in their contact alien people. In the above-mentioned cont is very easy to visualise why astronomica other sciences were considered importan ancient India, what factors lay behind emergence of scientific genuses like Aryabhat Varahamihira and how it was possible for to be in fruitful touch with contem scientific developments. Aryabhatta mentione he had opportunities to study Greek and P astronomy in detail and could discriminate theories from the incorrect ones. Many words, e.g., Kentros, Orizos, were incorp in Indian scientific vocabulary. Varahi wrote that although the foreign scholars a Hindus, they are as worthy of respect ancient rishi's.

Fa-hien spent about 10 years in the empire (401-410 A.D.). His extensive includes references to the great centres of ing, liberal governments and their patron education, instances of inter-caste ma abundance of hospitals, taxing system ba the richness of the locality, importance

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Vaisya (merchants) community, and above all, effective law and order.[2]

The following points distinctly emerge from the previous discussion: (1) the Hindus of ancient India were remarkably free from superstition and appreciated scientific logic and reason; (2) they were eager to communicate with the foreigners and to enlarge their respectable stocks of knowledge by learning from whatever sources possible; (3) the ideal economic factors and the stable political atmosphere favoured an optimum growth of education and science in India.

The socio-economic conditions existing in India during the Gupta period bear close resemblance with those in Europe during the emergence of modern science (fifteenth century and onwards). Indians in the 4th and 5th century had started to feel the impact of scientific thinking in day-to-day life. Varahamihira wrote that since human lives are sustained by agricultural crops, the production of which depend on adequate rainfall, it is imperative that the laws which govern rainfall on the earth be discovered. This remark bears adequate testimony to the logical growth of scientific thinking and practice that ancient India was experiencing.

In conclusion, a bold conjecture might be made: if India could retain political hegemony and stable economic conditions upto the tenth century, modern science might have emerged first in this country. The complex web of unfavourable social, economic and political factors in the mediaeval ages, which prevented such a golden possibility, is another fascinating topic, meriting a separate discussion.

2. Many agrahara villages were centres of higher education, apart from capital cities and holy places like Benares, Nalanda etc., Logic, Philosophy and Astronomy were included in the curricula.

References

1. Seal, B. N., 'Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus.'

2. The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. iii, Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Committee, Belur Math, Calcutta (articles on Hindu Science).

3. Sarkar, B. K., 'Hindu Achievements in Exact 'Science,' Longmans, 1918.

4. Majumdar, R. C., 'Prachin Bharate Vijnancharcha' (in Bengali), Viswa Bharati Press.

5. Nilakantasastri, K. A., 'History of India', Part I, Publisher : S. Viswanathan.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE McMAHON LINE

By S. S. BHATTACHARYA, B.Sc. (Hons.), M. Sc.

When the British Indian Government were busy surveying and collecting historical and geographical statistics about the North Eastern Frontier of India for a common and traditional boundary of her territory with her neighbour Tibet, bearing on the historical background with ethnic influence for an amicable solution of the problem, then great political changes were going on in Tibet. By this time, i.e., December 1912, the Tibetans were successful in throwing off the so-called nominal suzerainty[1] of the Chinese, and they were in no mood to recognise any Chinese influence over them,[2] as 'the Chinese Govern cannot produce any document to show Tibet has ever agreed to be under Ch The Tibetans, as they also were not co ed did not confirm the treaties[4] incl the one concluded between Great B and China[5] at Peking on the 27th A 1906. This can be further confirmed b reply of one Tibetan Councillor n Shappe to the British representative Charles Bell, that, the Tibetans would like 'to make a road which would Chinese soldiers, ammunition and supplies to Lhasa'.[6] Whatever, the democratic and nominal suzerainty Chinese had over Tibet by the A Russian Convention[7] of the 31st Au 1907, China lost the status of suzer over Tibet,[8] because of the revolt o Tibetans against the Chinese[9] during Chinese revolt in November 1911, whe Tibetans successfully reinstalled the

1. Earlier, 'against the Chinese suzerainty there has sprung up a national party which has supported the Dalai Lama, and since the defeat of China by Japan that suzerainty has been thrown off,' vide, Sherring Charles A., 'Western Tibet and The British Borderland,' London, Edward Arnold 41 & 43 Maddox Street, Bond Street, W. Publisher to the India Office, 1906, p. 248 ; Again, Robert Ford observes that, 'the fact of Tibet's independence was beyond doubt. Except for two short periods of Chinese rule, both of which were ended by a national revolt, Tibet had been an autonomous State for centuries. Under the Manchu dynasty the Chinese had exercised a vague and remote suzerainty, based on a personal relationship between the Chinese emperor and the Dalai Lama ; but that had ended with the Chinese Revolution of 1911. Since then Tibet had been completely independent,' vide, Ford Robert, 'Captured in Tibet,' George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., London, 1957, p. 87 ; Illustrated Historian & Scholar Sir C. U. Aitchison, vide, 'Treaties and Sanads' etc., Vol. XIV, Calcutta, Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1929, p. 20, mentions that, 'After some serious fighting in Lhasa, an agreement was reached in August 1912 by which the Chinese were to give up their arms and leave Tibet for China via India . . . . A large number of Chinese left, but some remained behind in breach of the agreement, and there was more fighting before these also left in December 1912.'

2. Bell, Sir Charles, 'Tibet Past & Pr Oxford University Press, London, Hu Milford, 1927 edition, p. 148.

3. Bell, 'Tibet Past & Present,' o p. 111.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 111. Hayden & Cosson, & Travel in the Highlands of Tibet,' L Richard Cobden-Sanderson, Thavies Inn, p. v.

5. 'The Question of Tibet and the Law,' International Commission of Geneva, 1959, Document No. 4, pp. 113-11

6. Bell, 'Tibet Past & Present,' p. 118.

7. *Ibid.*, Appendix No. IX, pp. 28 'The Question of Tibet And The Rule of L *cit.*, Document No. 5, pp. 116-117.

8. See the opinion in 'The Question and the Rule of Law,' *op. cit.*, p. 84.

9. Bell, 'Tibet Past & Present,' p. 120.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Lama on the pious throne of Tibet[10] after defeating and driving the Chinese forces from the Tibetan territories.[11]

The driving away of the Chinese by the Tibetans from their holy land enraged the Chinese Government, who out of vengeance carried out a number of aggressions on the Tibetans.[12] The British Government, under the changed circumstances ceased to recognise the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, and in pursuance of this policy, refused the Chinese to pass through Sikkim to Tibet.[13] This act of the British Government, according to Sir Charles Bell, 'proved a weapon of considerable force, as the Tibetans consistently prevented the entry of Chinese through their eastern borders'.[14]

In the summer of 1912, the Chinese Government, to fulfil their ambition of expansion[15] despatched an armed force to occupy Tibet.[16] Finding this evil design of China over Tibet, Great Britain rightly addressed thereupon a memorandum[17] on the 17th August 1912, warning the Chinese Government, that, the active interference by the Chinese in the internal administration of Tibet, and their placing of unlimited number of troops there, would not be recognised by Britain.[18] The Chinese, seeing their fate for the present sealed in Tibet, and also realising the fact that the Tibetans were strong enough to repulse any of their invasions,[19] agreed for a conference with Britain and Tibet.[20] The Chinese Government also wished that the venue of the conference should be Simla,[21] and the Tibetan Plenipotentiary of the conference should be of the equal authority and status with the Plenipotentiaries of Britain and China.[22]

The Tibetan Government accepted the invitation for the conference at Simla, and Lon-Chen Shatra,[23] independent Tibet's Plenipotentiary to the conference equipped with documents arrived at Simla in October, 1913. Mr. Ivan Chen,[24] the Chinese Plenipotentiary to the conference arrived there on the 6th October, 1913. The Government of India's Plenipotentiary to the conference was Sir Henry McMahon, the then foreign Secretary of the Government of India.[25]

Earlier in February, 1913, when Tibet was out of the suzerainty of China, the British Government sent, just to avoid boundary clashes with Tibet, two sheets of maps to the Tibetan Govt., for its acccptance,[26] showing the common and traditional boundary between India and Tibet, extending from the 'Bhutan frontier on the East upto the Isu-Razi pass,[27]—round to the meeting place of China, Tibet and the Burmese hinterland.[28] Lon-Chen Shatra,

---

10. '. . . . now, however, the Tibetans have renounced allegiance to their no longer powerful eastern neighbour China,' *vide*, Hayden and Cosson 'Sport and Travel in the Highlands of Tibet,' *op. cit.*, p. 69, see also p. 70.
11. Bell, 'Tibet Past & Present,' *op. cit.*, pp. 120-122.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
13. Bell, 'Tibet Past & Present,' *op. cit.*, p. 148.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
15. Teichman Eric, 'Travels of A Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet,' Cambridge, at the University Press, 1922, pp. 41-43.
16. Bell, 'Tibet Past & Present,' *op. cit.*, p. 149.
17. 'Report of The Officials of The Governments of India and The people's Republic of China on the Boundary Question,' Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, February, 1961, CR-20.
18. Bell, 'Tibet Past & Present,' *op. cit.*, p. 149.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 150-154.
24. Bell, 'Tibet Past & Present,' *op. cit.*, p. 154.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.
26. See, Sen Chanakya, 'Tibet -Disappears,' Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1960, p. 63.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
28. Bell, 'Tibet Past & Present,' *op. cit.*, p. 155.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Tibetan Plenipotentiary to the conference vide his letter[29] of the 25th March, 1914, informed Sir Henry McMahon, the British Plenipotentiary in reply to the latter's letter of the 24th March, 1914, that the Tibetan Government after careful study have agreed 'to the boundary, as marked, in red in the two copies of the maps'.[30]

After much discussion, extending over six months, from October, 1913 to April, 1914, the three Plenipotentiaries to the conference, on the 27th April, 1914,[31] accepted the India-Tibetan frontier, as earlier accepted by Tibet and India[32] (McMahon's note to the Tibetan Plenipoteniary on the 24th March, 1914, and the Latter's acceptance by his note of the 25th March, 1914[33]), by putting their initials on the maps attached.[34] Here it should be mentioned that, both the Tibetan and the Chinese Plenipotentiaries instead of putting their initials signed on the maps.[35] On the success of the conference, regarding the peaceful settlement of the frontiers between India and Tibet, Mr. Bell, who helped the Brttitsh Plenipotentiary at the conference on Tibet, observed that, 'it proved fortunately possible to establish the frontier between India and Tibet over eight hundred and fifty miles of difficult and dangerous country'.

The other chief provision of this convention was that, the British Government forced Tibet to accept the Chinese suzerainty, and the Chinese agreed, 'not to convert Tibet into a Chinese province'. But on the 29th April, 1914, due to differences of opinion regarding the Chinese right of claim on the Tibetan-Chinese frontiers,[37] where the Chinese pressed for the boundary through Gyam-da, only a few days' march east of Lhasa,[38] the Chinese Plenipotentiary to the conference, on the instigation of the Chinese Government refused to proceed further.[39]

The British Government through its Minister informed the Chinese Government on the 6th June, 1914, that, even if the Chinese Government would not ratify the April convention, both, Britain and Tibet would sign it.[40] Accordingly, on the 3rd July, 1914, Sir Henry McMahon on behalf of India, and Lon-Chen Shatra, on behalf of Tibet, concluded a treaty at Simla,[41] and by Article 9 of this treaty,[42] both the Governments again agreed on the traditional frontier between India and Tibet and signed

29. See the translation of the letter in English in Sen, Chanakya's, 'Tibet Disappears,' *op. cit.*, p. 64.

30. Letter of Lon-Chen Shatra to Sir Henry McMahon, source, *Ibid.*, p. 64.

31. Bell, 'Tibet Past & Present,' *op. cit.*, p. 154, Teichman, Eric, 'Travels of a A Consular Officer In Eastern Tibet,' *op. cit.*, p. 46.

32. Aitchison, 'Treaties,' etc., Vol. XIV, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

33. Aitchison, 'Treaties,' etc., Vol. XIV, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

34. 'Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and The People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question,' Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Feb., 1961, pp. 245-246.

35. See the signatures of the Plenipotentiaries to the conference on the maps that attached in the 'Atlas of the Northern Frontier of India Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi. 1960, Map No. 23, see also Map Nos. 21 & 22.

36. Bell, Tibet Past & Present,' *op.* p. 154.

37. 'India China Border Problem' Ex Publicity Division, Ministry of External Af New Delhi, Nov. 1962, p. 2; 'Report Officials of the Governments of India an People's Republic of China on the Bou Question,' Government of India, pp. 13 It is also clear from the proposals of the C Government of the dated 30th May, 1919, British Government, that, the Chinese Gover in principle accepted the McMahon Line boundary, 'with the exception of the clause down the boundary between China and Reuter's Report on China on the 2nd Dec., source, Teichman Eric, 'Travels in Tibet,' p. preface, viii.

38. Bell, 'Tibet Past & Present,' *op.* p. 156.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 156; Teichman Eric, in Tibet,' *op. cit.*, p. 46.

40. Bell, 'Tibet Past & Present,' *op.* p. 156.

41. 'The Question of Tibet and the L Law,' op. cit., Document No. 7, pp. 124-

42. *Ibid.*, Document No. 7, p. 126.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a rightway on the maps[43] attached, showing the said boundary.[44]

By Article 2 of this convention though Tibet was placed under the suzerainty of China[45] but, as China did not sign on this treaty, this term does not apply to Tibet.[46] On this same date, i.e., 3rd July, 1914, the British Government concluded a trade regulation with independent Tibet.[47]

So, in this way, in the conference at Simla, the traditional north-eastern frontier of India was confirmed between the countries mainly concerned which starts from the east of Bhutan,[48] 'about 13 miles from the Mela Pass'[49] (91°40′ East Longitude and 27°57′ North Latitude),[50] at Teygala on the Mela Ridge[51] and taking an eastward direction along the Tang La (Thagla) Ridge[52] crosses the Nyamjang Chu (Namjang River[53]) east of Khinzemane,[54] at approximately 91°46′ East Longitude and 27°46′

---

43. See, 'Atlas of the Northern Frontier of India,' *op. cit.*, map No. 24.

44. The following maps show the traditional boundary between India and Tibet as agreed in the Simla Conference :

(i) Teichman, Eric, 'Travels of A Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet,' Cambridge, At the University Press, 1922, maps facing pp. 1, 4, 35, 46, 59.

(ii) Bell, Sir Charles, 'Tibet Past & Present,' Oxford University Press, 1927 ed., map at the end.

(iii) Tsung-Lien Shen and Shen-Chi Liu, 'Tibet And The Tibetans,' Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1953, map facing p. 8 ; here it should be mentioned that Mr. Shen is a Chinese Scholar of repute and was appointed as Resident Chinese Commissioner in Lhasa during the last World War.

(iv) Barber, Noel, 'The Flight of The Dalai Lama,' London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1960, map, pp. 12 & 13.

(v) 'Atlas of the Northern Frontier of India,' Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi, January 15, 1960.

(vi) Hedin, Sven, 'Southern Tibet,' (A complete research upto 1908 on the evolution of boundaries of Tibet), Stockholm Lithographic Institute of the General Staff of the Swedish Army, 1917, Vols. 4.

(vii) Raja Hutheesing (Ed.), 'A White Book, Tibet Fights for Freedom,' published for the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, by. Orient Longmans Private Limited, Bombay, 1960.

45. 'The Question of Tibet and the Rule of law,' *op. cit.*, Document No. 7, p. 124.

46. On the Tibetans-Chinese relations Reuter's agency in the press of China observed on the 2nd December, 1919, that, 'Since the Chinese left Lhasa as a result of the revolution in China seven or eight years ago Tibet has in fact been independent of her suzerain.' Source: Teichman, Eric, 'Travels of A Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet,' *op. cit.*, p. preface, IX ; 'Now, owing to the anarchical State of China, he (Tibet, Dalai Lama) has renounced all allegiance to his former suzerain,' vide, Hayden and Cosson, 'Sport And Travel in The Highlands of Tibet,' *op. cit.*, p. 70; Robert Ford observes that, 'Britain recognized Tibet's independence, and so did most other countries unofficially ; officially the question never arose.' Again, as the Chinese maps showing that Tibet is under the suzerainty of China or on the dispute between the Tibetan and the Chinese on the boundaries, the said author again observes that, 'after the talks broke down (the Simla Conference) the Chinese recognized their own claims and published their map for the whole world to see. The Tibetans had no maps that were even publishable. China had diplomatic relations with other nations of the World. Tibet had not. The Chinese map was followed by map makers in other countries, including Britain, and that is why the Atlases were wrong,' vide, 'Captured in Tibet,' *op. cit.*, pp. 87, 89.

47. 'The Question of Tibet and the Rule of law,' *op. cit.*, Document No. 8, pp. 128-131.

48. In explaining the north-eastern frontier of India I have followed only those maps, which were confirmed during the Tripartite Conference at Simla, i.e., maps Nos. 21, 22, 23 and 24 of the 'Atlas of the Northern Frontier of India,' Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, January 15, 1960, New Delhi.

49. 'Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question,' Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Feb. 1961, p. 2.

50. 'Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question,' *op cit.*, pp. 2, 12.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

North Latitude[55] and following the crest of the Great Himalayan Range, it runs 'along the Zanglung Ridge to Bumla and thence along Nakchutpa range to Tona Chu[56] and passes the 92° East Longitude. Then the boundary Line crosses the Seti Chu and following the crest of the Himalayas moves to north-east upto some extent, and again moves towards east and passes through Tulung La and Sari Chan on the north along the crest of the Himalayas. From Sari Chan the boundary Line moves towards north east along the crest of the Himalayas and passing the 92°30′ East Longitude and continuing the same direction also passes the 28° North Latitudinal line. Thence it moves towards north-west upto a peak of 22,718′ of height. From here the boundary Line along the crest of the Himalayas takes a north east direction and leaving the Chayul Chu on the north and taking a southward direction for a little distance again moves on the north-east and passing the 93° East Longitude reaches upto south of Dretang. From here continuing to follow the crest of the mountains it moves towards east and also passing through the north of the watershed of Kamla River on the Indian side takes a north-east direction to cross the Subansiri River at approximately Longitude 93°13′ East and Latitude 28°22′ North.[57] After passing this River, the boundary line lay northward along the ridge west of the Pindigo River (flowing into the Subansiri), and then at about a point at approximately Longitude 93°18′ East and Latitude 28°37′ North, the alignment turned north-eastward along the ridge lying to the north-west of the Hariak River (flowing into the Tsari Chu) upto peak 18056′ feet (Long. 93°32 East, and Lat. 28°41′ North) whereafter it turned south-east and east to cross the Tsari Chu south of Migyitun[58] at approximately Long. 93°33′ East and 28°39′ North Lat.[59] After crossing the Tsari Chu the boundary line takes a north and north eastward direction till it reaches the 93°30′ E. Long. From this point the boundary line 'lay along the ridges ... to the south of Tso Karpo and Tsari S... and separating the basins of the Oto ... and Lilung Chu in Tibet from the tribut... of the Subansiri in the south. From ... 16,454 feet (Long. 93°59′ 5″ E. and Lat. ... N.) the alignment lay through Peak ... feet. (Long. 94°2′ E. and Lat 28°51′ N.) ... the crest of the Great Himalayan Ra... and reaches upto Tungu La (Tunga Pas... proximately long. 94°10′ E. and Lat. 28°... From here the boundary line takes a n... ward direction and after passing the ... tudinal line of 29° N., it takes a n... eastward direction and passing th... south of Nayu La reaches upto the sou... Lamdo La, and also passing through ... watershed of Siyom River, Sika River ... Sigon River on the Indian side and ... Po River on the Tibetan, and from sou... Lamdo La takes an eastward direction ... after passing the line of 94°30′ E. Long ... boundary line takes a northward dire... and passing through Lusha La reaches ... the watershed of Pinogong River o... Indian side being very close to the Tsa... River in Tibet. Thence the bou... line descends on the south and p... through the west of Tamnyem takes an ... ward direction to 'reach the western ... of the Dihang at approximately Long ... E. and Lat. 29°8′ N. (west of Korbo in ... and then, moving up along the midst ... crossed over to the other side at ap... mately Long. 94°59′ E. and Lat. 29°... (west of Mongku in Tibet)'.[62]

The boundary line after crossing ... Dihang River continues to follow the ... ward direction along the crest of Hima... and after some extent, it takes a north ... ward direction being east of Zikya... Then it takes an eastward direction ... little distance only, and being on the ... of Andra Pass and taking a north-west ... direction reaches upto Yonggyap ... From here the boundary line moves t... east and then to north-east and being ...

55. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ally along the crest of the mountains passing the 96°E. Longitudinal line reaches upto the 29°29′ N. Lat. From this above mentioned point, the boundary line gradually moves to south-east and then taking a north-east direction again descends towards south and passing through Mt. Taukla moves towards a little south of 29° Lat. Then, it again moves towards north-east and again passing through the line of 29° N. Lat. moves upto 96°33′ E. Long. From here the boundary line on the west of Mt. Abtcha, takes a south-east direction and passing through Kaya Pass, moves towards south-west along the crest of the mountains till it reaches at a place on the watershed of Ithun River at a height of 14,603 feet on the Indian side. From this point along the slopes of the mountains it moves towards east upto a place of 16,332 feet height, from here the boundary line descends towards south for a little distance only to take up a north and north-eastern direction and passing through Kadusam and south of Hadigra Dakhru and being west of Glei Tuwi and Glei Dakhru reaches upto north of 'The Chu' on the south-east. From here the boundary line takes a more or less eastern direction and after crossing the Zayul Chu (Luhit River) a few miles south of Rima, on the north, where the river Dichu makes a junction with it at approximately Long. 97°01′ E. and Lat. 28°19′ N.[63] it takes a north-east direction and then moving towards south-east beyond the north of the River Dichu, a tributary of the Zayul Chu and also following the ridge separating the waters of the Latte and Dichu basins, and proceeds along the crest of the ridge to the mountain range at peak Diphuk La (Diphu Pass[64]) 15,283 feet, which is the tri-junction of the boundaries of India, Burma and China[65] at approximate Long. 97°23′ E. and Lat. 28°13′N.[66]

Again, here it should be mentioned that, the boundary line from the river Dihang upto the river Zayul Chu follows the watershed between Dihan, Chimdru and Rong Thod Chu (Rongta Chu) and their tributaries in Tibet, and Dihang, Dibang, Delei and Luhit and their tributaries in India.

This whole boundary line i.e., from the point east of Bhutan upto Diphu pass and thence to Isu Razi pass is generally known as 'McMahon Line', after the name of the Indian Plenipotentiaries of the Simla Conference. But, as all the Plenipotentiaries of the said conference agreed and signed[67] on the boundary map, hence, this whole boundary line instead of McMahon Line may also be known as 'Chen-Shatra-McMahon Line', after the names of all the Plenipotentiaries of the conference.

Uptil the recent years the Chinese Gvoernment had accepted the McMahon line of frontier, hence, the present Chinese advancement on the south of this line is a clear act of designed aggression on India.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
67. The signatures of all the Plenipotentiaries of the conference may be seen in the map No. 23 of the 'Atlas of the Northern Frontier of India,' Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, January 15, 1960, New Delhi.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A NOTE ON THE U.P. ZILA PARISHAD ORDINANCE OF 1963

By BRAHMA BHARADVAJA

THE Constitution assigns law-making powers and functions and also the authority to authorize levy and collection of taxes and powers of disbursement to the Legislatures both in the Centre and in the States. But the Legislatures do not meet throughout the year to provide sufficient authority with minimum loss of time to the Executive to meet an emergency. The Constitution, therefore, in order to meet an emergency at a time when the Legislature is not in session, provides that the President or the Governor, as the case may be, may issue ordinances. The President's powers under Article 123 and the Governor's powers under Article 213 is extensive and large. It is co-extensive and coordinate with the powers of the Legislature.

The power has been exercised several times to promulgate various measures. Recently the Governor of Uttar Pradesh promulgated an ordinance to validate the notification of the 30th June, 1963 issued by the Uttar Pradesh Government. The legislators of the U.P. Assembly charged the Government with contempt of the Assembly, because the latter should have approached the Assembly which was in session, before taking any such measures. They said that the Assembly should have been deemed to be in session from September 16, on which it was summoned by the first notification, and not from September 23, which was appointed by the second notification but which was issued without revoking the first. Since the matter is a question of fact, we prefer to express no opinion on it, except that if the second notification was otherwise valid and in order, it, being subsequent, might be taken to supersede the previous one. The constitutionality of the ordinance is, however, open to challenge on other grounds. The point has now been decided by the Allahabad High Court.

The relevant provisions of Article 213 are as follows :—Clause (1) of the Article provides that "if at any time, except when the Legislative Assembly of a State is in session, or where there is Legislative Council in a State, except when both Houses of the Legislature are in session, the Governor is satisfied that circumstances exist which render it necessary for him to take ... diate action, he may promulgate such ordi... as the circumstances appear him to require proviso to this clause places three limits on exercise of this power. Clause (2) gives to the ordinance equal to that of law ... by the Legislature and requires that the ord... shall be laid on the Table of the Houses ... six weeks from the reassembly of the Legis... It also authorises the Governor to withdraw ordinance at any time. Clause (3) sets the of the ordinance-making power.

The validity of this ordinance can... challenged on the ground that it nullifies the ...sion of the High Court and validates an i... Act. Certainly the Uttar Pradesh Legislature also the Governor under Article 213 have ... to do so ; they may validate an invalid A... nominate, or prescribe appointment by no... tion of the Presidents of the Zila Parishads the constitutional propriety of the ordinan... open to question on other grounds. It is an ordinary power and on the exercise of whi... Article places three very clear conditions. first condition is that the Legislature shou... be in session, the second is that there should circumstances which make it imperative for to take immediate action, and the third being the ordinance should be laid on the Table Houses within six weeks after the reassem... the Legislature. It is not clear so far w... non-laying would adversely affect an ordi... It is premature to examine the ordinance the third condition.

The fact that the Assembly was in ses... disputed, but it is not disputed that the C... was in session at the time when the ordinan... issued. Can the Governor validly issue an nance when the Legislative Council is in ses... The fact that half of the Legislature was in s... means that half of the legislature was in s... In the Union, this half, that is the Rajya S... constitutes the full Parliament for the purp... Articles 352, 356 and 360 when the Lok Sa... dissolved. No tradition of the Parliam...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Government would tolerate the Governor to issue in ordinance when the Legislative Assembly is in session. However, it may be pointed out that the issue of the ordinance is constitutionally valid.

The second condition that there should exist circumstances which render it imperative for the Governor to take immediate action is non-justiiable. He must satisfy himself only that there is enough justification for the exercise of the power; he court will not enquire into the reasonableness of his action. But, when questioned, he must be eady to answer through Ministers before the egislature and the public, and must also satisfy hem. What the circumstances were which necesitated the promulgation of this ordinance are est known to the Governor himself. But one uch circumstance is apparent to all. On the 0th June, 1963 last, the Uttar Pradesh Governent issued a notification and by that notification ppointed the Presidents of Zila Parishads by omination in contravention of the Act which did ot prescribe this method. Against this notificaon some people who felt aggrieved filed a petion for an interim stay order to the District Magisates and restrained them from handing over harge to the new Presidents. Later on, the High ourt invalidated the notification. It was only fter this decision that the said ordinance was sued. A few questions, therefore, crop up. Is the ppointment of the Presidents of the Zila Parihad such an important and urgent matter as warrant the exercise of the extra-ordinary power issue an ordinance ? It may be argued on beIf of the Government that the Zila Parishads re functioning without Presidents and the Dist Magistrates had to bear extra responsibility which they had to be relieved. But could not e Government comply with the Provisions of the ct and let the existing machinery function till e Presidents were appointed in a valid manner? here does not appear any fact to suggest that the stem could not function and the *status quo* could t be maintained even for a single day. On the er hand the promulgation of the ordinance ggests that the Government, conscious of asserting its powers that is can act in a manner it likes, cares little for the legislative mandate and also for the judicial decision. The right course for Government, in this case was to comply with the judicial direction and the legislative mandate. The action to validate the invalid notification cannot be upheld particularly when the same result could be achieved if the Governor, by ordinance, had appointed the Presidents without any reference to the Notification of the 30th June.

The same conclusion results when we examine the ordinance from another aspect. The ordinance is given retrospective effect from the 30th June, 1963. One may well ask why this retroaction ? Was the Government likely to incur liabilities as a consequence of the High Court decision ? Does the retroaction regularize a continuing unauthorized illegal act ? There is no such problem to solve by giving retroaction to the ordinance since the High Court had granted stay and the new Presidents, therefore, could not take charge of the office from the District Magistrates. Retrospective effect only confirms one's doubts that the executive wants to impress its superiority upon the coordinate authorities, and also to emphasize that the judiciary cannot exercise any restraint upon its action.

The Government should know that in a democracy there is no conflict and contest for power between the three organs of the State—the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary. All the three function in harmony ; neither organ should be so jealous as to over-step its authority and power. Not only the letter, but also the spirit of the Constitution should be respected. The extraordinary powers are meant to deal with extraordinary situations, where there is no alternative to the exercise of this power. In this nascent state of the Constitution, it is desirable that the Government should exercise its powers with upright discretion and should set those precedents which at a later date will form strong traditions. Strong traditions are essential to the growth of healthy democracy.

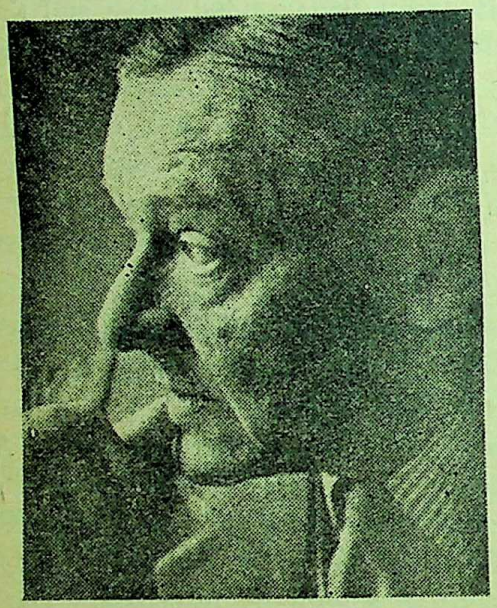
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

T.S. ELIOT : THE INTERPRETER OF THE INTELLECTUAL CRISIS

By B. K. NIMKAR

Despite the unanimous acknowledgement of T. S. Eliot—the prophet of universal frustration, the interpreter of intellectual crisis and chaos—as one of the greatest moulding forces of modern poetry, perhaps he is much more misunderstood than any other of his contemporaries for his apparent pessimistic note. During the last seventy years there has been intensification of the psychic crisis. Due to the disintegration of the old religious, social and moral values and failure



T. S. Eliot

of the rise of new values today, man stands as an inhabitant of 'The Waste Land' whose faiths have been shattered, whose soul has been oppressed with the sense of futility, spiritual emptiness and who is groping in the dark to find comething that he does not understand. He is exhausted, frustrated, empty stuff, now not wandering between the two words "one dead and the other powerless to be be born" but between the two extreme awareness of the dream like distant Eternal pattern and equally poignant awareness of temporal reality imposing space-time limitations upon his sensibility. This conflict making him lectually self-conscious intensifies the of the futility of life. He feels as if some is breaking in himself, something is dis grating in his soul and he is rendered t level of 'Hollow Man'. The complex of the intellectual and psychic crisis duced the greatest spokesman of century.

Eliot's poems express the point of section of the temporal and the tim 'To be conscious of time' is to imp pattern (by naming them as past, pr and future) ; this pattern is every mo changing because man's relations with adjustment to the universal forces are flux. 'Ordinary men living in the ord things' and bound by the 'pattern of assume their individual self to be the c of life and become obsessed by the sen action and suffering. It is by cha the dimension of motion, i.e., by in motion that the self moves towards 'still point' of the wheel—

"Only the fools think that they
turn the
On which they turn."

Self is a part of the universal e pattern and a 'Still-Point' governs motion of the world-wheel. It is b identification of the individual cons ness with the Eternal that the Ego is above the time-space limitations to r

"Time present and time past
Are present in time future
And time future contained
In the time past."

It is the spiritual stage of realisa glory working in man—when ha desires and doubts are silent and mys stirring echoes in the unexplored reg

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the soul—that Becket knowing the approaching death feels "All things proceed to a joyful consummation" because he becomes identical with the Still Point of the wheel, where there is no motion "Either from or towards". Narrow self when makes decision—

".....set in motion
Forces in you and others
That are beyond your control"

Soul tied to this temporal pattern moves from action to suffering and from suffering to action.

The chief problem for the Imagist poets was to give terse and precise expression to man's essential loneliness and psychic isolation caused outwardly by social crisis and moral disintegration but really by sense of sin, i.e., the awareness of futile pursuit, his forced adherence to the ideals on which his soul cannot concentrate. Prufrock is a disillusioned, frustrated lover with soul isolated because of sin. To quote his own confession—

"For I have known them already, known them all
Have known evenings, mornings, afternoons
I have measured out my life with coffee spoons"

Unable to "have the strength to force the moment to the crisis", man's inner longings bursts forth—

"I should have been a pair of rugged claws
Scuttering across the floor of silent seas"

The disillusionment brought about by the perception of the "Moment of my greatness flicker". This haunting glory of the past contrasted with the futility, emptiness and aimlessness of the present life intensifies the scheme of the generalisation of sin. Eliot juxtaposes various dimensions of experience—such as temporal and timeless. He measures the intensified futility, exhaustion and spiritual emptiness. Awareness of the timeless pattern hovers over the man of psychic crisis. Because of the multi-dimensional design of his poems, their interpretation is possible at different levels of meaning. Striking images like Waste Land, hanged man, death by water, with rich association and suggestive capacity are transformed into symbolic pattern by recurrence and suggestion. Sprung rhythm with its flexibility in pause, caesura, and number of syllables so adjusts the rhythm as to become suggestive of weep-rooted futility, exhaustion and spiritual emptiness. This image symbol and rhythm patterns are interfused for the utmost extension of word's suggestive area and thereby widen the meaning area.

His basic method, to quote Mr. Cleanth Brooks, is "application of the principle of complexity. The poet works in terms of surface parallelism which in reality make ironical contrast and in terms of surface contrast which in reality constitute parallelism". The two aspects taken together give the affect of chaotic experience ordered into a new whole though the realistic surface of the experience is faithfully retained. The allusions are transferred from an innocent context into a context in which they become charged and transformed in meaning. For example 'The change of philomela' "and still she cried and still the world pursues" makes it a comment upon and a symbol of the modern world. In the similar way myths and mythological references are transformed into symbolic pattern, through their frequent recurrences in the same association area of meaning.

Ironical terseness of expression, paradoxical statements and image symbol while extend the dimensions of meaning, making the interpretation possible at different levels, they save the poet also from direct assertion. Recurrent images and metaphors like 'hangedman', 'rock and water' with rich associations, touch the wide context on various points and at various levels making the poetic pattern multi-dimensional with the extension of meaning. This is a step further from the Imagist's ideal of style to give precise and terse expression to the ugly realities of life instead of avoiding

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

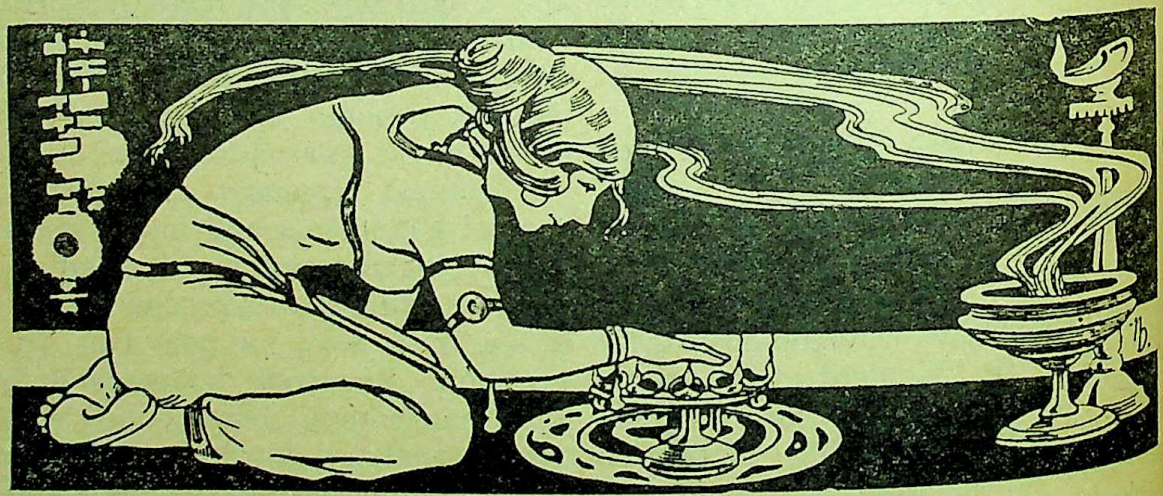
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

them. The highest culmination of the intensification of poetic design and multi-dimensional pattern is to be found in 'the Waste Land' which is also Eliot's highest achievement in this trend of experimentation fusing legendary plot into the symbol pattern—

> "Memory and desires, stirring
> Dull roots with spring rain."

where there are "dry stones no sound of water" is expression of futility in modern life. Water symbolises the life giving force. To Eliot modern life devoid of purpose groping, struggling in the dark is 'Life in death' and very often it is the sacrificial death which makes new life to flourish and new beauty to vitalise breath in the dead world body. The transition from the physical futility to spiritual futility is made through symbols.

The pessimism and intensified frust... traced at various stages of Eliot's poe... not the deliberately chosen metaph... which considers man as helpless victi... the hostile universal forces or has in... in gloomy and darker sides of the ... but it is the expression of the complex... life, tension in soul leading to psychi... integration and crisis. Mental unsta... fleeting glimpses of glory and horror, ... ciousness of the eternity and futility ... with ceaseless but ever unfulfilled lo... for new values are the ingredients of m... consciousness. Led to experimentati... style by the necessity of expression ... adequate suggestion, Eliot tended to a... the extension of meaning by widenin... area of association, symbol and im... pattern by loading even rhythm (i.e., ... sequences) with suggestivity. He is ... first and the greatest prophet of d... sioned, frustrated humanity.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

REVIEW OF ACADEMY EXHIBITION

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The 29th Annual Exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts was opened on the 11th December by the Hon'ble Minister of Education—with a brilliant speech which was as inspiring as encouraging.

This Annual Show—which has been steadily maintaining its All-India Character, —is eagerly looked forward to—by different sections of our citizens—with different hopes and aspirations,—by Artists and Art-students,—for new leads—in aesthetic creations,—by connoisseurs, collectors, and lovers of pictures—in search of new masterpieces,—by Industrialists and Printers—in search of spectacular pictures for their Almanacs and Advertisements, by Critics and newspaper Reviewers,—who are anxious to cover the Exhibition by brilliant write-ups,—to appraise the year's productions—to praise or blame the Artists with their smiles, or their frowns.

The Selection Committee has, on the whole, performed their function, conscientiously and impartially, and, the Show is shining with expressions of a wide range of aesthetic conception, and a bewildering variety of technical execution, which is dazzling to the average picture-goer, and to the intelligent patriot, and politician, anxiously looking forward—to a Common Language Of Art,—to spell out, if possible, the much desired Emotional Integration—to unify the divergent cultural impulses of this great country of races and tribes.

The Exhibits have come from all regional centres of India,—from Ahmedabad, Bombay and Baroda, from Bhavanagar Delhi and Hyderabad, from Hubli, Mysore and Indore, from Lucknow, Madras and Orissa, from Santiniketan, Srinagar and Jaipur,—from Purulia, Rajkot, and Gujarat, from Varanashi Vizianagram and Hooghly and from various centres of West Bengal.

A century hence—the progress of India will be judged not by its Factories and Mills, its rice-fields and agricultural crops,—but by its aesthetic and spiritual products—by the monuments that will be built by India's Poets, Seers, Artists, Architects, Sculptors and Craftsmen.

It is these creative minds which enable us to feel the spiritual pulse of a nation.

Judging from this point of view—,there are some signs in this Exhibition—that there is brisk and brilliant thinking,—in at least, two phases of art-productions—in Painting and Sculpture, unfortunately,—with no echoes from our Builders and Architects.

In the field of Painting,—for the last few years,—a group of Painters—are attempting to make new experiments with Colour and form, and, to devise a New Order of Beauty —solely on the basis of Rhythms, Movements, and arbitrary creations of New Forms,—without any representation of recognizable likenesses of known Forms. Their courageous purpose is to make new experiments on Progressive Lines—through New Creations of Forms.

For the average seeker after Beauty—these daring new creations—are to my mind un-intelligible, and enigmatic. There are, undoubtedly, many creative talents in this Group,—but their experiments can only interest artists and experts—but not the man of normal vision.

In the Academic section, there are several distinguished works—in oil,—highlighted by the "Self Portrait" of Satis Chandra Singha, and two delicate portrait—studies by Kisoury Roy.

The Indian section has gained in the emphasis of its quiet and reticent Beauty—contrasted by the pedesterian Academists and by the boisterous Progressives.

The high-lights of the Indian section—are provided by two soothing scenes from Jiagunje (69-70) contributed by Indra Dugar. These are balanced by the mannered beauty of "Mathura-Gaman" and "Ram and Koushalya" (151-152) contributed by Khodidas Paramar.

Gopal Ghose contributes two pieces.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

His second piece—is very emphatic in the masterly treatment of trees. The symbolical and the Mystic—are illustrated in two pieces contributed by Chaitanya Dev Chatterjee. The quality of sedate grandeur of the Fresco style is evident in Dhirendra Nath's "Asva-Medh".

Sankaranath Aich's "Laksmhi-Narayana" and "Sarasvati"—admirably maintain the grave traditions of depicting Hindu Gods. Shyamal Tan's "Amaltas"—is a brilliant and original presentation of leaves of trees in fine contrasts of Black and White.

Dhirendra Krishna Varman's "Potters' Bargain" is a masterly achievement in elevating a very familiar and insignificant theme—to the high level of the un-common, and the significant. But, undoubtedly, the high-light of the Indian Section is the illuminating and dazzling presentation of "Mira-Bai" by Dipen Bose—whose untimely death-emphasizes—the irreperable loss to Indian Painting.

Coming now to the Modernistic Section—we find—that their persistent manners of Distortion, Abstraction and Nihilism of Forms, have, in some examples, reduced their Art—to what John Berger calls—"Meaningless-ness—as the result of an exclusive concern with Form, at the expense of Content."

Fortunately, this does not apply to the majority of the exhibits.

And we have a praiseworthy originality in the austere and luscious drawing of a group of Nudes—called "Messenger"—very rich in content.

Rathin Maitra's study in the best manner of Chinese Calligraphy (115) is somewhat badly titled as: "Struggle For Existence," but is all the same a distinguished piece.

In the Oil Section, two Modernists have exhibited two striking pieces.

A. Roy Chowdhury's "Song of Flames" (212) is interpreted in figures of weird Dancing Nudes. This is gracefully rebuked by the next picture—by its patches of green grasses and shrubs which catch the first rays of the Rising Sun in an olluminating presentation (210).

Of the two Puzzle-Pictures—"Vic... (136) and "Cleopatra" (125) by ... Kumar Modi—of Ahmedabad, the win... the Aga Khan Award, the first is som... decipherable—but Sri Modi's Puzzle... remained an unsolved puzzle to ... visitors. It must be admitted that ... Modernist Section, there are several ... by Artists of great talents—who have ... ed remarkable powers of Creativeness ... of dynamic presentation of Forms of ... originality, but their compositions ca... a very limited appeal, and are comple... accessible—to the average picture-lo... normal vision.

The Sculpture Section, though ... imposing—as the Paintings Section is ... up of a number of distinguished w... skilfully spread over all the Rooms ... Exhibition, punctuating the Pictures ... wonderful grace and emphasis.

They have a Wide Variety of ... treatment—executed in different ... of stone, metal and wood.

From several realistic and resp... Portraits—the Sculpture Exhibits ... beautifully imaginative treatment of ... Of praiseworthy originality, Phani B... **"Snake-Charmer"** (164) reveals at... acrobatic anatomy of fine Grace and ... The "Lying Torso" (170) by Phul ... Pyne—is a remarkable piece of ... Beauty; Munshi Selim's "Abrid... (133) revealing fine grains of the me... wood,—is a concentrated "abridgem... Beauty.

Robi Paul's "Appeal" (159) is ... quent appeal—couched in the silen... age of sculpture.

Subash Roy's "Wood-Nymph" ... though a Daring presentation of ... Form—mounted by a disproport... small head—had excited the wra... distinguished Doctor—"who had ... anatomy—but has refused to forget ... the famous advice of Leonardo Vinc...

Tht Academy has happily pr... rich variety of aesthetic fares—to ... tastes and all palates. Every kind ... —will find some pieces to enjoy ... admire.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indian Periodicals

The Villain In The Economic Crisis

Writing in the **A.I.C.C. Economic Review** under the above caption, what Sri R. N. Gupta has to say has not merely a keen topical relevance, but is, moreover, most opposite in the context of the current economic scene :

Who is the villain of the piece in the worst ever phenomenon of run away prices ever witnessed in the economic situation of India ? Is it the annual increase in population by more than 2 per cent, or a total of about 9 per cent during the period of last 4 years that agricultural production has remained almost stagnant ? (Agricultural production in India stood at 76.7 metric tons in 1959-60, 81 m. tons in 1960-61, 81 m. tons in 1961-62, 78.7 metric tons in 1962-63 and 80.6 metric tons in 1963-64). Or is it the hoarding and cornering of foodgrains by the traders in the **mandis** or the big landlords and cultivators in villages whose power to hold back supplies has been considerably strengthened by the advances made to them by bankers, money-lenders and warehousing corporations ? Or is it certain the policy to guarantee reasonable return to the farmer on his land ? Lastly, is it the black money or currency inflation, or excessive plan and defence expenditure which are causing such an unprecedented rise in the general price level ?

Causes for Spiralling Prices

Perhaps all these and many more, including the accumulated neglect in the planning and administration of the agricultural sector of our economy, the failure of the industrial sector to provide enough in terms of fertilizers and insecticides and the inefficiency of irrigation department to fulfil its targets are the causes for the unusual price situation in the country today. It would be unfair to attribute this crisis to any single factor without an attempt at trying to understand the interaction of complicated economic forces impinging on the price situation.

The rise in population or a marginal decline in production, or currency inflation or increased plan-expenditure can at best explain for a rise of about 4 to 5 per cent in the general price-level, not a rise exceeding 15 to 20 per cent over the last twelve months.

Mr. Asoka Mehta, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, said recently, the country has not witnessed, in recent years, a rise in the prices of essential commodities to the extent as seen now-a-days. The index number of wholesale prices with 1952-53 as the base, stood at 126.1 in June 1963. It shot up to 159 on September 15 this year recording an appalling increase of 33 points in 13 months. The position regarding retail prices with which the consumer is concerned is much worse. Wheat prices which stood at 40 paise per kilo last year, rose to Rs. 1.20 per kilo in September in Bombay and Re. one per kilo in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, recording a rise of about 300 per cent.

Similar is the situation in all States of India, though the prices have not gone up uniformly. A peculiar feature of this year's price spiral is that prices of all essentials of life—foodgrains, pulses, vegetable oils, ghee, fuel, vegetables, milk, cloth, woollens, cotton, services etc., have gone up by 50 to 80 per cent on the average, thus proving the straw for breaking the back of the already famished, poor and middle classes. Never before in India did gram and grapes or apples and cauliflower or sweets and animal food sell at the same price, nor did **gur** sell dearer than sugar or barley dearer than wheat or vegetable oil dearer than almonds.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Committees and Commissions

The question arises what are the steps being taken by the Government to remedy the situation ?

The Chief Ministers' Conference was the first in the series of Governmental thinking to control prices. This has been followed by many more Conferences and Seminars convened by the Food and Agriculture and the Community Development and Co-operation Ministries, including the IADP organisation. But these have resulted in little or no relief to the harassed consumers.

In the meantime, the country continues to spend precious foreign exchange in importing foodgrains to feed its growing population (The imports of foodgrains amounted to 2.7 m. tons per annum in the period 1946-50, 2.5 m. tons per annum in 1951-55, 3.5 m. tons per annum in 1956-60, 3.9 m. tons per annum in 1961-63, and 3.2 m. tons in the first seven months of 1964). Considering the overall food production in the country, the shortage in wheat supply necessitating imports amounts to only about 5 per cent. In the words of our late Prime Minister, Pt. Nehru, it is really a matter of shame that a nation with 70 per cent of her population depending on agriculture has to waste about 160 crores of rupees worth of precious foreign exchange each year in food imports, and cannot either reduce her daily consumption of wheat by about four million tons in a total cultivated area under wheat of 30 m. acres.

Measures to Raise Agricultural Production

The question arises what it is that the people and the Government are doing to raise agricultural production and thereby combating rising prices and the worst ever economic crisis faced by the country ?

During the last few months, various short-term and long-term measures have been adopted by the Govt., to remedy the situation. Among short-term measures adopted are : the tightening of controls to prevent hoarding and profiteering ; compulsory procurement of foodgrains in some areas ; removal or lessening of restrictions on free movement of foodgrains within specified zones ; speedier import of PL 480 wheat from America ; restricting of advances on foodgrains ; mopping black and unaccounted money wh being increasingly used for hoarding o grains and other essentials of life ; in in bank rate and reduction in goverr expenditure to reduce inflation.

The long-term measures inten secure increasing agricultural produc the years to come are ; the stepping the outlay on agricultural sector in t rent plan ; added provision for agric production in the fourth plan ; (15 proposed outlay as against 13.3% third plan) laying down a target million acres for irrigated land by 1 against 89 million acres at the end Third Plan, greater stress on the pro of fertilizers, pesticides, better see improved farm implements ; speeding tenancy reforms in areas where the not been fully implemented ; taking rice mills in the public sector ; setting a Foodgrains Trading Corporation a fixation of a fair price for the grow

Announcement about the setting the F.T.C. and the determination ducers' prices for standard varie paddy, wheat, coarse grains and su for the 1964-65 season has already bee on October 13. The minimum pri nounced which are higher than the harvest prices of 1963-64 by about 5 p are in quintals, for paddy—Rs. 34 in Rs. 38 in Andhra and Rs. 41 in Mahar wheat—Rs. 45-50 for red variety, Rs for common white and Rs. 53.50 for s variety; gram and bajra—Rs. 40 to R jowar—Rs. 38 to 38-50; maize—Rs to 36.50 and sugarcane—Rs. 5.36 for recovery.

The question, however, arises a measures by themselves sufficient farm output or to reverse the trend ing prices ? Did the short-term m result in arresting the uncontrolle tionary spiral ? What is the g agency through which the FTC will its purchase and sale operations. extent does this agency enjoy the sp confidence and has its net-work s the far corners of the country ?

The Role of Co-operatives

Though the co-operatives alon the Panchayats are a much maligned

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ation for failure of their functionaries to rise to people's expectations, there is no denying the fact that there is no other institutional base in our country, which, given the necessary support, guidance, and right type of leadership, can help the FTC in fulfilling its two objectives, viz., raising agricultural production by guaranteeing economic price to the grower, and ensuring just, equitable and unadulterated supply of goods to the people at reasonable prices by cutting down the margins of middlemen to the barest minimum.

Some of the recent surveys conducted by the National Consumer Service in Delhi have shown the limit to which the rapacious private traders can go in exposing the life of the unsuspecting honest citizens to grave risks by large-scale adulteration, heartless profiteering, cornering of stocks and creation of artificial scarcity. The margin of profit charged by middlemen is some essential consumer goods such as vegetables, fruits, milk, butter, fuel, vegetable oil, cotton, etc., have been found to range between 50 to 300 per cent. In contrast the wholesale and retail consumer co-operative stores operate at a margin of profit ranging between five to seven per cent. Despite instances of inefficient working and corruption in some stores, they are functioning by and large, in the wider interests of the community and have succeeded in selling goods to their members at cheaper than the market rates.

This writer has had the good fortune of seeing hundreds of co-operative stores at work in all parts of India. Under the new centrally sponsored scheme, most of such stores are not only providing a financial success, but they have resulted in bringing much needed succour to the harrassed consumers. The most noteworthy achievement of these stores is the supply of pure and unadulterated goods to their members at reasonable margins of profit and in correct weight. Considering the fact that the movement in its new form is only about two years old, and it has yet to establish its supply lines through proper linking with processing and marketing co-operatives, and to defend itself against the onslaughts of unscrupulous traders who avoid sales tax, deal in sub-standard and under-weighed goods, engage in price cutting on the supply of the branded goods (they charge much higher on other non-standard goods), and most co-operative stores do not have proper business premises, this achievement is really remarkable. If members of such stores are more vigilant and they leave day-to-day functioning of stores in the hands of well-paid and trained employees, the movement can soon carve for itself a permanent and growing place in the economy of the country.

The Foodgrains Trading Corporation should, therefore, utilise the agency of the primary co-operative societies in the villages, the central and apex marketing societies in the big **mandis** the consumer co-operative stores in the cities, and the other net-work of different types of co-operatives all over the country to effect its purchase and sale operations with a view to giving more to the producer and at lesser cost to the consumer.

There is much, therefore, that the co-operatives and the co-operators can do to wage a relentless and successful war against the present economic crisis fanned by anti-social elements and self-seeking interests in the country. Already there is a justifiable outburst of anger among consumers at the tendency of the trade to push up the prices of all types of goods unreasonably, and it has resulted in some places, as in Delhi, in the organisation of consumers Resistance Bodies. The co-operators should take advantage of this situation and try to strengthen his movement by lending it all possible support and by helping to set up consumer co-operative stores as alternatives to normal trade channels.

Prices can be brought down if production goes up and there is a better agency for the distribution of goods to the ultimate consumers at minimum profit. In both these respects, the co-operatives with their motto of social gain rather than individual good, provide the only alternative to the existing agencies which thrive on uncontrolled profit and the exploitation of consumers.

For long we have talked of village production plans. In the absence of proper planning at the ground level, these plans have remained confined to papers. The co-operatives can do a lot to implement these plans by providing to each cultivator, according to his production programme (not credit-worthiness) adequate and timely loan,

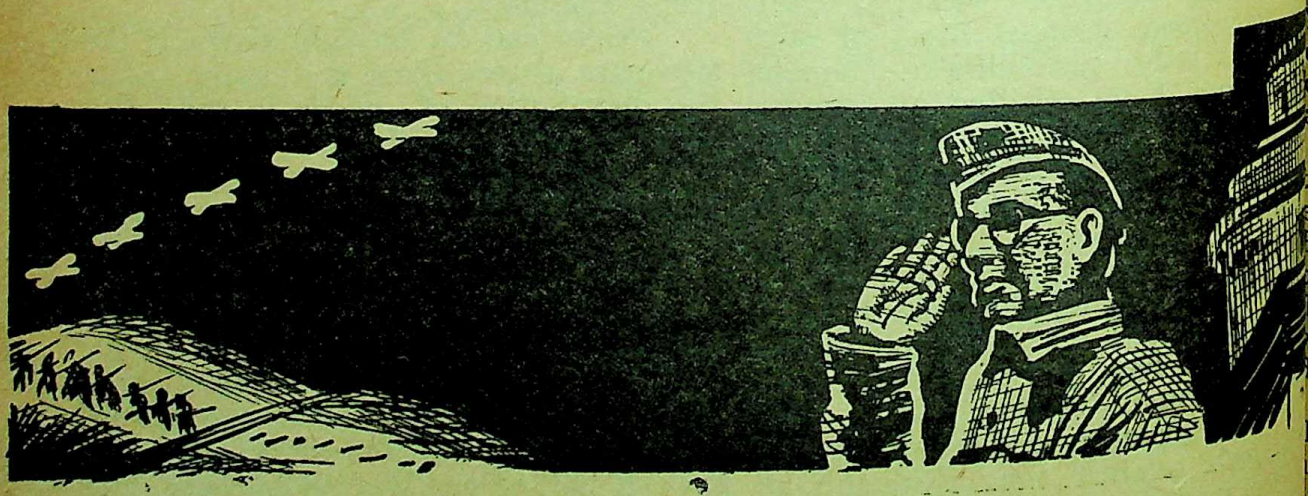
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

seeds, manure, insecticides, and other agricultural requisites, and by linking credit to marketing, processing and consumer stores to set up an integrated co-operative structure from the production to the consumer end.

This is, however, possible only when every possible attempt is made to set the highest standards of integrity and efficiency within the co-operative movement and to see that it remains a dynamic pe... movement with a sense of purpose a... at the promotion of social responsibility... social cohesion. Also, when co-operato... some intensive heart-searching with a... to finding out if they have made a real... tribution to the realisation of the objec... of the movement rather than their... personal or self-good. But will the... operators accept this challenge and the... to rise to people's expectations?

———:O:———



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Foreign Periodicals

Behind the Headlines

Writing in the **Saturday Review,** Robert Stein, Editor, **Redbook Magazine** probes behind the scenes of certain recent events of wide international significance, which would be found interesting :

On the afternoon of October 15, the front pages of American newspapers provided a rare glimpse into the underlying realities of the nuclear age. The headlines told of two surprising events : In Moscow, the Soviet leadership had been changed without warning or explanation ; in Washington, the resignation of a White House staff member after his arrest on a morals charge had introduced a new element of uncertainty into the Presidential campaign.

Superficially these events were unconnected. But both testified to the relative instability of national politics—in the Soviet Union, the dangerous concentration of power in the hands of a few men ; in the United States, the less likely but equally ominous possibility that the choice of American leadership could, in certain instances, be determined by irrelevancies. Yet the men chosen under these circumstances may, within minutes, have to make decisions that could result in worldwide annihilation.

As if to underscore this point, within the same forty-eight-hour period, the government of a third nuclear power, Great Britain, was changed by the smallest of possible margins and a bomb test announced the nuclear emergence of Communist China, whose leadership represents a distant but dark threat to the peace of the world.

It has become commonplace to point out that our collective capacity for destruction has far outdistanced our ability to manage human affairs. Even the most responsible of citizens may find his mind glazed with fatigue as he listens to the irrefutable but familiar argument that control of nuclear weapons must be taken out of the national realm and put in the hands of a responsible international body. In our own country, there is very little disagreement about the ultimate need for supranational authority over the means of destruction ; even such certified realists as Herman Kahn and Edward Teller agree.

In the face of such general agreement and clear necessity, coupled with such paralyzing inertia, it may be helpful to review the slow progress that is being made toward world order and world law, both within the context of conflict among nations and beyond it. In the first regard, the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 clearly awakened the nuclear powers to the need for reducing the possibility of conflict, and several small but significant steps have been taken—the limited testban treaty, the Washington-Moscow hot line, the agreement to reduce stockpiles of fissionable materials. The continuing search for such agreements, while it does not contribute directly toward the elimination of national control over nuclear weapons, serves two constructive purposes : first, it establishes precedents for restricting the development and use of weapons ; second, it "buys time" in which the real work of building world order can go on.

With very little public attention, that work has been going on. In the summer of 1963, lawyers from 105 nations met in Athens for the first World Conference on Peace Through Law and made plans for continuing co-operation. The following month, in the American Bar Association Journal, Henry R. Luce, of Time Inc., quoted an authority to the effect that "more has been constructively written and said about a world rule of law in the last six years than in the whole history of man." Such achievement, Mr. Luce added, is "not the kind of thing that makes front-page head-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

lines.....It is not yet as dramatic as it may become in the next few years."

In the area of public education, the World Law Fund in New York City has been carrying on a broad campaign that embraces everything from the establishment of courses on world law in universities and communities across the country to the commissioning of an eighteen-minute animated color film, The Hat, which won a Venice Film Festival prize and is now being shown in American art theatres.

These are, of course, very small beginnings to the solution of a very large problem, and the question of time is crucial. "I am haunted," President Kennedy said shortly before his death, "by the feeling that by 1970....there may be ten nuclear powers instead of four and by 1975 fifteen or twenty. I regard that as the greatest possible danger and hazard."

In view of the capriciousness of internal politics in such relatively stable nations as the United States and the Soviet Union, it is indeed haunting to contemplate the reliability of the men whose fingers may be on the nuclear buttons in fifteen or tw countries by 1975. Is the safety of man going to depend on the sense and sani such national leaders as Nasser, Suk Castro, Nkrumah, and Tshombe—or successors ?

For the time being these are still di fears. What the responsible citizen h remember, however discouraged or exh ed he may be at the prospect, is tha next five or ten years may represent best—and possibly last—hope of cre rational, responsible control over the of mass destruction. Our own nat leaders acknowledge this and so do tho many other nations. What is needed help them act on this knowledge is a dedicated public support, not necessarily millions but by thousands of Amer who understand the issue and who continue to provide intelligent adv until the time comes for government a If and when discouragement sets i might help to look back at the headlin October 15 and 16. The alternativ clearly written there.

———:O:———



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

TOWARDS A PROSPEROUS INDIA : *Speeches And Writings of Bidhan Chandra Roy, Published by Shri Pulin Behari Sen on behalf of the Board of Editors consisting of Messrs. Atulya Ghosh, Tushar Kanti Ghosh, Ashoke Kumar Sarkar, G. E. Powell, Pramatha Nath Bishi, Subimal Roy, Jugal Shrimal, A. R. Mukherjee, P. S. Mathur, A. K. Mukherjee and S. N. Das Gupta ; D. Demy 4 to, Pp. 464, inclusive of Appendices; Fluereon on jacket and title page by Shilpacharya Nandalal Bose, Preface by Shri Atulya Ghosh, Chairman of the Board of Editors ; Price Rs. 20/-.*

Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, throughout the ighty years of an extraordinarily vigorous and ctive life, has been a witness to and, in large easure, closely associated with India's struggle or independence from foreign political and eco- omic domination during the most crucial phase f our fight for emanicipation. He has, moreover, een one of the foremost among the architects ho had devoted all their intellectual and physi- al energies to building up a resurgent nation. ad he chosen to find a place among the Central adership of Government at the Union level, there no doubt that he would be welcomed as an onoured and respected colleague. But he had alised with characteristic clarity of thinking that strong and dynamic base at the State level was e essential foundation upon which the super- ructure of integrated all-India development and rogress would have to be built, he willingly gave the enticements of a more glamourous public e at the Centre and devoted himself entirely to ying the foundations of national prosperity at very base.

A realisation of this characteristic feature of his character and motivations is, we feel, the real key to an understanding of all that Bidhan Chandra had set himself to do during the short fourteen years when he had the reins of administration and development held firmly in his strong and able hands. Lapses and gaps, inevitably, have been numerous at crucial points of life in the State during his regime ; no man, however great, could possibly have evaded these inevitable eventualities in the particular circumstances in which he had to pursue his mission—and it was a mission, no less—of building up the structure of dynamics of progress in this State which would be integrated into and conform to the pattern of growth and progress for the whole country. When one has been able to understand this Central passion of his life, it would be easy to forgive, even condone, the many lapses of and gaps in his administration of the State because a clearer perspective of his motivations would then be revealed.

The present volume under review is an attempt, through a balanced juxtaposition of the late Dr. Roy's speeches anr writings, to present an integrated picture of the motivations of his life and the inspirations which led him to a life of activity of such unparallelled vigour and sweep. Some of the autobiographical writings included in the volume reveal a picture of the inner man in Bidhan Chandra which would be wholly contrary to the popular impressions about his character. As Dr. Roy himself says, his early boyhood and later academic career does not appear to have been fired by any burning personal ambitions or aspirations towards a future greatness. His appears to have been a humdrum student life and the choice of a medical career was more for finding

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a suitable professional opening rather than by the zeal for alleviating the miseries of suffering humanity. He started, however, with one unusual advantage, an upbrining at the hands of two dedicated parents whose wide human sympathies, absolute standards in personal rectitude and wide catholicity of outlook must have, even though, perhaps, unconsciously, helped to mould his character in large measure. But it was not until he started in medical practice that he came in actual contact with the stark realities of human suffering. His earlier upbringing naturally enabled him to make common cause with the suffering victims of disease and distress who came to him for relief. He realised soon enough that much of the causes of such widespread suffering were rooted in the country's dependence upon a foreign political power whose administration was primarily concerned with exploiting the human and material resources of the country for its own country and her people. Mere medicines could only palliate, on the surface, the suffering widely extant in the country but not cure the evils until our own people had acquired the right to apply the country's resources to the benefit of our own people. It is this realisation with absolute clarity of vision that led the doctor —who had already shewn promise of a very profitable future in financial terms—to divert his energies towards working for the country's independence.

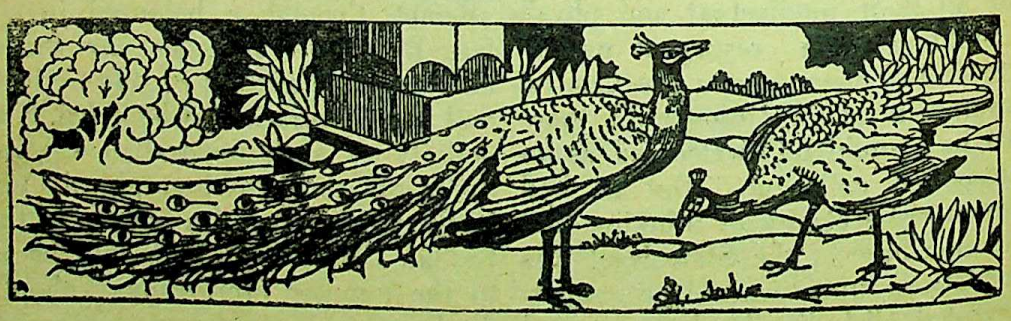
And when independence came, he realised with equal clarity of thinking that unless life in the country could be rescued from its mediaeval environments and conditions of living, independence alone would be powerless to alleviate the people's distress. A vigorous and dynamic process of modernization in outlook and living conditions of the people was an essential condition-precedent to a fuller, more satisfactory and fulfilling life and he threw himself heart and soul into the work. With amazing vitality he trated all his energies upon this mission to he remained steadfastly attached until the last moment of his life.

The volume under review presents an grated picture. through his own speeches writings, of the aspirations and motivati this amazingly youthful old man. When in dence came, he was very nearly on the bri completing the proverbial three score and years of life on this earth. Ordinarily he be reckoned to have passed the prime of his tive period and to have already entered upo period of gradual decay that overtakes human life. Here, however, was the outst excepiton ; he remained mentally as vigoro physically as active as the youngest of the and retained his amazing creative faculties the very last moment of his life. He was of such stuff as comprise the essential dients of history and there is no doubt that Chandra will always continue to occupy deathless vigour an important place in the of India, especially of modern West Bengal

The book, apart from its commem value is, indeed, a timely publication. At when the overwhelming majority of our have been floundering in the morass of f tion and despondency, this book might, one help to rescue them from the deadly sin pity, give them a direction and purpose whi surely need today but which, tragically none of our present elder statesmen appear the ability or even the patience to provide.

The book is excellently printed, ver edited and profusely illustrated. One wo expect any less from a publisher of the ex experience and outstanding capabilities friend. Shri Pulinbehari Sen.

KARUNA K. N



Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji
Printed and published by Kalyan Das Gupta, Prabasi Press Private Limited,
77/2/1, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE PRABASI

INDIA'S LEADING BENGALI MONTHLY

Advertisement Rates For Single Insertion

	Rs. P.
ORDINARY POSITION	
Ordinary Full Page	100.00
" " Half-page or one column	60.00
" " Quarter page or half-column	35.00
" " One-eighth page	20.00
Page next to and or opposite contents	125.00
Ditto half-page	75.00
Ditto quarter-page	45.00
Ditto one-eighth page	30.00
SPECIAL POSITIONS	
Full Page facing second page of the cover	150.00
" Page facing third page of the cover	140.00
" Page facing last page of the reading matter	140.00
" Page facing back of the Frontispiece	155.00
Ditto half-page	80.00
POSITION WITHIN READING MATTER	
Full Page	180.00
Half-page	95.00
Quarter page	50.00
" col.	30.00

Space within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

COVERS	Rs. P.
First page of the cover (1"x6")	190.00
Second page of the cover	200.00
Third page of the cover	175 00
Fourth page of the cover **(One-colour)**	225.00
(Bi-colour)	275 00
(Tri-colour)	350.00

SUPPLEMENT size 8"x6" (to be Printed and supplied by the advertiser)

8 pages (or 4 slips) ...	400.00
4 pages (or 2 slips) ...	250.00
2 pages (or 1 slip) ...	50.00

MECHANICAL DETAILS & OTHER PARTICULARS

Type area of a full page	8"x6"
" " half pgae	4"x6"
Number of columns to a page	2
Length of a column	8'
Breadth of a column	3"
Type area of half-column	4"x3"
" " quarter-column	2"x3"

Stereos and screen blocks (65 screen) are accepted.
Matrices or unmounted blocks are not accepted.

PRABASI PRESS PRIVATE LIMITED
77/2/1 Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13

THE MODERN REVIEW

Subscription : Payable in Advance.

Annual — Inland	:	Rs. 15.00
" — Foreign	:	Rs. 24.00
	:	
Half-yearly—	:	
— Inland	:	Rs. 8.00
— Foreign	:	Rs. 13.00

(Advance Payment. Rates are inclusive of postage)

On V.P.P. order—V.P.P. Charges—extra

16 Single Issue :
Inland : Rs. 1.25

Cheque on Banks outside Calcutta are not accepted.

If regular subscribers do not renew their subscriptions and/or send stop-orders in due time, the next issue after the expiary of their current subscriptions, will be sent per V.P.P. —assuming their willingness to continue.

Complaints of non-receipt of any issue of the Modern Review—must reach our office by the 15th of the month in question—and in all cases the *Subscriber Number must be quoted.*

Terms for News Agents :—On application : (minimum 5 copies of the Modern Review per month—should be ordered. Special Rates for 20 or more copies per month—on advance payment.

Manager
THE MODERN REVIEW

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

23 FEB 1965
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW Price : India and Pakistan Re. 1.25 P. Registered No. C4
Subscription—Ind. & Pak. Rs. 15.00, Foreign Rs. 24.00, Single copy Rs. 2.00 or equivale

CITY BOOK SOCIETY

THE PIONEER PUBLISHERS OF ILLUSTRATED JUVENILE LITERATURES

Books of Late Jogendra Nath Sircar entertained & enlightened the Children of Benga
&
Enthused Lakhs of Non-Bengali Children to learn Bengali.

Hasi Khusi I
99th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Hasi Khusi II
38th Edn. — Re. 0.80
The two most outstanding books to learn Bengali)

Mojar Galpa
25th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Asare Swapna
18th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Ranga Chhabi
31st Edn. — Re. 0.80

Khelar Sathi
27th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Chhabir Bai
25th Edn. — Re. 0.70

Bane Jangale
9th Edn. — Rs. 5.00

Galpa Sanchaya
5th Edn. — Rs. 4.50

Khukumanir Chhara
17th Edn. — Rs. 3.50

Chhabi -O- Galpa
19th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

Chhotoder Chiriakhana
7th Edn. — Re. 1.87

Hasi Rasi
33rd Edn. — Re. 1.40

Chhotoder Ramayana
36th Edn. — Re. 1.12

Chhotoder Mahabharat
36th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

CITY BOOK SOCIETY
64, College Street
Calcutta—12.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The MODERN REVIEW

VOL. CXVII, : No. 3 : WHOLE No. 699

24.3.65

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

A New Deal For Tribal India
—P. C. Roy Chowdhury

Shumavon, Pioneer of Armenian Journalism
—B. M. Sankhdar

T. S. Eliot, Philosopher, Artist & Critic
—Prof. K. C. Maheswary

Delhi As It was A Hundred Years Ago
—Prof. R. D. Upadhyaya

Libraries & Librarians
—R. C. Banerjee

MARCH, 1965

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOR

PRINTING

WITH A DISTINCTION.

Contact the

PRABASI
PRESS
PRIVATE LD.

We print in 3 LANGUAGES

ENGLISH

BENGALI

DEVNAGRI

❋

for more details—Contact the

MANAGER

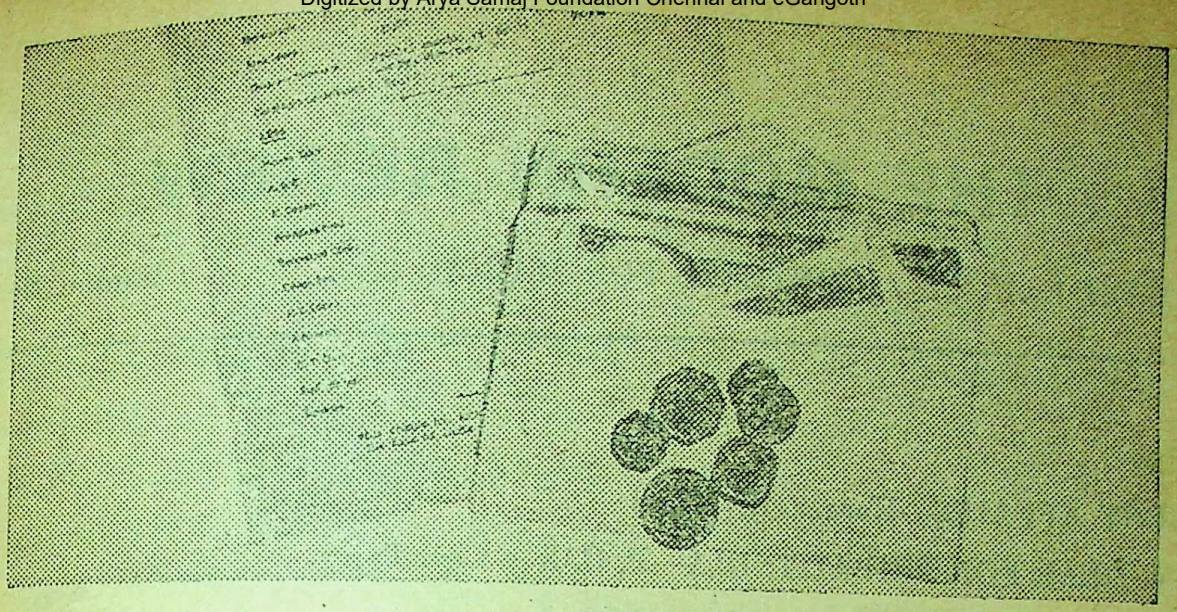
PRABASI PRESS PRIVATE LD.

77-2-1 Dharamtala Street,

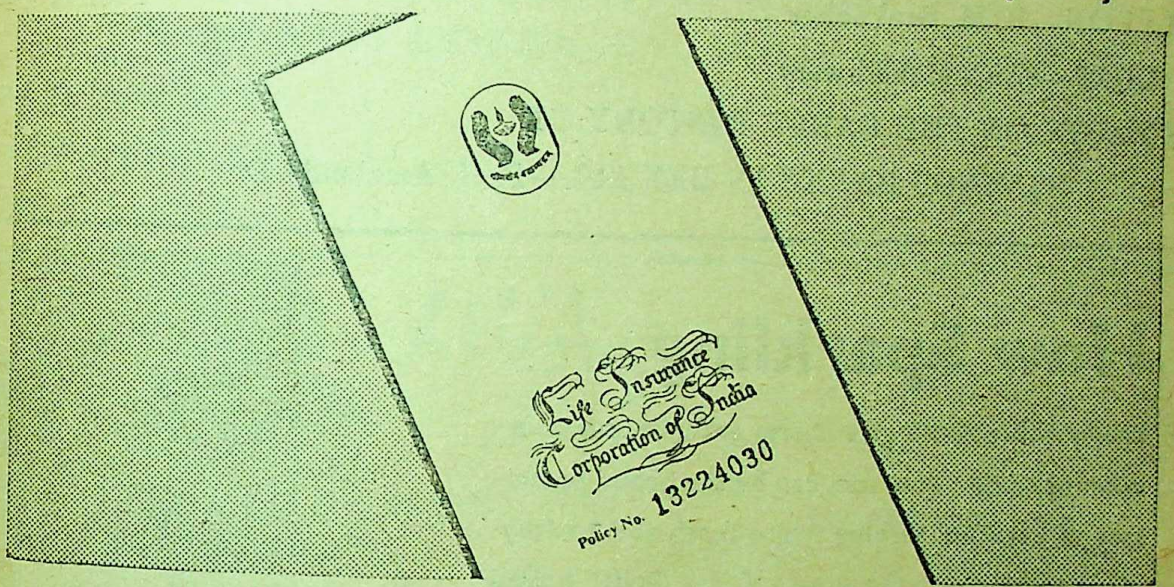
CALCUTTA—13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



The first month's pay



...and Life Insurance

Your first pay...and the thrill of knowing that you've taken your place among men. Do what other wise men have done: get your first Life Insurance policy *now* while you are young and healthy, and while the rates are low. You'll also learn to save regularly...a golden habit that will pay well when your responsibilities increase.

There is no substitute for

LIFE INSURANCE

CAS/LIC-36

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

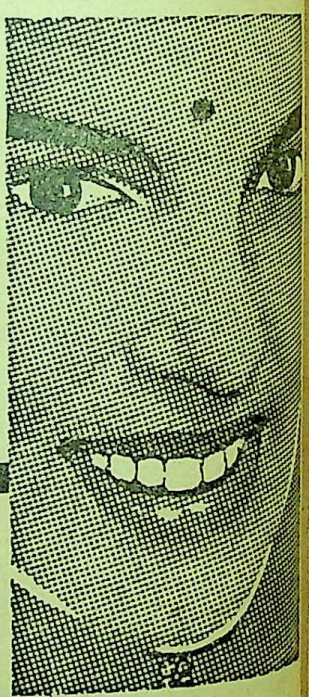
VOL. CXVII. No. 3 CONTENTS FOR MARCH, 1965 WHOLE No. 6

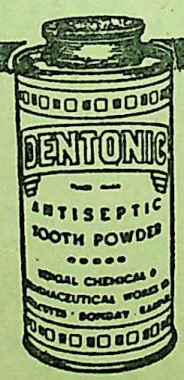
NOTES
CURRENT AFFAIRS—Karuna K. Nandi
A NEW DEAL FOR TRIBAL INDIA—P. C. Roy Chaudhury
SOCIAL WORK IN INDIA : A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—D. P. Sethi
SHUMAVON—B. M. Sankhdher
T. S. ELIOT—K. C. Maheshwary
SOME FACTS ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF SAVINGS BANKS IN BENGAL—Prof. Amalendu De

How Sparkling

Pearly white teeth give charm and glamour to a winning smile. You, too, can be the proud possessor of beautiful shining white teeth and healthy gums by following the simple 'DENTONIC' habit.

Chlorophyll added to Dentonic helps in curing Pyorrhea.





Dentonic

ANTISEPTIC TOOTH POWDER

Available Plain and with Chlorophyll.

For your Smile of beauty

BENGAL CHEMICAL

CALCUTTA • BOMBAY • KANPUR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
DELHI AS IT WAS 100 YEARS AGO—R. D. Upadhyaya	199
THE HANOVER FAIR—A TRADE FAIR WITH A DIFFERENCE (*Illust*)—Karuna K. Nandi	200
GEORGE ORWELL: CHAMPION OF THE UNDERDOG—Ganga Ram Garg	204
LEADERSHIP IN PANCHAYATI RAJ—Bibhas Chatterjee	205
LIBRARIES AND THE LIBRARIAN—R. C. Banerji	209
TWO MONTHS IN AMERICA—Mukundabihari Mitra	214
AN INTRODUCTION TO VAISNAVA VEDANTA OF THE BENGAL SCHOOL—J. C. Chakravarti	225
POPULATION BEHAVIOUR AND ITS CONTROL WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO INDIA—Sankar Ray	227
INDIAN PERIODICALS—	231
FOREIGN PERIODICALS—	236
BOOK REVIEWS—	238



MILES AHEAD
in quality and performance

Commanding the highest sale in India, *Sulekha* to-day, caters to an expanding export market earning thereby valuable foreign exchange for the country.

SERVING AT HOME AND ABROAD

Sulekha **range of products includes:** ADSOL **Paste & Gum, Sealing Wax** (SIKURITI), PENSOL, STAMP PADS, INKS **for writing, stencilling, stamping, marking, etc.**

Sulekha
FOUNTAIN PEN *Special*
INK
Available in
BLUE BLACK ● ROYAL BLUE ● BLACK & BROWN

a product of **SULEKHA WORKS LTD.**
Sulekha Park, Calcutta : 32
INDIA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

MODERN REVIEW

GOES TO PEOPLE
WHO COUNT
AND
ARE YOUR
BEST BUYERS

ADVERTISE IN THE MODERN REVIEW

and Reap
the Best of
RESULTS

For particulars:

Contact — **The Manager**

77/2/1 DHARAMTALA STREET, CALCUTTA.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Always insist on

WEST BENGAL HANDLOOM PRODUCTS





These decorative designs have a distinction all their own. Only Handloom products impart an individuality to you.

WEST BENGAL HANDLOOM

CHEAP • DURABLE • ATTRACTIVE

Issued by the Government of West Bengal

rieties of West Bengal Handloom Products Available at any of the following Sales Centres :

overnment Sales Emporium : 7/1, Lindsay Street, Calcutta.
128/1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
159/1/A, Rasbehari Avenue, Calcutta.
28A, G. T. Road (South), Howrah.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

দুইটি প্রখ্যাত ভারতীয় মহাকাব্য

কাশীরাম দাস বিরচিত অষ্টাদশপর্ব

মহাভারত

রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত

কাশীরাম দাসের মূল মহাভারত অনুসরণে।

প্রক্ষিপ্ত অংশগুলি বিবর্জ্জিত ১০৬৮ পৃষ্ঠায় সম্পূর্ণ

শ্রেষ্ঠ ভারতীয় শিল্পীদের আঁকা ৫০টি বহুবর্ণ চিত্রশোভিত

ভালো কাগজে—ভাল ছাপা—চমৎকার বাঁধাই।

মহাভারতের সর্ব্বাঙ্গসুন্দর এমন সংস্করণ আর নাই।

মূল্য ২০৲ টাকা

ডাকব্যয় ও প্যাকিং তিন টাকা

রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত

সচিত্র সপ্তকাণ্ড রামায়ণ

যাবতীয় প্রক্ষিপ্ত অংশ বিবর্জ্জিত মূল গ্রন্থ

অনুসরণে। ৫৮৬ পৃষ্ঠায় সম্পূর্ণ।

অবনীন্দ্রনাথ, রাজা রবি বর্ম্মা, নন্দলাল, উপেন্দ্রকিশোর, সারদাচরণ উকিল, অসিতকুমার, সুরেন গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় প্রভৃতি বিশ্বখ্যাত শিল্পীদের আঁকা—বহু একবর্ণ এবং বহুবর্ণ চিত্র পরিশোভিত।

পৃথিবীখ্যাত কৃত্তিবাস বিরচিত রামায়ণের এমন মনোহর বাঙ্গলা সংস্করণ বিরল, নাই বলিলেও চলে।

মূল্য ১০·৫০। ডাকব্যয় ও প্যাকিং অতিরিক্ত ২·০২।

প্রবাসী প্রেস প্রাঃ লিমিটেড

৭৭।২।১ ধর্ম্মতলা ষ্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা-১৩

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DON'T PUNISH YOURSELF



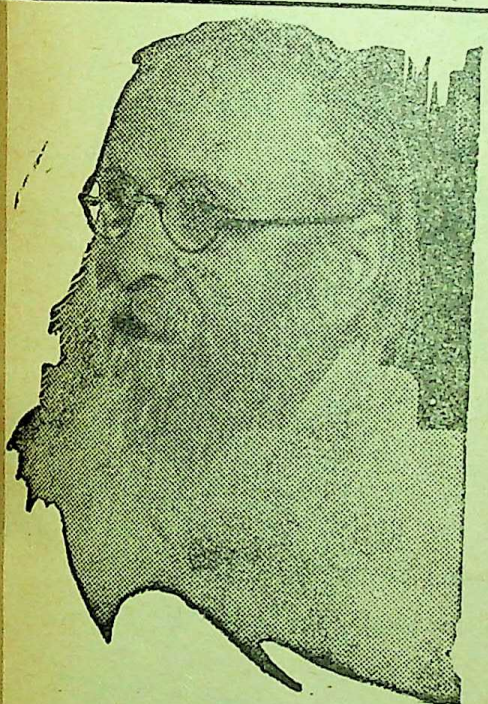
It is illegal to use old weights and measures for buying or selling; even quoting prices in terms of old units is punishable.

Besides, you punish yourself every time you indulge in transactions based on Seer or Maund; you get less than your money's worth!

It is not enough for the trader to use metric weights.

buy in KILOS only

DA 64/319



ভারতমুক্তিসাধক

আনন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় ও অর্দ্ধশতাব্দীর বাংলা

শ্রীশান্তা দেবী প্রণীত

প্রাপ্তিস্থান : সিটি বুক সোসাইটী

৬৪, কলেজ ষ্ট্রীট কলিকাতা

সিলেক্ট পাব্লিকেশন্সের

একটি অপূর্ব্ব উপহার-গ্রন্থ

অনেকগুলি তিনরঙা পাতাজোড়া ছবি এবং প্রায়

পাতায় পাতায় একরঙা ছবি সঙ্কলিত

খাঁচা নেই যে চিড়িয়াখানায়

(লেখক—শ্রীসুধাংশুকুমার চৌধুরী)

গল্পের মতই চিত্তাকর্ষক এবং জন্তুজানোয়ারদের

শিক্ষাপ্রদ বিবরণ।

দাম —সাড়ে তিন টাকা।

প্রাপ্তিস্থান : সিটি বুক সোসাইটী

৬৪, কলেজ স্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা-১২

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

—Advertisement Rates—

ORDINARY POSITION

	Rs. P.
Full Page	150.00
Half-page or one column	80.00
Quarter page or half-column	50.00
One-eighth page	30.00
One-eighth column	20.00
Page next to and or opposite contents	180.00
Ditto half-page	100.00
Ditto quarter-page	60.00
Ditto one-eighth page	40.00
Ditto one-eighth cloumn	30.00

SPECIAL POSITIONS

Full Page facing second page of the cover	200.00
„ Page facing third page of the cover	190.00
„ Page facing last page of the reading matter	195.00
„ Page facing back of the Frontispiece	210.00
Ditto half-page	110.00

POSITION WITHIN READING MATTER

Full Page	220.00
Half-page	120.00
Quarter page	70.00
„ col.	50.00

Space within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

COVER PAGES

Second page of the cover

Third page of the cover

Fourth page of the (*One-colour*)

(*Bi-colour*)

(*Tri-colour*)

SUPPLEMENT size 8½″ × 6″ (to be print
supplied by the advertiser)

8 pages (or 4 slips) ..

4 pages (or 2 slips) ..

2 pages (or 1 slip) ..

MECHANICAL DETAILS, Etc.

Type area of a full page	8″ ×
„ „ „ half page	4″ ×
Number of columns to a page	2
Length of a column	8″
Breadth of a column	3″
Type area of half-column	4″ ×
„ „ „ quarter-column	2″ ×

Only Mounted Stereos & coarse screen bl
screen) are accepted.

Subscription Rates 1 year Rs. 15.00. Half yearly Rs. 8.00

Single copy Rs. 1.25P. including postage.

Prabasi Press Private Limited

77/2/1 DHARAMTALA STREET,

CALCUTTA-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



THE WIZENED TREE

Artist—Purna Chakravarti

Prabasi Press, Calcutta-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH 1965

VOL. CXVII, No. 3 WHOLE No. 699

NOTES

The World

World tensions are now reaching a critical point in the forests and swamps of Indo-China. Starting with the air strikes carried out by the U.S. planes on February 7 and 8 the tensions have tended to rise continuously, in pace with further "retaliatory attacks" by the United States. It is to be noted that these air strikes are now being carried out by jet planes with U.S. air-force pilots.

Two significant pieces of news have come at the time of writing these notes. The first is a report that the International Control Commission for Vietnam which consists of India, Canada and Poland had called on the two co-chairmen of the 1954 Indo-China Conference, Britain and the Soviet Union to consider taking measures to stem the deteriorating situation.

Canada, in a special minority statement, said the cessation of hostilities by Communist North Vietnam was a pre-requisite to the restoration of peace in Vietnam.

The Canadian representative on the Commission, Mr. J. Blair Seaborn, while in full agreement that the report be made to the co-chairmen, dissented from the terms of the majority report signed by Mr. M. A. Rahman of India, and Mr. R. B. Stawickn of Poland.

Mr. Seaborn gave his views in a special statement added to the full report published here as a white paper (parliamentary document).

The report signed by the Indian and Polish Commissioners said: "The International Commission requests the co-chairmen to consider the desirability of issuing an immediate appeal to all concerned with a view to reducing tension and preserving peace in Vietnam and taking whatever measures are necessary in order to stem the deteriorating situation."

The report deals mainly with the incidents of February 7 and 8, when the United States carried out retaliatory air strikes on North Vietnam following Communist Vietcong guerilla attacks on U.S. bases and personnel in South Vietnam.

The second piece of news comes from the DA-Nang bay in South Vietnam. It gives some details about the landing of U.S. Marines in battle-equipment on the beaches. In all 3500 marines including a helicopter squadron are being brought to DA-Nang air base. The purpose of landing these crack battalions of the U.S. army's combat troops is to strengthen the defences of that strategic air base. But all the same these are fighting units of the U.S. army.

It is to be noted that most of the 23,500 American military men already in South Vietnam are there to serve as technical advisers to the army, navy and air-force of South Vietnam.

It seems to all neutral observers that

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the U.S. is now escalating an undeclared war, in a determined fashion. No clear or comprehensive picture of the situation is available to us and therefore no comprehensive survey of the same can be given but, the over-all impression left by the bald news of the aerial assaults, and the sparse reports coming from Peking and Moscow, certainly indicate the mounting of tensions to a critical point. Washington has repeatedly reassured the World that these measures are retaliatory and preventive in their nature and extent and that there is no intention on the part of the U.S. to extend the scope of the war.

It is getting to be more and more difficult to sum up the why and the wherefore of the different aspects of the American explanations for their moves and to balance them with their actions. The **New Statesman** made an attempt in its issue dated 12 February. It was stated in the editorial that while it was easy to condemn American retaliatory raids on North Vietnam bases—the raids started on February 7—it was much more difficult to suggest a "constructive alternative." It was suggested that the Americans were no longer emotionally committed to action in South Vietnam and they would gladly "pull out tomorrow if they could persuade themselves that this would be the end of the story," as it was costing them 1,500,000 dollars a day in foreign currency, it ties down 25% of their regular army officers and almost as much of senior NCOS "in a futile campaign they know they cannot win."

But, the editorial suggests, the pulling out might merely be the beginning. It stated that Peking Government had asserted in plain terms, that its next objective was Thailand's subversion, and it goes on to say that Thailand's "ramshackle dictatorship is ripe for plunder." If South Vietnam collapses then Laos and the "Ruritanian neutralist Kingdom of Cambodia" would be "snuffed out" and then Thailand would be exposed along a thousand miles of indefensible frontier. Malayasia was next and then Burma and then "the road to New Delhi lies through Saigon"!

The editorial delves further into past and says that "much of the respon lity for the errors of the past" lies a door of the Americans. The explicit sal of the U.S. to endorse the settle provisions of the 1954 Geneva Confe on Indo-China, is cited as an exa Curiously enough no mention is mad this attempt at retrospection of the efforts of Britain under the Tory Go ment and the U.S., to open up another to New Delhi, through Pakistan and pied Kashmir.

That editorial in the **New State** ended on a note of speculation. In a issue however, in an article entitled "P less War in Vietnam" there is an att to survey the position on a factual The survey is based on approximation reality, as hard facts are impossib obtain under the circumstances preva But the situation does seem to be hop if the summing up be truly correct, although there is no blame being put a door of the U.S., the inference is tha Americans have blundered griev through wrong assessments of the situ prevailing and through incompetenc inefficiency in planning and carryin certain schemes.

In another article, entitled "De Ga Views" a French Minister is quoted as menting privately, "The American m tune springs from the fact that they w to take our place 10 years ago." G De Gaulles views, however, is not g favourable consideration.

In the same issue there is a su given with some critical comments White Paper released by the U.S. department on the situation and pr in South Vietnam following the inte bombing attacks on North Vietna clear picture is obtainable seem through this White Paper, of the objectives in this intensification of on North Vietnam. It ends with the ment "One must hope that Mr. Joh estimate of that chance—of North Vie backing down in public—is corr seems Mr. Johnson thinks that if the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Vietnamese Government takes a realistic view of the situation then they would admit the mistake in their moves in South Vietnam and call off their attempts at subversion of the South Vietnamese.

The position of the U.S. being that of a proud nation—and a democracy to boot—that is fixed in a difficult position, the question of national honour is deeply involved. Therefore attempts like that of the International Control Commission or those favoured by our Prime Minister, can be fruitful only if the North Vietnamese agree in all sincerely to abide by decisions arrived at International Conferences like that held in Geneva in 1954. There is no point in speculating further regarding the prospects of such moves otherwise.

Orissan Politics

Orissa is another quarter in the Indian political arena where factionalism and private feuds have made the task of building a stable Government extremely difficult for any but the toughest of politicians. Apart from the parties in opposition to the Congress there are dissidents within the Congress party itself who have been active in trying to oust the group in power, all along.

The State itself is somewhat immature in political experience, much of it having been in a very backward condition during the British regime. The old Orissa of pre-independence days consisted of the districts administered directly by the Central Government, viz., Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Sambalpur and Anguil, with a total area of 13,736 sq. miles, and 24 feudatory states. These feudatory states allowed no political activities to their subjects and as a consequence, after the merger of the states to the Union Territories, after Independence, most of the State of Orissa was not only politically undeveloped territory but was also backward in all respects. The present area of 1,171 sq. miles being mostly old feudal territory, there is a peculiar trend in Orissan politics to mix up old feudal loyalties with present-day political movements, which makes political campaigning a difficult affair over most of the areas of the State.

Personal feuds, as directed against Patnaik and Mitra by Shri Harekrishna Mehtab's followers have led to particularly ruthless campaigns of late, in which no account has been taken of the immense benefits the State derived from the extremely capable leadership and organising capacity of Biju Patnaik. This campaign has reached the Lok Sabha now and may cause repercussions in the State itself as a consequence.

The Kerala Elections

In Kerala political opinions of the people have been peculiarly reflected in the three elections that have taken place since the formation of that State in November 1956 following the reorganisation of the States. In the first election, which took place in March 1957, the Communist Party led with 60 successful candidates, the Congress came second with 43 successful candidates and the rest of the 126 seats in the State assembly were divided between P.S.P. (9 seats), Muslim League (8) and Independents (6). The Communists formed the Government but could stay in power for only 28 months. Towards the end of the C.P. Government a powerful movement started dislocating all the functions of the administrative machinery over wide areas. Very turbulent demonstrations took place and as a result President's Rule was imposed in July 1959.

In February 1960 the second election in Kerala took place. The Congress won 63 seats, the Communists 29 only and the P.S.P. also came up with 20 seats. The Muslim League increased its representation in the Legislature by winning 11 seats and only 3 seats went to the Independent candidates. The Congress and the P.S.P. formed a coalition government headed by the P.S.P. leader Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai. On his appointment as the Governor of Punjab in 1962, before which there were some dissentions with the main P.S.P. body-politic—Mr. R. Shankar of the Congress group took over as Chief Minister.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

There were accusations made against one of the Ministers in Mr. Shankar's Cabinet, which had to be investigated and as a result the Minister, Mr. Chacko—since dead—had to resign. His supporters became furious and actively rebellions against the group led by Mr. Shankar. This quarrel finally ended in a split which caused the downfall of the Shankar Ministry through a defeat sustained over the passing of a no-Confidence motion against the Ministry. The dissenting group defected during the voting.

President's rule was imposed for a second time in September 1964. The present election is in wake of that order. President's rule is due to end on March 10.

As regards the Communists, it is apparent now that the so-called "Left" Communists who are pro-Peking Communists actively conspiring with the Chinese, according to our Government for the overthrow of the government in power—have made good use of the emotional urges of a politically unstable people for the "liberation" of those who are in prison for reasons known fully only to the Government. The results show that 28 out of the 40 Left Communists are in prison. The "Rightist" Communists have suffered mostly this electoral stunt on the part of the Leftists. But even so the total number of Communists, 40+3, does not add up to the figure they obtained in the 1957 elections. The final Party position in the present election is as follows :

Trivandrum, March, 6.—Following is the find party position in the elections to the Kerala Assembly :

Number of seats	133
Left Communist	40
Congress	36
Kerala Congress	23
S.S.P.	13
Muslim League	6
Right Communists	3
Swatantra	1
Karshaka Thozhilali Party ..	1

Independents 10 (including five Muslim League independents supported by [illegible] Communist and one supported by [illegible] Congress).

It is an open question now as to [illegible] form of Government is likely to succeed bringing stability to the State. As [illegible] picture of the party position stands, [illegible] highly improbable that any coalition [illegible] major group with smaller groups would [illegible] able to command a working majority [illegible] out recourse to undemocratic methods. Groups like the S.S.P. and the Muslim League have no experience of doing [illegible] work with other parties. And in a [illegible] cally immature State, where even [illegible] groups like the Congress are likely to [illegible] integrate over minor grievances, a [illegible] government has to depend on far [illegible] secure anchorages than an opportunist coalition. Most of Kerala consists of [illegible] two former Native States of Travancore-Cochin, where the peoples did not have [illegible] experience of political affairs as in [illegible] British administered areas. And further, the female vote has far greater weight in Kerala than any other States excepting Orissa. All these factors may [illegible] have played their parts in enhancing [illegible] emotional urges and political passions resulting in the fragmentation of the political bodies in this queer fashion. Of course elections are uncertain affairs even in more mature and stable electorates as has been evinced recently in the U. S. and the U. K. and therefore a closer study of the results with all details being separately analysed, would be necessary before the why and wherefore of the electoral quicksands in Kerala can be determined. But that can be said at present is that the particular election does not necessarily have to serve as a straw-in-the-wind-indicator as an indicator of current streams in the political atmosphere of India. Kerala cannot be taken to be an average Indian State in the matters of political thinking.

It is useless, therefore, to speculate on the shape that the next Government will take. Some coalitions have been suggested by some of our political pundits, but

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of them seem to have any reasonable chance of attaining stability or the staying power needed in that troubled state to weather violent storms—which seem to be a common characteristic of Kerala politics.

President's Rule is the last resort. Any other arrangement seems to be "out" for the moment, at the time of writing these. The "Left" Communist leadership is trying to get the 28 or 29 detenu's released, because they have been elected and if they be released then, according to Mr. Namboodiripad, a coalition government "might be formed". But even if the combination envisaged really materialises the strength of the coalition would be approximately 63—which would fall short of a bare majority by 4 votes—which cannot be called anywhere near adequate for the maintainance of a stable government in a house of 133. The question of releasing men accused of anti-State activities is not easy of solution.

It is a formidable problem, for if government yields to prolonged clamour for "democratic rights" and not only releases but virtually puts in office people who are out to disrupt the unity and independence of India for the benefit of China then chaos may ensue.

The other alternative combination, that of the two warring factions of the Congress with a third combine, formed of a few independent members plus another party group, seems to be even more improbable at the present as the Congress High Command does not favour the idea. In any case such a coalition has been tried before and found unworkable.

The Language Controversy

The solution to the problem posed over the Language controversy seems to be as far from being found as it was when the Congress Working Committee met the Chief Ministers in a two-day conference over it. There have been mild repercussions in Parliament over the hazy statements made by the Prime Minister in regard to the finding of a suitable formula. The Prime Minister has told the House that he himself had come to a firm conclusion but he would like to hear a full discussion on all sides to the problem before he gives out his own opinion. In a speech in the Lok Sabha he had said that it was better to take time in reaching decisions than to change decisions frequently. That statement together with the move to reconvene the Working Committee to review the situation does seem to indicate wobbling on his part. Perhaps this hesitancy to proceed firmly along the path indicated in the previous Working Committee means an attempt to evade coming to grips with the problem in the hope that the non-Hindi peoples would get tired of insisting on their rights.

The Working Committee resolution itself was vague and hazy in all conscience. But the moves in New Delhi made by the officials of the Prime Minister's secretariat and those of the Home Ministry seem to be a concentrated effort to further water down the mild and tepid conclusions of that resolution. It is to be noted that these very same officials were those worthies who had sent out the Hindi circulars and the A.I.R. announcement about this years Republic Day being a Red Letter Day—the senseless and provotive acts that produced such a reaction in the South. In view of the redrafting of the resolution by these experts in bureaucratic legerdemain, it seems that the cherished idea of linguistic domination over the non-Hindi speaking peoples—who form almost 70% of the population of the Union—through the medium of Hindi, has not yet been abandoned by the "Hindi-wallahs" in office. The Home Office has calmly announced that they will review the position in their own way and take their own time over it.

These moves not only indicate unwillingness on the part of the officials to implement the decisions arrived at by the Chief Ministers in their conference with the Working Committee, but it seems to indicate that Hindi Chauvinism has influenced even those who ought to remember that they represent the non-Hindi peoples to a greater extent than those of their own linguistic persuasion, because of their official positions.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The impression that the Chief Ministers of the non-Hindi States took back with them after the New Delhi conference was clearly stated by Mr. M. Bhakthavatsalam in Madras on February 27 at a Press interview. **The Hindu** carried the following report:

MADRAS, Feb. 27. Mr. M. Bhakthavatsalam, Chief Minister, gave the assurance here this afternoon that whatever was done by way of amendment of the statute in regard to the language issue "it would 100 per cent meet our requirement."

"About that I am confident, and we will see to it," the Chief Minister added.

Giving the background against which the State made its proposals, Mr. Bhakthavatsalam said what they wanted was statutory guarantee in terms of the assurance of the late Prime Minister. "There might be extreme views, we are not concerned with that," he said. In the existing circumstances, they wanted that the assurance "should be clothed in the statutory form" and that meant that there should be no imposition of Hindi on them. That meant that the Official Languages Act had to be amended or that there should be a separate Act in regard to the assurance. Both alternatives were there and these were for the legal luminaries to examine. When they said that the Act had to be amended, they did not mean it should injure any other person. "We take India as a whole and we do not believe in separatism," he stated. When they did not believe in separatism, they must make safeguards to see that none of the people including those in the Hindi States suffered on any account.

This statement is unambiguous and extremely fair. Further it means that there is hardly any room for shifting the assurances back in the form of mere oral promises, in place of guarantees—legal and definite—that were statutory. The officials in New Delhi are merely staring off the evil day by their dilatory methods. But sooner or later the non-Hindi peoples would begin to get restive and if a second movement starts going, then it would be far more difficult to control. This does not seem to have been realised by either the Prime Minister or the Home Minister.

Meanwhile some of the most extreme proponents of Hindi are having second thoughts on the problem. The leader of the Jan Sangh in the Rajya Sabha, Shree Atal Bihari Vajpayee, and the Secretary of the party for the northern region, Shree Nanaji Madhok, have decided to ask for a reconsideration of the language policy. They have argued that the unity of the nation must come first. Of course, they would have to face the fanatics of the RSS, who have been dominating the Jan Sangh all these years and who have singularly reactionary ideas on the question—as they have on most all-India questions, for that matter.

"Wait and see" seems to be the guiding principle of the Government in the language issue. The last statement by the Prime Minister, in the Rajya Sabha is much to the same effect as **The Hindusthan Standard** report appended below would show:

The Prime Minister, Mr. Shastri, has appealed to the Members of Parliament to keep the question of unity "first and foremost" in their mind and to have a "vision of united India" while considering the language issue.

Mr. Shastri, who was winding up the prolonged debate on the President's address in the Rajya Sabha, said amidst cheers that language should serve as a cementing force. "Language is to unite and not to divide. So it is to integrate and not to disintegrate."

The Prime Minister reaffirmed that he stood by the wishes and assurances of the late Mr. Nehru in the language issue and that the Government was considering how these could be implemented. Except for this, his speech did not indicate the Government's mind on this issue.

The language question, Mr. Shastri said, is such that "it is better to take a cool calculated view and consider various aspects and implications." He appealed to the students of Madras to "wait and see" and not to take any hurried action.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

The State of the Economy in 1964-65

The official Economic Survey of the country for the year 1964-65 which has just been presented to Parliament by the Union Finance Minister and which, normally, forms part of the papers relating to the following year's Budget proposals of the Union Government is, in all conscience, as dismal-reading a document as we have had the misfortune of coming across even during the present times of all-round gloom. In a very few days now, as we write, the actual Budget proposals themselves are due to be presented to Parliament. We are unable to visualize what their shape is likely to be. We can only underline two significant observations contained in the Survey under review—first, that "in a situation when rapidly growing demands have been pressing against inadequate improvements in production, even traditionally non-inflationary modes of finance such as taxation *tend to exert and upward pressure on prices* (emphasis ours)" and, secondly, that "after the unprecedented tax efforts in 1963-64 the scope for additional taxation is necessarily limited"—and hope for the best.

Saga of Failures

The story of the state of the Indian economy during 1964-65, as revealed in the document under review, is a tragic saga of consistent failures in every department of economic activity of the nation. Failures in Plan implementation have been admitted even earlier. After evincing an annual growth rate of only about 2.5 per cent in terms of the national income during the initial two years of the current Plan, 1963-64 was assessed to have yielded a higher rate of growth at 4.5 per cent and it is hoped that it will have evinced a still further improvement during 1964-65. In an earlier estimate published some time ago, it was envisaged that the last year of the current Plan, that is 1965-66, would raise the growth rate in terms of the increase in national income to somewhere around 6 per cent which was the over-all annual target of the Plan over the entire five year period. If this latter expection were to be fully realised, the current Plan would still close with no more than a 20 per cent increase in the national income over the period between 1960-61 and 1965-66 at current prices. The current wholesale price index shews a rise, between April 1960 and January 1965, of well over 25.4 per cent. What is of deeper significance in this context is that the increase in the wholesale price index of foodgrains shews a more than 35 per cent rise over the corresponding period and, of all food articles taken together, of the order of very nearly 44 per cent. This, still, does not, however, persent a factually realistic picture of the actual effects of the rise in prices on the living standards of the people for the pressures on the retail prices of food grains have been much more than proportionately heavier and, considering that more than 70 per cent of the expediture budget of the more vulnerable sections of the community comprising well over 80 per cent of the total population of the country, is absorbed by foodgrains only, the impact of the price pressure of the order experienced, should be considered wholly devastating. What is even worse, is that the price spiral, especially where it affects essential consumption commodities like food and cloth, do not seem to be amenable to any of the disciplining measures so far devised by authority. It is admitted that the seasonal decline in prices with the new harvest—which, incidentally, is claimed to have been a bumper one this season, and supplies were further augmented to the extent of approximately 4 million tonnes from imports and Central Government stocks,—has only been infinitesimal in content and was, further, only too short-lived, having already been

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

on the upward move again by early January, this year.

Anomalies In Price Movements

What will appear to be rather extraordinary in this context is that although production of rice and wheat declined during the harvest season in 1962-63 by as much as 10 per cent and 8.3 per cent respectively compared to the production of the immediately preceding year, prices were not affected to any significant extent ; in fact prices are stated to have declined to a small extent during this period. In 1963-64 rice production was up, compared to that of the preceding year by nearly 5 per cent and by more than 14 per cent compared to the yield of 1961-62 and yet it was during this year that the beginnings of the current severe price pressure on foodgrains began to impinge upon the market. Although definite figures are not yet available about the actual crop possition this year, from indications available, it is expected that it is not likely to be less than at least some 10 per cent higher than last year's harvest. Yet there is no significant indication, so far available, of any downward shift in prices. What would appear to be even more significant is that the earlier decision of November last year to enforce statutory ceiling prices with the help of the Ordinance promulgated in that connection appears now to have been rescinded and the free market would now be allowed to find its own price levels. This decision may, perhaps, have stemmed from the point of view enunciated by the Government in the following paragraph contained in the Survey under review :

"To a certain extent, the recent increase in the prices of foodgrains has served as a corrective to earlier trends. Rice prices, for instance, had increased much less than other prices during the decade ended 1952-63 ; and wheat prices, in fact, had declined over the same period. It is in view of this consideration that the minimum prices of foodgrains which are now being guaranteed are comparable more to currently prevailing prices than to prices which prevailed a few years back." This would seem to be rather an extraordinary point of view in a situation in which a raging price spiral has not merly been distorting the economy and has been atte... in real terms, the achievements of Plan p... but also, generally, prejudicing the entire ... of economic development as a whole. Government seem, no doubt, to be aware ... implications of the situation when they s... "sharp shifts in relative prices brought ... by a significant upward move in the genera... level cannot be countenanced lightly. ... from the hardships caused to the vul... sections of the community, any swift mo... in prices sets up expectations of a kind ... distort investment patterns and dis... savings. Every attempt has, therefore, to b... to dispel the present psychology of scarc... concerted measures to strengthen financ... monetary discipline, to regulate the distr... of essential commodities and to augment ... by higher production."

Increasing the Bank Rate

One of the recent measures tow... stricter monetary discipline has been th... ing of the bank rate to 6 per cent whi... dentally, has been the second such rise ... bank rate over the past few months sinc... tember last year. The earlier rise in the ... rate, it is now quite clear, had signally f... achieve its purpose of containing dem... conform to a more balanced adjustment ... plies. We can think of no reason why ... sent further rise in the bank rate should ... effective towards this end. The crux ... whole situation, so far as the price stru... concerned, would seem to be that there ... been pressures on it from two ends ... taneously ; firstly from the end of offi... lays and, secondly from the end of har... cealed speculative activities obviously ... by the huge hoard of 'unaccounted ... which, despite some half-hearted measu... cently launched to impound the latter, c... be claimed to have been attended with ... large measure of success. Official outla... been progrssively rising over the years ... current Plan not merely for increased ... expenditure, but also with steeply risi... sumption expenditure of the Government ... one hand and also, and naturally, the i...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

outlays on Plan implementation. Plan outlays it is admitted in the Survey under review, will have, by the end of the current Plan period, exceeded original Plan estimates by very nearly Rs. 500 crores. Government's consumption expenditure has also increased over the years of the current Plan period by very nearly Rs. 780 crores. These, together with the steeply increased defence budgt, have created a condition of raging demand in a market with scarce supplies, especially in the sector of essential consumption commodities. That 'unaccounted money' has added substantially to the already exploding content of demand flowing from the above factors is only too obvious to need comment. Any hardening of the Reserve Bank's lending rate, therefore, is not likely in the present instance, as it has not been in the past, to very measurably attenuate the pressure upon the price structure.

Government's Outlays

Even assuming that the scope for any considerable reduction in the defence budget is non-existent in the present circumstances, there should be ample scope for discipline in Government outlays in other directions. One has to clearly understand in this context that Government's consumption expenditure has a direct bearing upon the price situation while, at the same time a part of this expenditure, in its turn, is also conditioned by the increasing price level. It is a vicious circle which goes an endlessly and concentrically widening its area unless some means can be found to break it at some point or other. Rising prices compel the Government to offer some compensatoin to wage earners employed by them which, in its turn, again helps to raise prices further upwards and so it goes on and on. On the other hand Plan outlays which fail to yield the estimated return adds its own pressure to the price structure by correspondingly inflating infructuous demand. In the Third Plan, for instance, investment outlays are now expected to exceed original estimates by some Rs. 500 crores while its actual achievements will, even if the expectation that implementation during the next two years would rise to the extent now envisaged were to be fully realised, not be likely to exceed about 60 per cent of the originai target until well into the intial years of the following Plan period. Here is an obvious pressure of demand flowing from what can only be described as *inadequate development*. In other words, the Plan having been primary *outlay-oriented* rather than *investment-oriented* inevitable pressures have flowed from it on to the price strurture of the country.

Taxation

It has been said that "in a situation when rapidly growing demands have been pressing against inadequate improvements in production, even traditionally non-inflationary modes of finance such as taxation tend to exert an upward pressure on prices." This is a statement which, we feel, calls for careful examination. We are faced with a rather paradoxial situation in this country at the present time. Generally, the levels of direct taxation already reached are considered to be so high by the business community that it acts, according to them, as a deterrant against investment and savings or, in other words, against enterprise towards economic development. The Government appear to have conceded such a point of view in the concessions recently announced by the Union Finance Ministry in December last, such as tax credit certificates, etc., in respect of new companies and their equity capital. It seems also to be an established fact that some 90 per cent of the total equity capital in the private sector enterprises are subscribed by middle-income group investors assessed to be generally within the Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000 per annum income levels. Corporate taxation and personal income taxes are practically the only two sources of direct taxation levies in the country and the scope for further additions to taxation in this field, if the above contention were to be conceded would now seem to have been well nigh exhausted. For the accelerating revenue requirements of the Government, therefore, the field of indirect taxation would, therefore, seem to need increasing exploitation. This is, in fact, what has been happening since about the middle of the Second Plan period and on which increasing reliance has been placed especially since 1963-64 when the suddenly burgeoning need for very substantial measures of additional defence allocations in the Budget became inescapable.

But indirect taxation has its limitations. For instance where essential consumption commodities are concerned, indirect taxation by way of excise imposts or similar other means, is classically regarded as a wrong principle of public taxation except in times of a national emergency when such instruments have been known to have been

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

used more for purposes of restricting consumption of essentials in scarce supplies and for purposes of discouraging a possible tendency to lay down private hoards. But this has usually been achieved in other more progressive countries as, for instance in the U.K. during World War II, by means of a purchase tax specifically added to the bill of sale to enable the purchaser to clearly realise how much he has been paying on this account. Excise imposts on essential consumables are, however, an altogether different thing except where they are imposed in obedience to the requirements of a sound public policy—such as in the case of alchoholic beverages (one could even agree that similar imposts on tobacco manufactures are also, likewise, quite legitimate in the interests of a sound public policy!) and where the needs of social hygiene calls for their restricted consumption.

But when the expedient is sought to be applied on a wider field of consumer articles of basic importance, such as food and cloth, it is apt to create a situation in which such taxation measures, especially in an overwhelming sellers' market such as has been prevailing in this country for very nearly the last two decades, inevitably add their own pressures to the inflationary susceptiblity of the price structure. For in a situation of constantly accelerating demand, as has been the case in the country for well nigh last one decade of planning, which has failed to be adequately matched by correspondingly increasing supplies, the scope for exploiting such tax elements to more than correspondingly inflate prices becomes too easy and tempting to be evaded. Sri T. T. Krishnamachari shortly after he took over from Sri Morarji Desai the responsibilities of the Union Finance Ministry was himself reported to have admitted the urgent need for a re-examination of the taxation structure. When, therefore, he claims that in a situation of accelarating demands such as the present one, "even non-inflationary modes of finance tend to exert an upward pressure on price" he reveals only a half truth in that he fails or deliberately omits to point out the particular elements in the taxation structure which are specifically calculated to exert these pressures.

A careful examination of the contents of the present Central taxation structure would disclose that over the years since 1950-51 when the First Five Year Plan was launched, the proportion of indirect to total taxation in this which, in 1950-51 was estimated to have b about 7 per cent, has been rapidly risi with Sri Morarji Desai's last Budget in it had risen to well over 70 per cent of tax revenue of the country. While it readily conceded that some substantial indirect taxation incidences was whc capable in view of the rapidly acc revenue requirements of the Government for the twin purposes of defence and ment, there can be no excuse of the ex the directions to and in which their P in this behalf would appear to have been exploited so far. There can be no d recourse to a fairly overwhelming propo taxation in these fields had obvious infl contents and which, at least in corre measure, have been responsible for a pressures upon the consumer price More than a third of the Union Gove taxation imposts, as we write, carry a hig tial of inflationary pressures upon the price structure. Conditions were alrea too favourable for such a possible de and it seems a pity that the necessary im and boldness should, apparently. have be ing on the part of the Union Ministry of visualizing the consequences of linear t in this particular direction, or to have devise the measures which while taking the increasing revenue requirements Government, would obviate these inevit rather paralyzing consequences. Th situation, one is almost tempted to iter at the cost of repeating himself, remar the one paralyzing element in a situatio with a variety of deep-seated difficulties every department of national economic

Balance of Payments

The situation as it has been emer the past few years of the Third Five Y anent the internal economy of the cou also been affecting the balance of position. It is conceded in the Surve review, that "despite the substantial external assistance during recent years balance of payments remained under pressure." India's foreign exchange re sharply declined from about Rs. 785 cr beginning of the Second Plan perio Rs. 186 crores at the end of the said P

During th
here were
and reserv
in spite of
crores for
1963-64, e
extent—by
—and the
crores) wa
of the av
however, it
during the
January, 19
declined fu
crores and
of just over
appear to b

Althoug
ments in o
year, this h
correspondin
earnings fo
espect of
ountries. O
tantial incr
ertilizers an
he British E
ent in Nove
ssions on
oreign exc
eclined to a
critical ar
osition woul
It is co
yments no
tion on th
able demar
nits set
ith which
agreement.
fiscal and
quisite resu
cussed the
serve Bank
ntrols over
e been enc
ategic area
ards such
ved wholly
ust measu
ation to b
onable co

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

During the first two years of the current Plan there were further deteriorations in this behalf and reserves declined by a further Rs. 9 crores in spite of withdrawals to the extent of Rs. 131 crores form the IMF during these years. During 1963-64, exports looked up to a considerable extent—by as much Rs. 120 crores over the year —and the increase in imports (about Rs. 129 crores) was mainly offset by improved utilization of the available foreign aid. This position, however, it was not possible to maintain and during the first ten months of 1964-65 ending in January, 1965 our foreign exchange reserves declined further sharply by as much Rs. 88 crores and net balance fell to an all time of low of just over Rs. 100 crores. The position would appear to be quite critical in this behalf.

Although there has been visible improvements in our export performances during the year, this has not been adequately reflected in corresponding increases in our foreign exchange earnings for this increase has been evinced in respect of exports mostly to rupee payment countries. On the other hand there has been substantial increase in imports of foodgrains and fertilizers and, it is also possible that the rise in the British Bank rate to as high a level as 7 per cent in November last year has had some repurcussions on our balance of payments. But our foreign exchange position, nevertheless, has declined to a level which can alone be described as critical and remedial measures to correct the position would seem to be urgently called for.

It is conceded that pressures on balance of payments no less than on prices calls for firm action on the fiscal and monetary fronts to enable demand to be restrained to within the limits set by available supplies—a conclusion with which few would have any serious disagreement. The question, however, is what kind of fiscal and monetary measures would enable the requisite results to be obtained ? We have already discussed the prospects of the recent rise in the Reserve Bank's lending rate or of the *half-measure* controls over distribution that the Government have been endeavouring to clamp down in certain strategic areas of essential consumer supplies, towards such an end. Clearly, they have so far proved wholly abortive and more vigorous and drastic measures are called for to enable the situation to be brought down under a measure of reasonable command. In the ultimate analysis, it would seem, the whole question would boil down to one of relative adjustment between demand and supply. We have already seen how demand has been increasingly exploding in the country by way of increasing money supplies from several directions while supplies have been subject to more halting improvement, especially within certain vitally strategic areas of demand. There does not seem to be any means by which the supply position could be expected to be improved to a level to conform with the increasing areas of demand in the near and assessable future. It has been claimed that the Planning Commission and the Government alike have been putting their heads together to devise "quick-yielding" measures, especially affecting certain basic and strategic areas of the economy. These quick-yielding projects, nevertheless, may take such a long time that "we may all be dead as the dodo in the meanwhile." It is in the area of demand that the Government must strike with whatever weapons they may have in their arsenal to be able to obtain immediate and effective results.

A token beginning would appear already to have been made in this direction in the recent restraints that are being sought to be placed upon Government's expenditure on non-Plan outlays. The question is if it is likely to go far enough to be immediately effective. Another area where more effective action might have been possible is to redraw the Plan design with a view to ensuring that Plan outlays are confined to only such projects which would be likely to be implemented according to schedule and which would, in turn, provide the targetted yield within the specified time-limits set down in the Plan. In other words, care should be taken to ensure that Plan development actually conforms to the pattern and the size of the outlays undertaken. We feel not enough attention has been given to this vital requirement of the economy, although only a little while ago the Prime Minister, while addressing the last meet of the National Development Council, was reported to have said much the some things himself.

In this connection it should be noted that Plan outlays by the Central and State Governments have actually outstripped the original estimates in this behalf. The order of the increase in outlays would be evident from the fact that from about Rs. 1,100 crores in 1961-62, they came upto Rs. 1,700 crores in 1963-64 and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rs. 1,984 (budget provision) in 1964-65. It has recently been averred by the Union Finance Minister that by the end of the current Plan period, public sector outlays will actually have exceeded the original allocation of Rs. 7,500 crores by Rs. 500 crores. On the other hand Government's consumption expenditure has also steeply risen over the corresponding period from about an average 7 per cent of the total national income over the Second Plan period to approximately 10 per cent during the current Plan period. Investments in the private sector have also been growing at a corresponding rate with the result that the sumtotal of the pressure of demand on the economy from all these various directions has been fairly massive and Government's endeavours to contain this demand by fiscal and other measures have, so far, proved largely abortive. We have already examined in some details in the foregoing paragraphs the directional failures as well as the constitutional inadequacies of the Plan which, in our view, have been mainly responsible for the emergence of the present rather uphappy, even critical situation.

Economic Policy

It may be regarded as some measure of the Government's increasing awareness of the seriousness of the situation that the need for a vigorous re-enunciation of Government's economic policies is now being frankly acknowledged. It is acknowledged in the Survey under review, for instance, that "a stable and continuing framework of economic policy is indispensable for for any process of rapid economic growth." What this "framework of a stable and continuing economic policy" should be is indicated in the following lines : "Promotion of progressively higher levels of investment and savings, maintenance of financial stability and external viability and protection of the weaker sections of the community are all aspects of the basic and continuing task of promoting growth with social justice." In conformity with the above view, the Survey under review lays down that at the present moment the accent of economic policy in the country should be on the following :

(1) Immediate improvement in agricultural production ;

(2) Stimulation of private investment activity in priority areas ;

(3) *Improvement in the performance* (emphasis ours) of public sector projects ;

(4) Greater monetary and financial re

(5) Vigorous promotion of export utmost economy in imports not financed or foreign investment ; and

(6) Improvement in the machinery distribution of essential commodities. suance of the above objectives of ec policy, the following measures are stated been taken :

(1) States have been given special as for speedier execution of agricultural progr as well as for launching new schemes of a yielding nature. Total outlays on agricu expected to exceed original Plan allocatio achievements of irrigation and soil conse programmes in physical terms are expecte to exceed original Plan targets. Fertilizer have been stepped up to supplement inc domestic availability. Necessary measure under process of being evolved towards a r price structure for agricultural commoditi for increasing agricultural incentives.

(2) Several provisions were incorpor the last year's Budget for encouraging investment and savings and institutional a ments for providing loan finance to privat industries have been strengthened. New con have been announced by way of tax prepared to invest in the equities of new panies in December last year.

(3) Several measures have been tak obviate the restraining influences of price to introduce a measure of greater flexibi internal resource mobilization by private in Conditions for investment of foreign capital have been substantially liberalized.

(4) Several measures calculated to public sector performance have been p operation. Inventory requirements of sector enterprises have been carefully scr and they are now being pursuaded to incre turn to the banking system for the requisite ing capital. Project Co-ordination Division Union Finance Ministry has been maintai strict vigillance over public sector proje ensure greater financial soundness and on their part.

(5) Fiscal policy has been incre geared to the task, on the one hand, of the scale of deficit financing and, on the to evolve a monetary policy aimed at re the use of finance by way of selective

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

control, more stringent conditions for credit availability and a higher bank rate.

(6) Several measures for encouraging export promotion have been adopted and responses to which have been quite encouraging. But to obtain more lasting results in this field higher and more efficient production, a greater cost consciousness and imporvement in productivity by way of optimum utilization of capacity are essentials and to which increasing attention is now being paid.

(7) With a view to combating the spiralling price pressure greater attention to the need to stimulate production and to promote a climate of fiscal and monetary stability are being adopted. Other measures have also been adopted with a view to improve the incidence in supplies to conform with the increasing size of demand. Especial care is being taken to ensure supplies at fair prices essential consumables, especially in the edibles sector. It is encouraging that Government appear to be more keenly aware of the situation as it has been emerging and their responsibilities in this respect. The enunciation of the objectives of their economic policy in the coming year as enunciated above are helpful in the sense that a clearer and a more objective picture of the situation is now thereby available. But the measures enumerated and some of which have already been in operation for quite some time, appear mostly to be in the nature temporary and immediately effective palliatives, rather than any desire to go into the root cause of the evils that have emerged and to deal with them in a more wholesale and integrated fashion. For one thing, the picture of the coming Fourth Plan that has so far emerged in the Memorandum presented by the Planning Commission and which has been approved of by the Government in general terms, does not seem to indicate any fresh thinking on basic issues.

The greatest need of the moment would seem to be a closer adjustment between demand and supply than has been possible so far. This need, clearly, must be awarded the highest priority in the thinking of our Planning Commission and our fiscal pundits alike, including the Union Finance Minister. In fact even at the cost of slowing down the process of rapidly laying down essential economic bases with their obviously higher employment potential and higher capital requirements, a higher priority for consumer industries in the essential sectors, such as edibles etc. would seem to be demanded by the emerging symptoms of the present economic situation in the country.

Fresh thinking, likewise, would seem to be called for immediately in other directions as well. It has been obvious that the thinking of the Planning Commission and the Government alike have been increasingly running ever since the Second Plan was formulated, along lines technology based capital-intensive industries. In other words, from a traditional agrarian society, the desire seems to be actuated by motives of transformation into a highly sophisticated modern society. We feel our people are not yet ready for such a transformation at any level of the society except where processes towards such a possible denouement enables opportunities to be created for greater concentration of wealth and economic power within physically microscopic but very powerful areas of the community. From other points of view also we are obviously not ready for such a transformation. One has to recognize that in spite of the comparatively rapid rate of industrialization in the country during the last ten years, agriculture, aenemic and inadequately developed as it frankly is so far, continues to account more than one half of the gross national product and remains yet the sole source of sustenance to well over seventyfive per cent of the population of the country. One has also to recognize that ours is still, overwhelmingly a rustic society; that capital is scarce and capital formation slow and inadequate; that the only commodity which is in abundant supply is human labour.

Conditions, therefore, are not frankly favourable for the kind of economic and social transformation that our ruling elite in the country seem to have been aiming at. Any sudden transformation of a basically rural and traditional society to an urban industrial community is simply not possible at this stage and endeavours to the contrary have been one of the recognizable causes for the present economic malaise. There does not seem to be any awareness of this fundamental and basic need in the thinking of either the Union Ministry of Finance nor in that of the Planning Commission, as indicated by the Memorandum on the possible shape and directional approaches of the coming Fourth Plan formulated by them. This, however, is fundamental and no amount of wishful thinking will be able to conjure it away.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

* * * *

The 1965-66 Budget

The Budget for the year 1965-66 has been presented to Parliament, as we have been writing on the 27th February last. Indications were already being available over the past few months of fresh thinking on his fiscal and monetary policies by the Union Finance Minister through several of his pre-Budget measures. For instance, the concessions announced to investors in new equities in the private sector by way of tax-credit certificates, seemed to indicate that the Finance Minister was becoming really more keenly aware than he has been before, of the need to offer some measures of new incentives to the investors in the private sector. From several of his pre-Budget statements it became hopeful that there might also be some measures of concession offered in the coming Budget which would be calculated to promote a larger incidence of private saving and investment. The Union Finance Minister, almost immediately after he took over the responsibilities of the Union Finance Ministry nearly one and a half years ago, was reported to have publicly averred that the extraordinarily high proportion of indirect to direct taxation was one of the many causes which have been creating a favourable climate for heavy inflationary pressures upon the price structure.

One, therefore, looked forward with a great deal of anticipation to what the Budget might bring forth. The business community, for instance, has been hoping that there would not merely some reliefs offered in the incidence of corporate taxation, but also that reinvestment of dividends would be stimulated by the withdrawal, on the one hand, of the excess dividend tax or at least by some substantial relaxation in its present norms and, on the other by some reliefs offered in the taxation on bonus shares. In both these respects the Finance Minister has sorely disappointed the business community. There has, on the other hand, been some relaxation in Union Excise duties which, undoubtedly has been one of the cost-inflating factors relative to certain consumption commodities attracting this duty. There has been some countervailing adjustments on certain other commodities of a technical nature, and in respect of some other commodities there has, frankly, been a substantial measure of increase in the excise imposts. But it is in the field of personal income taxation that more fundamental and long-reaching changes have been introduced.

Indirect Taxation

"Indirect taxation," the Finance Minister avers, "has two essential objectives: to raise revenues for the State and to serve as an instrument of price policy . . . . indirect taxes which are designed primarily to raise revenue have to be adjusted not only in the light of revenue needs but also in the light of their impact upon the budgets of individual citizens." The Finance Minister acknowledges that high prices have put a strain on a section of the people and, consequently, a measure of relief is called for in those areas where the relief may be expected to be passed on to the consumer. Sri Krishnamachari's enunciation of principles in this behalf is broadly correct when indirect taxation systems are viewed as a whole. But where individual taxation measures relate to essential consumer commodities a distinction has to be drawn especially where they concern excise imposts on such commodities. Traditional taxation principles dictate that excise imposts on consumer goods generally are to be avoided as being in the best traditions of public taxation except, of course, where it is calculated to be used as an instrument of restraint on consumption of certain specific groups of commodities as being in conformity with a sound system of public policy. Thus alcoholic beverages have been made subject to excise imposts by all countries, even where the consumption of alcoholic beverages are not regarded as a social evil as being in the best traditions of a sound public policy. Excise duties on consumables have, likewise, been used during periods of national emergencies as an instrument of restraint on consumption or of discouragement against the temptation to lay down private hoards. But in the more advanced countries the purpose has been sought to be achieved by means of a graduated purchase tax, which enables the consumer to clearly realise the actual incidence of taxation on the commodities concerned during times of national emergencies as, for instance, during a war.

To impose excise duties on essential consumables may be an excellent and convenient instrument for raising revenues for the State. But in a situation conditioned by scarce supplies

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

increasing demand, such an instrument is generally apt to add more than a proportionate load of pressure on the price structure far beyond the appropriations of the State. Indiscriminate use of excise impositions on a variety of essential consumables like cotton textiles, paper, edible oils,, washing and toilet soaps and a variety of similar other commodities in extensive and essential public use, which has been happening over the past several years and which has raised the proportion of indirect taxes to total taxation revenues steeply over the corresponding period, has clearly and indisputably lent a severe inflationary potential to our taxation strucure. Admittance of this indisputable fact is to be read only by implication in the Finance Minister's Budget statement. The incidence of indirect taxation to total taxation over the past 3 years would be obvious from the following table :

(In Rs. Crores)

Head of Tax	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66
(1) Total Taxes	1,510	1,681	1,830
			— 6*
(2) Customs	335	385	405
			+ 14*
(3) Percentage (2) of (1)	22.1	22.9	22.9
(4) Union Excise Duties	730	735	827
			— 8*
(5) Percentage (4) of (1)	48.3	43.7	44.8
(6) Total Indirect Taxes	1,065	1,120	1,232
			+ 6*
(7) Percentage (6) of (1)	70.3	66.6	67.7

*Effect of Budget proposals—1965-66.

From the above table it would be evident that although some relief has been given in respect of certain selected items of consumption whether by wholly withdrawing the present impost or by partly reducing the rate of tax, the incidence of indirect still remains pretty high. The Finance Minister had, of course, warned that, "given the needs of the State, relief in indirect taxation cannot be extensive" nor can they be "reduced in these areas where restraint on consumption is essential from the point of view of economy in imports or releasing larger supplies for export." It will be evident, therefore, that what has actually been sought to be done through the current Budget is not so much to achieve a structural change in the taxation system as a whole, but to apply palliatives with a view to relieving the obvious distress caused to large sections of the population by reason of the price pressure caused as a direct result of the present system of excise duties in force in the country.

At the same time the Finance Minister has proposed to make what he describes as "selective increases" in both import and excise duties on certain items in scarce supply ostensibly to mop up the high profits earned in this field. Thus while excise duties on footwear, cycle parts, cycle tyres and tubes, printing and writing paper used by registered daily and weekly newspapers are proposed to be wholly removed, those on price controlled varieties of grey and processed coarse and medium cotton cloth are proposed to be reduced by 50 per cent, on vegetable products by about 50 per cent, on cheap printing and writing and other typing and manifold paper by 30 per cent. Some reduction of the duty on rayon yarn, cellulosic staple fibres and, marginally, also on staple fibre has been proposed. Duty on copper and copper alloys has been proposed to be increased from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1000 per tonne, on circles and sheets from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1500 per tonne, on steel ingots, plates, rails and sleeper bars by Rs. 10 per tonne, on semis, bars, rods and structurals by Rs. 15 per m.t., on black sheets and hoops by Rs. 40, skelp Rs. 50 shrips Rs. 90, and galvanized plates and sheets by Rs. 100 per tonne. Tin plates and sheets by have a higher rate of excise duty at Rs. 225 per tonne.

The effect of these increases may affect certain industries marginally, especially the steep increose in the duty on copper and copper alloys which may, conceivably affect the cost of power development and distribution to a corresponding extent. It should be noted in conclusion that Union Excise duties have been steadily and steeply rising since 1955-56 when its gross incidence was only Rs. 145 crores to as high as Rs. 773 crores in 1964-65. It is for the first time this year that some relief in this field has been proposed. It is significant, however, that the gross yield from excise duties in the coming budget year will nevertheless be substantially higher Rs. 827 crores less Rs. 7.98 crores, a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

difference of very nearly Rs. 46 crores—than last year although as a percentage of the gross tax revenue it will be about 2 per cent less than that of the last year and about 4 per cent less than that of 1963-64.

Export Promotion

Some taxation relief to export industries to the extent the related products have been exported have olso been incorporated in the Budget proposals. These are admittedly very necessary and legitimate measures and there could not be a great deal of scope for any difference of opinion on this ground.

Corporate Taxation

It is in the field of corporate taxation, in fact, that a great deal of criticism of Government's taxation policies has been concentrated upon. The Indian business community in particular have felt the incidence of taxation in this field unconscionably high as to act as a direct deterrant against enterprise. Besides, the tax on dividends as well as the surtax have both been regarded as not merely heavily oppressive, but even as a direct disincentive against effeciency and progressiveness in industrial administration. The Finance Minister acknowledges the legitimacy of this criticism and admits the need for "modification of the structure corporate taxation without (however) altering its essential features which are sound." Thus, he repudiates the suggestion that the present tax on dividends has "materially affected the distribution pattern of dividends." In fact he underlines what he describes as the "continuing need for a degree of restraint on dividend distribution." Similarly, he claims, time is not yet for a full assessment of the surtax and no change in its structure is, therefore proposed. But some changes in the general scheme of corporate taxation have been proposed in the Budget as listed hereunder :

(1) Industries mentioned in Part IV of the First Schedule to the Finance Act, 1964 are entitled to certain tax benefits ; the list has been proposed to be widened to include lime stone, flame and drip proof motors, malleable iron and steel castings, calcium and ammonium nitrate and ships.

(2) Some changes in the pattern of concessions to Sec. 104 companies have proposed. Previously companies making income of not more than Rs. 5 lakhs were e to a 50 per cent tax rate on the first Rs. 2 of the income ; all such companies will n entitled to a similar tax rate on the first R lakhs of the income irrespective of the size total income. Likewise, the penalty rate fo distribution of profit shall be reduced fr per cent as at present to 25 per cent a statutory provision for compulsory distri of upto 90 per cent of profits will apply accumulated profits plus reserves exceed the amount of the paid up plus loan cap of the value of the fixed assets.

(3) With a view to dispersal of ind located in congested urban areas to less co rural environments, it has been proposed to taxes on capital gains to the extent th reinvested in lands and buildings in new or for providing employees' housing, with approval of Government.

(4) It has been proposed to redu standard rate of development rebate from 2 per cent except in the case of certain s industries which will be entitled to a reb 25 per cent, while the rebate for coal machinery and ships will continue to be and 40 per cent respectively. Those who o entitled to the hitherto standard rate of cent will continue to enjoy the privileg 31st March, 1967.

(5) A ceiling is proposed to be p to income tax includng tax charged on di tion of equity dividends and surtax at 70 total income. Excess liability of these taxe the ceiling will be refundable as a de from surtax.

(6) With view to providing incenti higher rates of production it has been p to take powers to issue tax credit certific the extent of 25 per cent of Central Excise paid by any manufacturer on producti addition to its production in a base Similarly tax credit cretificates for 20 p of additional corporation taxes including paid by any manufacturer over the corres tax paid during the base year.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A NEW DEAL FOR TRIBAL INDIA

By P. C. ROY CHAUDHURY

Several States and the Union Territories including the State of Bihar have a very sizeable population belonging to the under-privileged classes who have been given a particular status under the description of the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes. There has been a very great horizontal mobility in the caste-tribe structure of the country and Bihar is no exception to it. It will be of interest to look into some of the background features which are still continuing in some way or other and are affecting the present and the future of the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes.

In 1931 the Reforms Office had consulted the four Governments of Madras, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam regarding the treatment to be accorded to the Backward Tribes in the new Constitution. Bihar and Orissa had particularly suggested that this should be considered by a Special Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference and should not be left to be decided by implementation. It was felt that protection should be given to the aboriginal races for the maintenance of their culture, their peculiar systems of land tenures, customs and the existing system of administration. It was urged that such protection can only be worked out by giving the Governor the statutory position of a sort of a protector with powers to vet the alterations of the acts and Regulations and impositions of new laws and that he should be assisted by an advisory Council of representatives of these places by means of an indirect election by village communities if this was practicable. Apparently this suggestion did not carry its full weight. When Sir Stafford Cripps came there was a spate of representations from various parties, caste-groups and associations from all over India. One common feature was an unabashed fear that the so-called lower castes and the tribals will be swept away unless their interests are specially protected. One of the memoranda on behalf of the Intermediate and Suppressed Caste (Hindu) Association, Calcutta with its President, Maharaja, S. C. Nandi of Kasimbazar, urged for the abolition of the caste system by declaration in the Fundamental Rights in the Statute Book. It also mentioned that if the caste system was allowed to remain, there should be a joint electorate with reservation of seats for Hindu castes separately on the percentage of population basis in all the Legislatures. It also urged that there should be special facilities for all Backward Classes and communities in the matter of education, appointment and training in all branches and the distribution of services and status in public bodies by preferences.

A few cross-currents had already started flowing and gathering strength like a snowball even at that time. For example, there was a representation from the Khatiks of Central Provinces and Berar that they should be excluded from the Scheduled Caste. There was a representation from the Kahar Federation Office, Nakodar (Jullundar district) that the Kahars in the Punjab had been included among the Scheduled Castes in 1921 but their name had been omitted under the Government of India (Scheduled Caste) Order, 1936. The prayer was that the Kahars all over India should be included among the Scheduled Castes. The **Nama Sudras** of Dacca and Narayanganj protested against their inclusion in the Scheduled Castes. This urge was no wonder as the Scheduled Castes had been recognised as a separate entity as early as 1917 in the Montague-Chelmsford report and the Joint Parliamentary Committee had also recognised them as a distinct political group. This position was further strengthened by the declaration of the Viceroy in August, 1940. Lord Wavell in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

his letter to Gandhiji dated the 15th August, 1944, had even mentioned that the Scheduled Castes are one of the important and separate elements in the national life of India and their consent was a necessary condition precedent to the transfer of power.

The expression "Scheduled Tribes" succeeded the expression "Backward Tribes." According to the XIIIth Schedule to the Government of India, (Provincial Assemblies), Order, 1936, dated 30.4.36, the Provinces of Madras and Orissa had lists of "Backward Tribes." Formerly predominantly Scheduled Tribes were found in those parts of the old Vizagapattam district transferred to Orissa in 1936. The Orissa list included very few of them. The classification of Backward Tribes in the XIIIth Schedule to the Government of India (Provincial Assemblies), Order, 1936 was intended exclusively for electoral purposes vide para 19 of the Vth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935. In Census table XIV of 1941 the tribal population was recorded. For sometime in 1946 almost throughout India the expression **Sachut Sudras** was commonly used to denote the Backward Classes as separate from **Achut Sudras** or the untouchables. There was, however, a lot of confusion and more than one way of thinking about the problem.

This fluid conception as to who were the under-privileged tribes, communities or castes continued when the Constitution was introduced. In the meanwhile owing to political and social influences, spread of education and other socio-economic forces, the process of tribes and communities crystallizing into separate castes or getting into some other castes by a sort of process of osmosis was going on. When Dr. Ambedkar introduced Section 303 B of the Bill on the 17th September, 1949, he did not lay down any definition as to who were the Scheduled Tribes or Castes. He merely mentioned that the Scheduled Tribes mean such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under article 303B of the Constitution to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of the Constitution. This article merely mentioned that the President may, after consultation with the Governor or Rule... a State by public notification specify... tribe or tribal communities or part... groups within tribes or tribal commun... which shall for the purposes of this Co... tution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes... relation to that State.

The Resolution on Aims and Objects... the Constitution of India moved ... Jawaharlal Nehru in the Constit... Assembly included a clause that the un... privileged classes shall be given special ... lities for the development and suitable ... visions be incorporated in the Constitu... Thereafter the Government of India ... appointed Sub-Committees for the min... ties and two particular Sub-Committees ... of which examined the conditions in ... cluded and partially excluded areas o... than Assam while the second Sub-Commi... examined the conditions in the tribal a... of Assam. Peculiarly enough the evide... recorded by the Committee did not indi... definitely as to who should be deemed ... Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes ... Backward Classes. Dr. B. S. Guha ... Verrier Elwin mentioned some of the m... that should be there but somehow they ... did not in their evidence try to defin... categories what they thought of the prob...

One looks in vain into the docum... connected with the working of the Advi... Committee on Fundamental Rights, Mi... ties, etc., and the two Sub-Committee... look into the conditions in the excluded ... partially excluded parts of India to com... any firm finding as to the basic princ... for preparing such lists.

The Draft Constitution of India ... liberally from the provisions containe... the Government of India Act, 1935. The ... cription of the Scheduled Castes in the ... Act appears to be based on what was ... tioned regarding the Depressed Class... the Government of India Act, 1919. ... matter of fact, it was mentioned tha... Scheduled Castes will "correspond t... classes of persons formerly known as ... Depressed Classes." The Government ... India' Scheduled Caste Order, 1936,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

rently provided the basis for drawing up the list of Scheduled Castes.

Regarding the Scheduled Tribes, however, there appears to have been more confusion and for some reason or other the matter was left entirely to the State to draw up who should be described as a Scheduled Tribe. The starting point for the list of Scheduled Tribes was provided by the list of Backward Tribes as per the XIIIth Schedule to the Government of India (Provincial Legislative Assemblies), Order, 1936. It has to be recalled that in the 1931 Census there was a special enquiry on the basis of which communities properly classifiable as aboriginal and hilly tribes were distinguished from castes and, among these those which were properly classifiable as primitive, were also listed. But the attempt to draw up an agreed list of the Scheduled Tribes for the Constitution did not materialise as Thakkar Bapa who had been taking a prominent part in this enquiry could not come to an agreed decision as to the final specification of the Scheduled Tribes. Therefore, the Constituent Assembly left the matter for subsequent settlement by the President. The term "Tribe" is nowhere defined in the Constitution.

The next step was taken when the Ministry of Home Affairs had called a conference of representatives of State Governments and in this conference also there were concrete differences of opinion regarding the basis on which the tribes should be scheduled. The views expressed by the different States are embodied in Appendix IV of the 1951 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The States drew up their lists of Scheduled Tribes according to their best judgement. The results were peculiar. To give one instance, H. H. Risley, while describing the Pans in his "Tribes and Castes of Northern India" (1891), mentioned that the Chik Baraiks in Lohardaga (now Ranchi district) were a part and parcel of the Pans. The Pans in Ranchi district are also known as Tantis. At present the Pans are a Scheduled Caste in Ranchi district while the Chik Baraiks are a Scheduled Tribe and the Tantis are a Backward Class. Such instances may be found, if a probe is made probably in all the States. In Mysore whoever is not a Brahmin is almost deemed a member of a Backward Class. The very large list of Backward Classes in Mysore can hardly be justified.

After the first declaration of the list of Scheduled Tribes there was some modification in 1956 largely based on the recommendation made by the Backward Class Commission and the views expressed there on by the State Governments. The anomalies still remain. The Cheros and Kharwars in Shahabad district, who have been marrying in Rajput families for decades and call themselves as Rajputs, stand classed as a Scheduled Tribe. The Kanwars, a Scheduled Tribe in Madhya Pradesh, claim themselves as Rajputs. Acculturisation, fusion of tribes into castes and various other political and socio-economic factors have been responsible for a good deal of mobility both horizontal and vertical among the tribes and castes.

The census figures will show how very complacently the tribals have been taken by the enumerators. To give one instance, in the 1951 Census there were 28,360 tribals in the district of Saharsa in Bihar. In the 1961 Census the tribal figure in this district has been reduced to 7,605. There has been no wholesale exodus of any of the tribals as an enquiry shows. In Ranchi, a predominantly tribal district, some of the comparative figures of the tribals in 1941 and 1961 show a rapid decline if the figures are correct.

Tribe	1941	1961
Kisans	7,144	3,854
Parhaiyas	2,360	406
Savars	506	4
Cheros	65	37

On the other hand, there are the intriguing figures of a great increase in the case of a few other tribals if the following figures are correct :

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Tribe	1941	1961
Birjia	481	2,296
Chik Baraik	(No figure has been given)	29,311
Karmali	240	2,470
Kharia	78,785	95,956
Lohars or Lohara	44,875	69,928

This picture may not be peculiar to Bihar only. The Commission appointed under article 340 of the Constitution which was entrusted with the task of finding out the criteria of backwardness and preparing a list of other Backward Classes had failed in their task. Then the Government of India tried to prepare such lists in consultation with the State Governments.

This attempt also having failed the Government of India had prepared a list on the basis of occupations which should be regarded as leading to social and educational backwardness. This criterion was not agreed to by all the State Governments and ultimately the Government advised the State Governments to recognise other Backward Classes for whatever facilities may be made available on the basis of economic conditions. But the results have been neither beneficial to the sections of the under-privileged or the sections other than the under-privileged.

Another resultant of what has been done could also be mentioned. The Gonrs of the district of Saran, Champaran, etc., in Bihar now claim to be a Scheduled Tribe taking advantage of the similarity of their caste name to Gonds which is a formidable Scheduled Tribe in Madhya Pradesh and in Chotanagpur. There have been such features in several States other than Bihar. There is no reason why some tribes and castes that might have reached a stage of acculturisation and cannot be distinguished from others should not be de-scheduled. It is clear that much of the money provided and energy spent for the welfare measures might not be properly used under the present circumstances of confusion and vagueness.

This task for a revision of the lists of Scheduled Castes and Tribes maintai... several State Governments and Union ... tory Administrations has already at... the attention of the Commissione... Scheduled Castes and Tribes. He ha... phasised in his last report that it is hig... that these lists were scrutinised to e... those who do not need special ass... measures and to add special comm... who deserved to be on the lists but ha... been included for some reason or oth... may, however, be mentioned that thi... be a formidable task because the crite... considering a community as a tribe ... be something very precise. The firs... pression is that the tribes must have ... the original dwellers in the forests ... is not correct as the Dublas of Surat ... live in forests. The Pankas in the ... living with the Marias near Chitrak... Kutumsar in Bastar are excluded ... Gonds form a big tribal group in the M... Pradesh but the Ahirs of Madhya P... with a similar social structure are n... cluded in the list. Sociologists and A... pologists had often differed as to the c... Prof. D. N. Mazumdar's views are no... ed by Prof. Ehrenfels. Some spad... was done by the Tata Institute of ... Science but without any definite c... sions.

Dr. T. B. Naik, Director of Tri... search Institute in Madhya Pradesh, ... paper read in the Bhopal sessions ... Social Conference in August, 1964 had ... ed out that for operational definit... existence of Scheduled Tribe should ... considered as constituting a single c... of social life. Categories should be ... cated in terms of typology of inte... rather than the stage of acculturation. ... should be differences between the de... of a tribe for operational purposes a... anthropological definition of a tribe ... concept of tribe for the academic pur... a study for social processes, and the ... tion of Scheduled Tribes for oper... purposes are two different things to... they should actually be one. The ... pological definition can serve as a ... tual frame in terms of which the ...

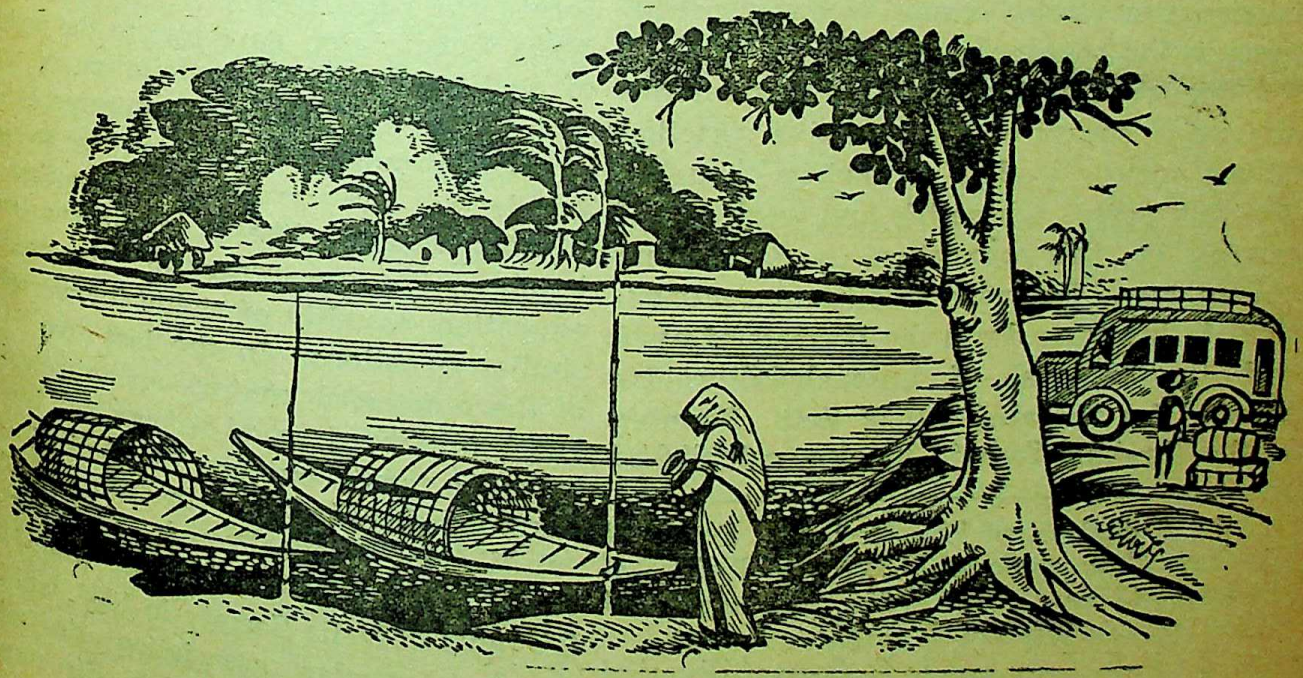
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

process of different communities recognised as Scheduled Tribes may be assumed. For operational purposes the anthropological definition may serve as a nominal definition.

Two Russian Anthropologists who were recently in India considered that the categories like Scheduled Tribes are artificial and mechanical. They had their own tools to define a group, like, pre-tribal and nation (their nation is not a political concept) according to the stage of socio-economic development. For this reason they thought that the Khasis who fit more in the category of national and the Chenchus who belong to the pre-tribal stage of development should not have been grouped together.

This problem of inclusion and exclusion will have to be faced squarely and the sooner the better.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SOCIAL WORK IN INDIA : A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

By D. P. SETHI

Developments in the British Period

Social work as an organized service is of relatively recent origin in India. However, the concept of social service has been an integral part of the Indian tradition. The responsibility for individuals in need of special assistance was shared by the rulers, religious institutions, the joint family, caste organizations, panchayats, philanthropists and the general community.

The traditions gradually began to be influenced by the new social and economic forces released in the country during the nineteenth century. The self-sufficient rural community began to show signs of stress and disorganization. About the same time the Christian missionaries began their evangelical and welfare work and the shortcomings in the structure of the Hindu Society served as a foil to the social values of the Christian community. The Christian missionaries started many welfare institutions in the country.[1]

The work of the Christian missionaries aroused a measure of defensive reaction among various leaders of modern thought.[2] The first person whose life and work are of interest in this connection is Raja Ram Mohan Roy. He made significant contributions to breaking down the barriers of caste and the removal of untouchability. He pleaded for the abolition of **Sati**. Founder of the Brahmo Samaj, he also established many educational institutions. The gious and social reforms initiated set the pattern for similar activi Bengal, Bombay and North India, o by Dwarka Nath Tagore, Keshab Sen, Justice M.G. Ranade and Sir Ahmed Khan. Some organizations started by these reformers to campa the removal of caste disabilities touchability. They attempted to re the Indian social structure and est a number of welfare institutions as an effective counterpart to simila ces provided by Christian missionari

While the work of missionaries a defensive reaction among the people, the British educator intro new pattern of thinking based on r ism, democracy and liberalism. This way of thinking could not conform traditional patterns of family and The break-down of rural self-su forced the rural people to migrate i areas which, later, gave rise to the p of destitution, drink, exploitation of and children, slums and connected

The trends which gave rise to problems, also served to strengthe democratic and liberal traditions heighten the awareness of the ne education, equality of rights for wo similar questions. In the last two of the nineteenth century an entirel ent tradition of social reform not b religious tenets but on intellectual tions developed. The tradition g established itself through the eff Gopal Krishna Gokhale. He fou Servants of India Society in 1905, w the first secular association ded social service in the country. He e ed the objective study of facts

1. Committee on Plan Projects, *Report of the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes*, (New Delhi, Government of India Press, 1959), Vol. I, p. 17.

2. M.S. Gore and I. E. Soars, "Historical Background of Social Work in India". *Social Welfare in India*' (New Delhi, Government of India, Planning Commission, 1960), p. 3.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

rst step in mobilising public opinion in avour of social reform. This intellectual radition, however, could not gain a mass ppeal as its plea for reform reached only he newspaper reading intelligentsia, and ot the illiterate masses and also because the pre-occupation of the people with the rowing nationalist movement.

The work begun by these early reformers was, however, vitalized by Mahatma andhi who started a 'constructive programme' which was both a movement for conomic betterment and an attempt for nproving the tenor of social life. This pproach was integrated and balanced. His ecial contribution to the organizational ld consisted in setting up welfare agenes at national level to resolve social oblems of various types and in his ability select the correct men to work on his prommes. For the first time he created widead popular enthusiasm among the people. got men and women workers who dedied themselves selflessly to various causes d programmes that he entrusted to them.

It was after the formation of popular inistries in a number of provinces in 1935, at the Government accepted responsibility providing social services such as edution and health. It also recognized that re were many programmes which could be left to the voluntary organizations o had limited initiative and resources. the first time social service became a e concern.

Meanwhile, a new outlook had developin regard both to motivation and methods social work. To give help to the needy s now considered essential not only bese it was charitable to do so but because as consistent with new values of justice. advancement in the behavourial and al sciences made it clear that human blems have to be tackled at their roots er than in their symptoms. The value cientific methods in studying these probs and acquisition of skills and methods ealing with them was very much rea-

The first attempt in the direction of training personnel in scientific techniques of helping people to overcome their problems and difficulties was made by the Social Service League, Bombay, in the nineteen twenties. The League organized a short orientation course for volunteer workers. However, a major departure from the established traditions that identified social work with voluntary activity was the establishment of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work in 1936 as the first professional institution for training social workers. Since then, a distinct meaning has been growing around the terms "Social Work" and "Social Workers."

Post Independence Trends

In the Constitution of Independent India the responsibility of the State for the welfare of its citizens was clearly defined in its articles and the Directive Principles of State Policy. The aspirations of the framers of the constitution were given more concrete shape in the Five Year Plans which gave a very important place to welfare programmes. The Five Year Plans make a distinction between 'Social Services' and 'Welfare Services'. In the broadest sense social services under the Plans include the subject of education, health, housing, labour welfare, rehabilitation of displaced persons, welfare of backward classes and social welfare. Of these the last two together constitute the common field of welfare. "While social services constitute an investment in the betterment of human resources in general, the welfare services are designed to enable the under-privileged or handicapped sections of the community to rise as close to the level of the normal community as possible. Welfare services provided in the Plans are further divisible in two parts : One dealing with the handicapped and maladjusted individuals and the other with the traditionally under-privileged or backward sections of the community.[3]

3. Report of the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Today, there is a general recognition of the need of welfare services for these categories: (a) Socially under-privileged groups, viz., Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, denotified communities and other marginal classes of society and orphans, widows, unmarried mothers, women in moral danger, aged and infirm; (b) Women and children; (c) Socially maladjusted, viz., beggars, prostitutes, delinquents, newly discharged persons from correctional and non-correctional institutions; (d) physically and mentally handicapped persons; and (e) economically under-privileged, viz., destitutes and unemployed.[4]

The State is playing a very important role as an agency of welfare services for the above categories. Its action is no more restricted to the enactment of social legislation, rather it is extended to the provision of positive services.

As regards the organizational set-up, no separate Ministry of Social Welfare exists at the Centre. A number of welfare subjects are dealt with by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Community Development is entrusted with the programme of intensive development of rural areas. The Constitution entrusts the responsibility of the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes to the Ministry of Home Affairs at the Centre. Under a separate article of the Constitution, the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes is required to report to the President on the progress registered in the welfare of these groups. The Ministry of Home Affairs is also entrusted with responsibility for subjects such as correctional work, vagrancy, juvenile delinquency, suppression of immoral traffic and programmes of after-care and moral and social hygiene.

In the States, there are Ministries of Social Welfare which are assisted by Departments or Directorates of Social Welfare. In some States social welfare functions have been divided into two or more Departments. These departments have offices at the District level.

The Central Social Welfare Board is an autonomous body in the Ministry of Education to administer the grammes of grant-in-aid to the ex voluntary welfare organizations and sponsor and assist the development of welfare services through non-official organizations. The States have Social Welfare Advisory Boards at their level. Implementation Committees are the standing machinery provided at the District level for the planning and execution of Welfare Extension Projects in the areas. The CSWB is also organizing programmes, including economic grammes under the Urban Family Welfare Projects and Urban Community Development Projects.

The Bharat Sevak Samaj is an organization to channelize public co-operation in the execution of various develop programmes under the Plans.

At the municipal level some big like Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras have welfare programmes of different The Urban Community Development ject of the Delhi Corporation is a big in this direction and it is now spreading other cities in the country.

Thus, there has been rapid increase the number and variety of welfare services provided in the country; the services developed from general to specialized area of coverage has extended; and content of programmes has become varied. The need of co-ordination in fare work of different agencies and at ent levels has been very well recognized a number of co-ordinating bodies have set up in different fields of social The Indian Conference of Social Work, Indian Council of Child Welfare, the Adult Education Association and the Association of Schools of Social Work such co-ordinating agencies. The these agencies consists of research, zation of conferences, publication of ture, etc.

If we analyse the contemporary a in Social Welfare, we will find that a very clear understanding among welfare planners, administrators and

4. *Ibid*, pp. 20-21.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ers that social welfare services have to be primarily curative and ameliorative in their nature but they will not be effective unless they are accompanied by preventive or constructive measures. They have become an integral part of the concept of social welfare. For example, it may be necessary to provide help to a family after it has become destitute but it is equally essential to prevent disruption and destitution at the point of illness or unemployment and to take long-term measures to promote employment and standards of health and living. It is a fact that the present welfare programmes in the fields of child welfare, family welfare, youth welfare, mental hygiene and psychiatric work, group work and recreation, guidance and counselling, health and medical social work, labour welfare and correctional work, aim at prevention of certain problems and also provide opportunities of development to the persons served by them. In other words, they promote well-being and avoid ill-being.

Recent developments in social welfare should reveal that the State has been assuming an increasing amount of responsibility in the field of social welfare. This increase in responsibility and consequent expansion of state welfare services is demanded partly by the provisions of the constitution and partly by the increasing awareness of the Government for many social and economic problems and the recognition of the need of organized services to prevent and solve them and to promote well-being of people in general. But there has been very clear recognition of the fact that the problems before us are so challenging in their magnitude and multitude that it is not possible for our country to tackle them very efficiently. Our resources both of personnel and material are so inadequate that it is beyond the Government to attempt a solution single handed. It is also recognized that it is not incumbent on a welfare state to assume full responsibility of all services. While the essential services and basic needs are certainly the responsibility of the State, there is a large number of services, which can and should be left to voluntary agencies in a democratic society and they have in the past rightly earned praise for their able handling of difficult situations. Of course, it stands to reason that the State must give all possible help, financial and other to such voluntary organizations. It is also recognized that the State and voluntary organizations cannot work in water-tight compartments. The future of social welfare in India depends upon the extent these two co-operate with each other and co-ordinate their activities.[5]

With developments in the fields of social welfare, the recognition for the need of training personnel of different levels has been growing very rapidly. It is now so well established that it is generally not questioned except by those who are unaware of the developments in the field and in the body of knowledge which may be useful to persons who intend to work in the field. It is, today, felt that a worker, however, well intentioned or humanitarian in his outlook, must have some training to solve the highly complicated problems that confront us today. It is in response to this need that facilities of training personnel of different types have rapidly developed in the past ten years. There are more than twenty schools and university departments offering post-graduate courses in social work with an estimated annual out-turn of about seven hundred students. There are very few institutions which offer training at the under-graduate level. By and large the courses have been patterned after those found in the West, especially those in the U.S.A.

Some Government departments and voluntary welfare agencies impart in-service training to their personnel at their own training centres or at some regular schools of social work.

However, there is a large number of voluntary workers who are working in the field of social welfare without having under-

5. Gulestan R. Billimoria, "Voluntary Social Work", *History and Philosophy of Social Work in India*, edited by A. R. Wadia, (Bombay, Allied Publishers Private Ltd.) pp. 63-64.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

gone any formal training. It is now being stressed that, if not all, at least the serious-minded must acquire some knowledge through short-term courses. This depends upon the willingness of the voluntary workers to undergo such training and the development of adequate facilities for their training.[6]

When training is considered essential for voluntary workers, the difference made between them and the professional worker would disappear. At present a voluntary worker is considered to be one who is honorary or an unpaid worker and is motivated by humanitarian considerations while a professional worker is one who is paid, who has undergone some training for his job and enters into social work with professional motives. The difference between the two on the basis of training and background would gradually disappear as training becomes universal for all who choose social work as a career.

Concept of Social Work and Social Welfare

The concept of social work has been constantly changing with changes in the nature and scope of activities undertaken by social workers. "Social Work" has meant many things to many people in the past and even today different people have different conceptions of social work in their mind; rather some of them have misconceptions. They do not make any difference between "Social Work" and "Shramdan" or any disaster-relief or character-building activity. Many factors account for this confusion about "Social Work".[7]

Such vagueness, whatever be its reason, does grave harm to social work and its practitioners. It seriously militates against the academic and professional status of social work. The social worker very depends upon the understanding operation of the recipients of his and therefore any misconception in mind may adversely affect the rendered. Social workers have realize the significance of interpreta social work to people and other profe

The concept of social work in th of trained and untrained social worke be slightly different but this differe gradually disappearing with inc understanding and co-operation betwe two. The system of welfare services country is being patterned after the s evolved in the West, particularly the Kingdom and the United States of A and therefore the definitions of socia developed in these countries are accepted, particularly among the workers.

Social work is now understood t professional service to people for the p of helping them, as individuals or in to attain satisfying relationships and ards of life in accordance with their and capacities and in harmony with the community.

An analysis of some of the recent tions of social work may be helpful derstanding the present concept of work:

Friedlander: "Social work is a sional service based upon scientific ledge and skill in human relations assists individuals, alone or in gro obtain social and personal satisfacti independence. It is usually perform a social agency or a related organiz

Herbert Bisno: "Social Work provision of services designed to aid duals, singly or in groups, in copin the present or future social and psyc cal obstacles that prevent or are lik prevent full and effective participa

6. *Ibid*,, p. 62.

7. S. K. Khinduka, "The Meaning of Social Work", *Social Work in India*, edited by S. K. Khinduka (Jaipur, Sarvodaya Sahitya Samaj, 1962), pp. 1-3.

8. Walter, A. Friedlander, *Introd Social Welfare*, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Hall Inc., 1955), p. 4.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

society. Such services are limited, however, on the one hand by agency function and the worker's competence and on the other by already established professions, by well defined functional areas, and by certain other practices and prejudices".[9]

Helen Clarke : Social work is a form of professional service comprising a composite of knowledge and skills, parts of which are and parts of which are not, distinctive of social work, which attempts on the one hand, to help the individual satisfy his needs in the social milieu and, on the other, to remove as far as possible, the barriers which obstruct people from achieving the best of which they are capable."[10]

Gisela Konopka : Social work is "an entity representing three clearly distinguished but interrelated parts : a net work of social services, carefully developed methods and processes, and social policy expressed through social institutions and individuals. All three are based on a view of human beings, their inter-relationships, and the ethical demands made on them".[11]

A very concise definition has been formulated by the Indian Conference of Social Work : "Social work is a welfare activity based on humanitarian philosophy, scientific knowledge and technical skills for helping individuals or groups or community to live a rich and full life".[12] This definition which is Indian in its origin does not give a concept of social work different from what the preceding definitions give.

All these definitions contain valuable points about the nature of social work but none of them includes all. A recent analysis made by the United Nations Social Commission suggests that social work, as understood today, contains certain very general characteristics :[13]

(1) It is a helping activity designed to give assistance in respect to problems that prevent individuals, families and groups from achieving a minimum desirable standard of social and economic well-being.

(2) It is a "social" activity carried on not for personal profit but under the auspices or organizations, governmental or non-governmental or both, established for the benefits of the community as requiring assistance.

(3) It is a "liaison" activity, through which disadvantaged individuals, families and groups, may have all the resources available in the community to meet their unsatisfied needs.....

As one studies these characteristics one becomes very clear about the nature of social work. However, one should not lose sight of the facts that social work is now based on scientific knowledge ; it has its own methods and techniques ; it is professionalized but still draws its inspiration from humanitarianism.

The term "social welfare" is sometimes used interchangeably with social work. Both are thought to be synonymous. In the light of some recent attempts to establish precise terminology, it is essential to understand the difference between these two. However, as two distinct terms they still have ambiguity and vagueness.

Friedlander defines "social welfare" as an "organized system of social services and institutions, designed to aid individuals and groups to attain satisfying standards of life and health. It aims at personal and social relationships which permit individuals the development of their full capacities and the promotion of their well-being in harmony with the needs of the community". As already quoted, according to him "social work is a professional service, based upon scientific knowledge and skill in human relations, which assists individuals, alone or in groups, to obtain social and personal satisfaction and independence. It is usually performed by a social agency or a related organization". He thinks that the term

9. Herbert, Bisno : *Philosophy of Social Work*, (Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1952), p. 1.

10, 11, 12. Quoted, S. K. Khinduka, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

13. Quoted, Harleigh, B. Trecker : *Social Group Work,—Principles and Practice*, (New York, Association Press, 1955), p. 61.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"social welfare" has a broader implication than professional social work.[14]

The difference between these two terms has not been made explicit, but a careful analysis will show that "social welfare" refers to a system in which agencies and institutions are employed to help individuals or groups attain satisfying standards of life. Its aim is development of their full capacities and the promotion of their well-being. It may include governmental and non-governmental, professional and non-professional endeavours to help people achieve this objective. Social work is a professional service, or as he makes it clear in the same context, "it is both a science and an art",[15] of helping people. It is carried on in its practical application in six different forms, viz., social casework, group work, community organization, social welfare administration, social welfare research, and social action. This leads to the conclusion that "social welfare" is a system of services and "social work", a method of rendering those services.

In our country the term "social work" when used by professional social workers refers to one of these three : (i) an a or programme of helping people in s their problems ; (ii) the profession of ing people in solving their problems (iii) the body of knowledge used by workers in solving the problems.

As an activity or programme it any organized effort made by a governm or non-governmental agency to help to solve their problems. As a profess may refer collectively to all who selected "helping people" as their caree who meet the requirements of a profe When the term is used to refer to the of knowledge, it covers methods and of social workers and their practical cation in different forms of service. ever, it is realized that part of this ledge has been borrowed from other sciences.

There is a feeling, now, in the p sional circles that the term "social we should be used to refer to the progra and services organized for helping p and the term "social work" should be to refer to the body of knowledge us social workers. On the basis of this tinction, it may be said that social w is the field and social work a method

14. Walter, A. Friedlander, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 5.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SHUMAVON

The Pioneer of Armenian Journalism

By B. M. SANKHDHER

It looks **prima faci** incredible that the pioneer of Armenian Journalism started his journalistic endeavours in a place thousands of miles away from homeland, i.e., Shiraz in Persia, and a few would place reliance on the fact that he who kindled the flame of Armenian journalism was a Vicar of the Armenian church in Madras, ignorant of the English language, ignorant of the delicate art of journalism and ignorant of the socio-political climate of this alien land. Notwithstanding the innumerable handicaps and deadlocks, Rev. Arathoon Shumavon became the founder of Armenian journalism by starting a monthly, the Azdarar in Madras, in August 1794.

It is really a matter of astonishment that at a time when the Press in India was the sole monopoly of the Europeans and when a native vernacular press was non-existant[1] and the medium of all the Indian newspapers was English, such as the Bengal Gazette edited by James Augustus Hicky, the Calcutta Gazette, the Bengal Journal, the Madras Courier, the Bombay Herald and Buckingham's the Calcutta journal, Shumavon, without any support from the European journalists gave birth to a journal which was of a greater excellence than the contemporary press not only in India but also in certain other parts of the globe.

Started with a view to supply information and amusement to the Armenian **bon ton**, with a patriotic fervour, Azdarar was merely a welfare magazine, interested in major political developments only when the interests of the Armenian people were involved. It was not apathy, antipathy or neutrality. On the other hand it showed the political maturity of the founder-editor, who was aware of the fate of William Bolts, James Augustus Hicky, William Duane and others, who, on account of loquacious verbosity and indiscreet out-spokeness were humiliated and deported to England by the British Government at its earliest opportunity.

The administration of the East India Company considered the press as a cumbersome impediment in the way of successful implementation of its policies in India. The white bureaucrats whose flesh used to creep at the dreadful image of an independent press, regarded its freedom as 'unsafe and perilous' for the continuance of British Imperialism. "Their argument against a free press was always of the type; would you trust a child with the lighted candle in a powder magazine."[2]

An objective assessment of the realities and an unbiased appreciation of the limitations of the circumstances prevailing during his time, enabled Shumavon to learn not to partake in the suicidal game of playing with the fire of British antagonism. That, Shumavon knew, would prove detrimental to the progress and prosperity of the Armenian community in India and the East. This fear of British hostility proved a blessing in disguise, culminating in the slow but

1. The vernacular press came into existence in 1818 with the publication of *Digdarshan* in Bengali at Calcutta. Though manuscript newsletters of a kind were in circulation in India even before the coming of the British. See *Calcutta Review*, 1911, No. CCLXIII. p. 1 to 17, *History of the Press in India* (Manuscript Newspapers) by J. C. Saniyal.

2. *Modern India and the West*, Ed. by L. S. S. O'Malley, Oxford University Press, 1941, p. 197, (The Press by W. C. Wordsworth).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

gradual development of an Armenian journalism, which, to an extent, unconceivable at that time, was balanced, dispassionate and unsusceptible to exciting biosterousness.

The Azdarar not only catered to the intellectual entertainment of the Armenian community but it also kept them informed about the social, political, commercial and literary activities of the day. While the European journalism in India had the advantage or borrowing brazen-facedly materials for their magazines and journals, from the European counterparts,[3] Shumavon had no other means but to depend on the production of his own mind. Of course, he had the knowledge of Persian and Arabic literatures, which he might have utilized in the presentation of his views and news in the Azadarar.

Shumavon's reviews of the literary works, information regarding 'domestic occurrences' social activities, commercial advertisements concerning shipping, etc., and commentary on political developments written in placid, stoical and unexcitable manner, produced a sober and sophisticated impact both on the Armenian people and the government of the Company which did not find it expedient to make use of its scissors which otherwise worked as 'restlessly as that of a barbar' in regard to the censorship of the press.

Shumavon burnt the midnight oil in order to see that his pen did not indulge in the luxury of unintelligible pedagogies and pedantic sophistry, either to conceal or to mystify the truth. Nor 'blind leading the blind' was his motto. With a unique tour **de force**, he endeavoured to achieve his desideratum of winning the hearts of the people by providing ample material to them at a very moderate cost (i.e., one hoon per issue) and thus binding the Armenian people in the East in a common thread of unity.

The Azadarar received a warm reception at the hands of the Armenian **ab initio** mainly for three reasons: the Armenian community was a flour one and had interest in literary pers the present type; secondly the Arm people wanted a common channel th which their ideas and interests could alised; and finally the brilliance founder-editor whose genius was reflected through this journal. His was lucid, the presentation of facts and the language flowery—which had the impact of persian anchorites in company he had to live quite a few pr years of his life after the death of h sons in Shiraz, before his coming to M

Grief-ridden and melancholy, Shu had no intention of coming to Ind the establishment of a newspaper-pres the contrary, he came to Madras as a of the Armenian church and was occupied with his sacredotal duties so that he had not sufficient time le journalism, which in its embryonic was considered as 'a blue-moonshi 'a fantastic nonesense'. Even in journalism was not considered as an able occupation.

"In the history of Grand Lo England can be found an interesting ence to a brother who for some years high offices and then dropped out of Across his name in one of the re some one wrote the sad explanation, t brother afterwards fell into indig cumstances and sank so low as to editor of a newspaper."[5]

Not only this. Sir Walter Scott's has become proverbial who refused son-in-law, as unworthy of his soci tion, the editorship of a leading earl teenth century London Paper.[6]

3. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. VI, edited by H. H. Dodwell, 1958, p. 679, and also see: *The Indian Press* by M. Barns, 1946.

4. *The Bengal Past and Present*, 105—106, Vol. LIII, January to June, 83-88.

5. *Modern India and the West*, Ed. S. O'Malley, 1941, p. 189.

6. *Ibid.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Shumavon was a literary genius and had spent a good deal of his time in the study of Arabic and Persian books. The church was too small a place for the expansion of his personality and hence it was no wonder that despite his heavy burden of responsibilities, he acquired one more by establishing a printing press in Madras only five years after his arrival there from Shiraz, with the object of translating and publishing important manuscripts into Armenian. Five years later, the Azdarar was born, in order to keep the workmen employed on the printing press fully occupied. Singlehanded, without any external support, Shumavon had to make a selection of manuscripts worthy of publication and then to look after every detail of the printing work.

Shumavon's character and achievements, who made journalism his **summum bonum** produce envy and inspire the most wary. To establish a newspaper as early as 1794 was indeed a herculean task for a man like Shumavon who was heavily burdened with other responsibilities. He was not merely an editor of the Azdarar but also its compositor, printer, proof-reader and publisher. In the absence of trained workers he had to physically look after the minutest details in regard to the printing of his paper.

It is quite astounding that even the paper used for the publication of books and the journal was manufactured from cotton-rags by the editor-founder himself, who also had to cast types for printings. How did a single soul manage all these things simultaneously would stir the most unstirrable dead ?[7]

The Azdarar remained a community journal and had only twenty-eight subscribers in August 1794. People not knowing Armenian language could never smell the sweet fragrance of Shumavon's literary genius. Nor the Brown, Jones and Robinsons of the contemporary English-owned Indian journals could take the benefit of its matured thinking and analysis. A pioneer, but at the same time a seasoned journalist, Shumavon differed from his European counterparts, by neither hitting below the belt and spreading scandals about well placed and noble persons, as Hicky, Duane and later on Buckingham[8] did, nor by drawing the long bow. Shumavon never kissed the blanery stone for pleasing somebody or for making more hoons.

The early pioneers of the Indian press were very interesting people deserving Windham's description of reporters who dealt with debates in the English Parliament as "bankrupts, lottery office keepers, footmen, and decayed tradesmen", having no objectivity or originality. Most of them were "blind imitators, their ideas were someone else's opinion, their lives were a mimicry and even their thoughts were a quotation."

The Azdarar fell as quickly as it rose. It died in October 1796, a tragic death, infant as it was of only 18 months, but with an awe-inspiring and glorious record of splendid achievements. It is not known if its mortal remains are still alive in some dark corner of this wide world, to stir the imagination of people for centuries to come.

Some twenty-eight years later that is on 9th February 1824 at the age of seventy-four, died Shumavon, the father of Azdarar, in Madras, leaving behind him a rich heritage of journalism and scholastic achievements. His was a life which unlike his contemporary Indian journalists, was meant for the welfare of others. And his was an achievement, **par excellence,** a life-long sacrifice.

---

7. *The Bengal Past and Present,* S. Nos. 103-106, Vol. LIII, January to June, 1937, pp. 83-86. For details see.

8. For details see *Journal of Indian History,* Buckonsham's Case, by Dr. Nadalal Chatterjee ; *By-gone Days in India,* by Dewar Douglas, pp. 58 to 86 and *A History of Press in India,* by S. Natarajan, Asia Publishing House, 1962.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

T. S. ELIOT

Philosopher, Artist and Critic

By K. C. MAHESHWARY

The news of the death of Thomas Sterne Eliot has plunged the entire literary world into a deep gloom. His loss is not a loss of England alone of which he happened to be one of the greatest literary figures and thinkers but of the entire world which found a message of faith and christian humility through his writings at the time when it was tottering on the verge of 'to be or not to be.' He conveyed the profound message of Shri Bhagwat Gita which influenced him greatly, in his own way to the world :

'Take not thought of the harvest but
proper sowing.'
(The Rock)

It was his earnest faith about the world . . . .

'And all shall be well and
All manner of things shall be well.'

T. S. Eliot was a versatile genius. He was a poet, a dramatist and a great literary critic. But, above all, he was a great critic of life itself.

In his capacity of a critic of life, he interpreted the condition of human life in the contemporary world as well as conditions and function of the human life with regard to eternity. He has tried to synthesise the eternal and the immediate in his message.

Eliot was pained to see the condition of the world of his own time which had undergone a complete metamorphosis after the World War I. He found the structure of an entire civilization crumbling down before his eyes. It was the world of blasted hopes, despair, dejection and irreparable disillusionments. "One world was dead and the another was powerless to be born." Regeneration had lost its place and significance in the religion of mankind. He saw the people physically suffering and morally degenerating in spite of religious institutions like the Church. Science was driving men and women towards atheism and disbelief in all existing moral and ethical traditions of the past. It stood for m values which were turning men into commercial units instead of spiritual beings politicians of the time betrayed the faith masses by thrusting upon them wars and vation and privations. Marxist materialis talking of class distinction rather tha collaboration. Democracy proved to be a of exploitation in the hands of selfish and hungry politicians. People lost all hope happy life. A sense of frustration and em developed in the minds of the people. It shock to the poet that they had become s sitive. He complained, 'Men dislike to be from their death in life.' He found them and partly living." (Murder in Cathedra

T. S. Eliot has portrayed a living of such a world in his greatest poem Land," which brought him world-wide According to A. George, a great critic o ture, it is an epic of civilization written less than five hundred lines. The poet h the references of Old Testament, St. A Shakespeare and the Bhagwat Gita, to g breadth of significance. The chaos bec eternal and universal phenomenon. We vision of the world gone completely There is sense of despair disillusionm death reigning supreme. Man living 'Waste Land' cries for succour :

"To the Carthage then I come
Burning burning burning burning
O Lord Thou pluckest me out
Oh Lord Thou pluckest
Burning"

The hellfire of the Inferno of Dant and degeneration of John Webster and t weariness of Samuel Backett seem to b combined in a single unified statemen 'Waste Land.' But in the same poem

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

gives the message of salvation—through faith in religion. In his poem "Song of Purfrock," Eliot condemns bourgeousie luxury which brings a sense of guilt, emptiness and purposelessness. An old man repents at his own trivial actions of the past :

"I have measured out my life with
coffee spoons."

Life seems to be a tale told by an idiot full of sound and fury signifying nothing. There is a sense of sin and guilt in him. His future is empty because his past and present were purposeless.

We find the obsession of death in the writing of T. S. Eliot.

"Life you may evade, but death you
shall not
You shall not deny the Stranger."
(The Rock)

"Now that we talk of dying
And should I have the right to smile."

He found the human soul itself in deep distress and human civilization caught in the web of an eternal crisis. In order to get rid of the crisis he gave the recipe of loyalty to the Innerself.

It was a shock to the poet that men have lost sight of the spiritual destiny of human life. The purpose behind the portrait of such a ghastly picture of monotony, lethargy and chaos does not suggest of his being a cynic, sadist or an unregenerate pessimist in anyway, as he is by mistake condemned to be, by some of his critics. In fact, the cynicism and pessimism that we find in his writings are the true pictures of the contemporary age. It is no perversion of the poet's own mind. He held the mirror up to Nature which is the genuine duty of every artist worthy of his name. The entire purpose of the poet was to create a sense of spiritual urgency which was missing, so that people may turn their attention from the immediate to the eternal, from the outward to the inward values. He strove to create an awareness in their minds.

Eliot lived very close to problems of the age in which he lived. He penetrated deep into the heart of them, he became one with them and interpreted his reactions to the "Time's Plague." He was a realist but his realism should not be misinterpreted for the naturalism of the Zola type, which is concerned with the surface of worldly life and reduces man to the level of an insensitive animal, miserable and subject to the influences of the immediate circumstances with no freedom of choice of action whatsoever. Eliot's was a moral and spiritual realism.

He does not believe in the divinity of man. He rejects outright literalism, humanism and idealism which repose faith in the infallibility and complete divinity of man. He equally rejects the Evolutionary theory of Neitztche and Bergson and Shaw, which considers life to be merely a "continuity from stage to stage of spiritual and intellectual consciousness,"—from divinity to divinity. He was averse to the Wordsworthian conception that "From trailing clouds of glory do we come" and "Heaven is our first and last abode."

He does not believe in Evolution. He, like St. Augustine and Existentialist thinkers Kirkegaarde, and believes that life has various stages but each stage is disconnected with the other and is crossed, not automatically but by a sudden leap even at the risk of life.

T. S. Eliot seemed to be influenced by the philosophy of Existentialism. His is not an atheistic philosophy, but a part of the Christian faith. He believes with the Christian Existentialists that life is a tragic fact. It not a tragedy that is found in life in a particular age of history. It is a tragedy that is inherited in life because of the Original Sin. Man has inherited 'sin' right from the day of his birth. But, like a Christian, he believes that sufferings have meaning in life. They bring awareness of the purpose of life and wisdom to concentrate on the spiritual and moral destination of man. With this wisdom comes internal peace. But the outward struggle continues all the same. Man must act to justify his existence. It is his action that ultimately decides the goal that he chooses at a particular moment in life. Like the Existentialist he believes that a man has freedom of action but only in a given situation.

Eliot emphasises the 'limitedness' of man. Man is finite and has a limited capacity to do good. Because of his finite nature, he can get no perfection. He may have a glimpse of perfection in life, but he himself cannot be perfect. It is this awareness of limitedness that causes man everlasting anxiety, worry and fear. Life is a mystery which cannot be understood by him. It is, therefore, no use to get involved in dry

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

rationalistic arguments. The only way to spiritual salvation is to repose faith in God. Life is not an argument but an act of faith.

This is the theme of all his plays. All the characters suffer from a sense of guilt. Harry, in 'Family Reunion,' Colby, Lucasta and Sir Claude in 'Confidential Clerk'; Lord Cleverton in 'The Elder Statesman,' Celia and Edward in 'Cocktail Party'; all are haunted by guilt and sin. They start their dramatic career with the illusion of happiness and end with the disillusionment of despair. Thomas Beckett in 'Murder in Cathedral' has a choice and freedom of action which leads him to his death. By personal suffering he restores to balance the disturbed moral order of the world.

All the characters move through the pergatorial journey in quest of essential wisdom and find that "action is suffering and suffering is action." Here lies the inherent tragedy of life.

Eliot has written six plays in all. They may not be successful as pieces of stage craft but constitute a brilliant study of human psychology and a profound philosophy of life. In spite of his failure as a playwright, his name would be remembered because he revived poetic drama in the 20th century. He has stated in his critical essays that poetry and drama are inseparable. "All great poetry moves towards drama and all great drama moves towards poetry." He studied the technique and style of the classical and Elizabetian dramatists. He invented a new form different from theirs to suit modern taste.

The real achievement of T. S. Eliot lies in the field of poetry and literary criticism. As a poet he has found a permanent place in the domain of English poetry. He followed the example of the metaphysical poets of the 17th Century, of which John Donne was the leader and Crashaw, Herbert, Andrew Marvel, were the followers. He found 'unified sensibility' (a term coined by Eliot himself) in them. It is a combination both of emotion and intellect. Eliot's own poetry is the finest example of unified sensibility.

He assiduously studied and assimilated Greek and Italian poets like Dante, Virgil the great Elizabethans, neo-classicists, French symbolists like Baudelaire before he himself started writing. He avoided their pitfalls and emulated what was noble and sublime in them.

His poetry touched the highest water of excellence in his collection of poems 'Four Quartet.'

His poems have a classical lucidity precision. They are deeply emotional and philosophical. He evolved the subjective the Time in them. Time is immeasurable and visible. It is an eternal process. Yet the of Time can be realized only in time. Bo and future are a part of the present—the of a decisive action :

"Time past and time future
What might have been and what has
Point to an end, which is always pre
It is again an existentialistic point of

Eliot has been charged with 'obsc There is a reason for it. His feelings a intense and his thoughts too profound complex. This complexity was caused b erudition. He was a devout student of literature and the modern and ancient p phical systems of the East and West. He the Bhagwat Gita, the Old Testament, Bhud St. Augustine and Pascal. He got his education at the feet of Bertrand Russ Irving Babbit. To cap all, he was a great His thoughts ran miles a minute and through the various ages of history and in various levels of consciousness at the time. Thus, too many ideas and their sation in a single sentence caused complex obscurity.

He himself has given a justificatio modern ideas being complex, need a treatment. His poetry is not obscure. It ex the obscurity of the modern civilization clearest possible language. Being a classi literature he preferred maximum clar lucidity of expression.

Eliot will be long remembered for tribution to literary criticism. He was great law-giver like Aristotle or Logen Arnold. His greatness lies in bringing lime light the long forgotten literary figu John Donne and other metaphysical poets classicists like Pope, Dryden and Dr. John

He gave new tools of criticism to the critics. He opined that a great critic mu knowledge of the past history, objectiv acute awareness of facts. He was in fa textual criticism. He had written a few de

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

literary essays and explained his own problems as a practising poet and critic.

Eliot often passed whimsical and prejudicial remarks against the great literary figures like Milton, Coleridge, Shelly and Mathew Arnold. But leaving apart his shortcomings, whims and prejudices, his essays are beautiful studies of an inquiring and analytical mind. They are worthy of high praise even as specimens of a lucid prose style.

———:O:———

SOME FACTS ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF SAVINGS BANKS IN BENGAL

By Prof. AMALENDU DE

At the time of the failure of the Agency Hourses, discussion started in the official circle regarding the usefulness of the establishment of a Savings Bank in Bengal.[1] Governor General W. C. Bentinck in a minute, dated, the 22nd March, 1833, expressed his opinion in favour of it.[2] He pointed out that the people of England derived much benefit from the Savings Bank. It gave encouragement to frugal and provident habits" of the lower orders of the English people.[3] Now, he wanted to introduce the same scheme in India. The failure of the Agency Houses put all classes, both European and Indian, into difficulty and had destroyed all confidence. Bentinck felt the necessity of providing for European and Indian that comfort and protection which the legislation had established in England.[4] Under these circumstances Bentinck proposed to establish a Savings Bank in Calcutta. While the practicability of the establishment of such a Bank was being discussed, C. Morley, Accountant General, referred to the experiments undertaken by the missionaries at Serampore.[5] Morley requested them to supply particulars of their experience. On June 21, 1833, John C. Marshman furnished it along with the rules of the Institution.[6] This is our main source of information.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century Serampore became the most important centre of commerce. Observing it, George Toynbee characterised the period as "the golden days of Serampore commerce."[7] This was the period when Serampore was considered practically as "a suburb of Calcutta, and a popular week-end resort."[8] New types of hotels were maintained for providing accommodation to the European visitors.[9] Since the beginning of the nineteenth century Serampore was also the main

1. Finance Department Proceedings (India), October, 1833, Nos. 1-2, 2-A, 5, 8.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 1.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, No. 8.
6. *Ibid.*
7. George Toynbee, *A Sketch of the Administration of the Hooghly District*, p. 26.
8. Lieut-Col. D. G. Crawford, *A Brief History of the Hooghly District*, Pp. 52-53.
9. *Ibid.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

centre of activities of the Baptist Missionaries. As a result, the appearance of Serampore was completely changed. The declining phase of Danish prosperity practically started from 1808. The British troops occupied the town. After the pacification of Europe in 1815 they, of course, restored Serampore to the Danes. But the Danish East India Company could not survive the blow it received from the British.[10] Practically it was on the verge of bankruptcy. Since then English commerce began to thrive.[11] During that period the missionaries, besides their various other preoccupations, devoted their time to organise a savings Bank.

The history of the rise and fall of the Serampore Bank for Savings revealed some interesting facts regarding the attitude of the Bengalees towards a Savings Bank and their way of life, particularly of that region. On 1st March, 1819, this Bank was established at Serampore.[12] The management was mainly undertaken by the missionaries. William Carey, Johsua Marshman, William Ward and John Clark Marshman were the proprietors of the Savings Bank.[13] They were collectively responsible for the amount deposited in the Bank. Rules of this Bank consisted of Eleven Clauses.[14] It was clearly stated that they would not use the fund in mercantile speculation.[15] The amount would be "vested partly in Government paper, and partly in shares of the Bank of Bengal when procurable, or lent on ... securities."[16] The fraction of a rupee ... not received by the Bank. It received ... even sum of money though only a ru... on any week day.[17] For the money dep... ed in the Bank, interest was paid "from ... rate obtainable on Government pape... nine per cent". The rate of interest fluc... ted with the condition of the money mar... They, therefore, decided to annually pub... the exact rate given for the preceding ... on the 30th of April.[18] It was mentione... the rules that "no premium will be taken ... any sum deposited and interest on ... deposit received on or before the 15th ... commence from the first day of the succe... ing month."[19] The proprietors took le... from the experience of the Savings Bank... Britain. For the efficient management ... the concern they arranged that "no inte... will be given on any fraction of a mo... none for any fraction of a rupee, when ... account is made up, and no fraction of ... rest below an anna will be carried ... account."[20] The annual account was c... on the 30th April. The interest was ... added to the amount remaining in the ... of the depositor. The entire amount ... considered as a new deposit for the ens... year.[21] Of course, the depositor had ... right "to withdraw the whole or any por... of his deposits on the close of the off... year in April." Three months' prev... notice was required for that. Upto ... 31st January withdrawal notices were re... ed by the proprietor. If all the sums ... not withdrawn the remaining portion ... considered as a new deposit for the ... year. By the 10th May the accounts of ... Bank were ready for delivery. The B... remained open from the 10th May to ... 10th June.[22] It is found that the postage ... letters sent by the Bank was carried to ...

10. George Toynbee, *A Sketch of the Administration of the Hooghly District*, p. 26.
11. *Ibid.* From 1815, for about thirty years, this settlement was maintained by draining the Danish home treasury. At last the King of Denmark sold Serampore to the English in 1845.
12. Finance Department Proceeding (India), 7th October, 1833, No. 9.
13. *Ibid.*, Clause IV.
14. *Ibid.*, Rules of the Serampore Bank for Savings were also published in the *Samachar Darpan*, a Bengali weekly, on 3rd April, 1819. Vide Brojendra Nath Bandyopadhyaya, Sambadpatre Shekaler Katha, Vol. III, pp. 64-65, and Vol. I pp. 105-106.
15. Finance Department Proceedings (India), 7th October, 1833, No. 9, Clause IV.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, Clause 1.
18. *Ibid.*, Clause II.
19. *Ibid.*, Clause III.
20. *Ibid.*, Clause V.
21. *Ibid.*, Clause VI.
22. *Ibid.*, Clause VII.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ebit of each individual.[23] At the time of losing the annual account of each depositor ne half per cent was deducted from the mount belonging to them. This arrangement was made only "to meet the expenses f the Bank on clerks, Account Books, tationery etc."[24] The depositors, however, were not allowed to transfer their mount to any other person without the onsent of the proprietors.[25] But it was learly stated that this clause would not ffect that depositor, who transmitted his roperty in the Bank to any person by will. this respect the Bank followed "the laws all other monied property."[26] The anagement of this concern was bound to nd information to each depositor regardg the death or retirement of any proprie-, and the admission of any new proprie-.[27] Messrs. Alexander and Co., was thorised to receive any sum on behalf of is Bank.[28] So much about the rules of e Bank.

But from the very beginning the Bank uld not draw the attention of the native ople of Serampore. A good number of ropeans deposited their money in the nk. The following account would give us idea about the actual number of deposi-s :[29]

Year	No. of Depositors	
	European :	Native
819-20	105	17
823-24	160	14

The interest given on deposit in 1819-20 7%. It was reduced to 4½% in 1823-24. deposits during the twelve months of commercial year were the following :[30]

Year	Monthly (on the average)
1819-20	Rs. 13,781 or 1,148
1823-24	Rs 7,534 or 627

I could not collect the actual number of population, both European and Indian, residing at Serampore. Correct figures, however, are not available.[31] But the facts before us will tell that the natives of Serampore did take no interest in the Savings Bank.[32] Why was it so ? J. C. Marshman in his memorandum mentioned various reasons.[33] The natives of Serampore were composed of two classes—borrower and lender. It had been estimated that not even one family out of fifty "regulated their expenditure exactly according to their income."[34] The proprietors of the Bank found during its operation that the great majority of the natives were recklessly in debt. Naturally, they missed no opportunity to take loan without considering the burden of interest or the rigid rules of agreement for clearing off their debts.[35] "From men so disposed", J. C. Marshman observed, "it was in vain to expect those habits, which a Bank for Savings is calculated to foster, and by which alone, it can flourish in any country." The usurers lent their money "at the enormous interest of 36 and sometimes of 72 per cent per annum, often at an anna a month on the Rupee."[36] But this wealthy section was not at all willing to deposit their money in the Bank, at a rate of interest much below their calculations. Therefore, these two causes,—the precarious economic condition of the or-

3. *Ibid.*, Clause VIII.
4. *Ibid.*, Clause IX.
5. *Ibid.*, Clause X.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, Clause XI.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, No. 9.
0. *Ibid.*

31. "According to experimental census of 1969, the population of Serampore Municipality amounted to 21,607. The systematic census of 1872 disclosed a population of 24,440." This was as follows : Hindus—21,831, Muhammadans 2006 and Christians—572. vide W. W. Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 302.

32. Finance Department Proceedings (India) 7th October, 1833, No. 9.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

dinary people and the extravagant expectation of the rich for a higher rate of interest, —were responsible for not enrolling a large number of natives in the list of depositors.[37] It was not possible for the Bank to provide such a high rate of interest as generally derived by the usurers in their private capacities. In this connection J. C. Marshman analysed the manner of life of the natives of Bengal.[38] He stated that they lacked foresight and did not take care for the future. Nor a small portion of the income was stored for the hour of adversity. Those who accumulated money from small beginnings did it only for love of money. They were not even guided by the motives of prudence.[39] The first act of a man who had begun to save was to purchase jewels for his wife and children. He sold these articles only when he experienced acute difficulty.[40]

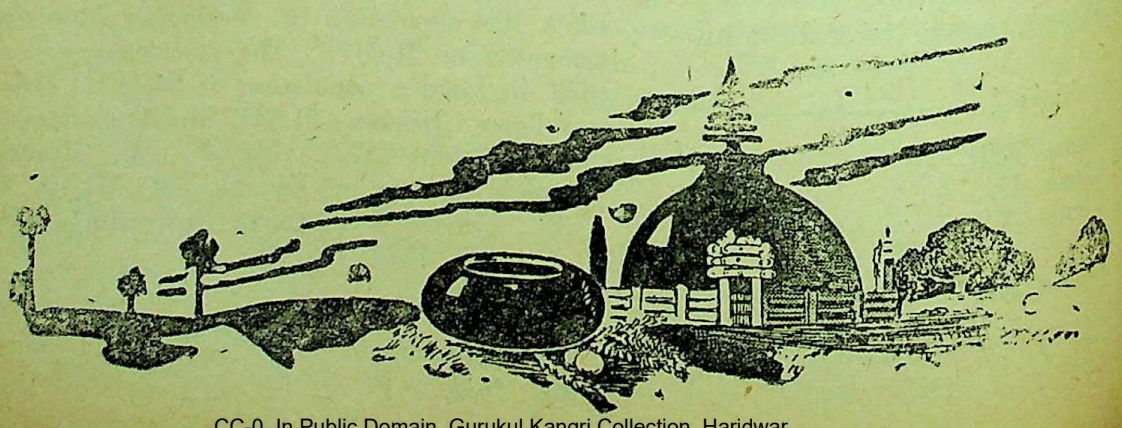
J. C. Marshman was fully convinced of the utility of a Savings Bank. He thus observed :[41] "If the natives can be in... to deposit small monthly earnings in a ... for Savings guaranteed by the Govern... the benefit to the country, in the g... introduction of habits of reflection, of ... nomy, and of self denial will be almo... calculable."

In spite of the best efforts of the ... sionaries the Serampore Bank for Sa... was closed within seven years o... inception.

They faced difficulty in securing ... Moreover, the missionaries did not ... sufficient leisure, especially after the ... of William Ward, to attend minutel... the management of the concern.[42] The ... prietors gradually expressed their unwi... ness to become responsible for the a... actually deposited, from which they d... no financial benefit.[43] So they found ... convenient to carry it on. All these f... were responsible for the closure ... Bank in 1825.[44].

37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*

———:0:———



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DELHI AS IT WAS 100 YEARS AGO

By R. D. UPADHYAYA

The life in Delhi of 1963 has gained and lost a large number of charms as it used to enjoy during the year 1863. The transition period of these 100 years has considerably changed the face of this capital city of "HINDOSTAN", as the country was then named and spelled. The Cyclopaedia of Hindostan which was first published in 1863 for the first time in India gives vivid descriptions of the royal city of DEHLI.

It tells us that 'DEHLY is a city of Hindostan built on the right bank of the Jumna in lat. 28° 38 'N, and long. 77° 18 'E., being 800 feet about the sea. It gives its name to a revenue district under the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. The whole country for some 10 or 12 miles around the modern Delhi, is covered with the debris of ruined cities which extend over an estimated area of 45 sq. miles'. The river Jamuna then washed the east face of the city forming the chord of an area of which the rest of the city wall was the perimeter. The length from north to south was about two miles—the extreme breadth from east to west, about three miles. The area inclosed within the walls was probably four square miles. The walls of the city were built of stone and lime, entirely surrounded the place, and consisted of long curtains with bastions at different intervals. The whole defended by a ditch and a good glacis.

The population of Modern Delhi which has gone up and above the 3 millions figure as reported in the latest 1961 census, was amazingly little 100 years ago. In 1863 the "town of Delhi" had a population of 154,417. As the figures were compiled in those days, there were 438,886 Hindus, 130,645 Mohamedans, 580 Sikhs, and others 38,739, in the whole District of Delhi. Jats numbered 107,856 of remarkably industrious habits, agricultural skill and promptitude in the payment of revenue. "North of Delhi, the greater part of the land was in their possession, though often they shared their villages with Brahmin cultivators. Gujars (22,164) were pastoral and semi-nomadic, in the hilly plateau of the south. They were addicted to cattle-lifting and thieving.' The other tribes comprised of 14,109 Ahirs, 10,677 Rajputs, 15,776 Pathans and 8,392 Syyids."

Even 100 years before, the historical city of Delhi enjoyed high reputation as a manufacturing centre. The journal of Indian Art compiled during the year 1865 and published from London in October, 1888 appreciated various trades, industries and artistic professions ; of Delhi, jewellery, lac bangles, mirrors, ivory-carving, stone-carving and the alike numerous industries flourished at that time. "Many of the trades for which the city was famous, lke those of Lucknow and Hyderabad were relics of the Musalman courts. Nearby all are now, so far as their profits are concerned, in Hindu hands."

The jewellery of Delhi which was a favourite theme for the early European travellers was then at decline. There was no scope left for extravagance—such as peacock throne and similar works, but the tradition remained. In coloured stones, this city had still a considerable trade and greater part of the "valuable find in the Kashmir territory had been absorbed by the Delhi Jewellers." The pottery of Delhi during the last century was of a very high class. One of the jars or Mastabans won a prize in the London Exhibition. Some of the trades which were prevalent in Delhi of 1963 are detailed below :

Paper

'Of the usual fibrous and rough quality is made in the city and finds ready sale, as it is good of its kind.'

Embroidered Shoes

Connected with the gold and silver wire trade about to be noticed in detail, was the considerable trade in embroidered shoes for which Delhi had long been celebrated. The variety of patterns and shapes was remarkable. Nothing could be prettier or more dainty than some of the slippers made for native (Indian) Ladies' wear, embroidered with seed pearls, usually false, with spangles and every variety of gold and silver thread. Some times, gold and silver embroidery was worked on cloth over a basis of leather. In 1864 according

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to Mr. B. H. Baden Powell, Delhi exported shoes to the value of 4 lakhs of Rupees.

Mr. Baden Powell, who became very famous for his scout movement, once remarked. 'No sumptuary regulaion to restrain extravagance in gilded shoes and enforce the use of plain black leather could be half so potent as the un-written ordinance which permits an oriental to retain a pair of patent leather boots on stockinged feet, and requires him to doff shoes of native make when in the presence of a superior. In time, perhaps, the preference for European forms, consequent on this ordinance, may tell on the D... trade.'

Time has shown that the above ... came true within a period of 100 year... days Delhi does not export those pieces ... and in fact, all the old trade has since ... placed by the western styled monopolists. ... ous changes in various fields of life have ... the very face of this capital so much so ... Dehly-wallah of 1863 will be wonder-... see our modern city.

———:0:———

THE HANOVER FAIR—A TRADE FAIR WITH A DIFFERENCE

By KARUNA K. NANDI

The Hanover Fair has already become well-known all over the world as one of the most outstanding trade exhibitions of the modern world on a truly international scale. In years and age this is one of the youngest among Europe's annual trade fairs. The celebrated Leipzig Fair, for instance, will be shortly commemorating its eight hundredth anniversary. The Hanover Fair is only eighteen years old, hardly beyond its early adolescence in comparison. It was only as recently as 1947 when, encouraged by the British authorities of occupied Germany, that Hanover was chosen as the venue of a new trade fair because it contained a large industrial estate which, though it was already dismantled, still had four large halls intact which were eminently suitable for purposes of an exhibition. In pursuance of this scheme the Deutsche Messe-und Ausstellungs-AG was inaugurated in April 1947 to organize an annual fair at this venue.

Initially, the Hanover Fair was popularly dubbed as the "export fair" which was fairly descriptive of the purpose of the event during the initial two years of its life. At this stage of its growth, the Hanover ... naturally had a limited scope, but ... nevertheless able to arouse a mea... interest both within West German... abroad. It was only during the thi... of its life, in 1950, that foreign ex... appeared on the Fair ground; there ... of them representing 10 different co... Between 1949 and 1954 the Fair was ... different dates in each year. But in ... departure was made towards a broad... when the two wings of the Fair ... samples for consumer goods used to ... bited and the technical fair were ama... ed. From then onwards there has ... steadily increasing area of both inter... interest and widening versatility ... exhibits annualy brought to the Fair ...

But what would appear to be ... cantly different at this mammoth tra... now of really world dimensions, is t... truly representative of the modern ... of specialization in production techni... over the world, transcending ... national and territorial boundari... remaining boundaries of social and ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ideologies appear now to have also been eliminated with the participation in the exhibition by the Government of the U.S.S.R. which is stated to have been obtained for the first time this year. It may appear strange to most people unacquainted with the lay out and organization of the Hanover Fair that here the familiar national pavilions of participating countries as is to be commonly met with at other international exhibitions, are conspicuous by their absence. Basically it is laid out in the nature of a number of "specialized fairs all taking place at the same time." Similar products, whatever their country of manufacture, are exhibited side by side at this Fair enabling the visitor or the possible buyer to evaluate the competitive qualities of each, their respective prices, schedules of delivery dates and a variety of other necessary and important details. All products are shown side by side with competing products in the same line of industry and there are no national pavilions. There is, however, an International Information Centre on which, at present, 29 countries are reported to be represented through their respectives Trade Experts. These include a U.S. Trade Centre, an Office of the Japanese External Trade Organization, several representations from the East European bloc of countries and several others.

As already mentioned earlier, this is eally a series of specialized Trade Fairs of truly world dimensions. The Soviet Union ill participate this year for the first time nd India will also be represented for the rst time this year through her Engineering xport Promotion Council. The Indian rganizations which will thus participate is year will include such well-known ngineering groups as the Indian Iron and eel Co. Ltd., Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., rn and Co., Dalmia Iron, Cooper Engineer- g, Guest, Keen & Williams Ltd., J. K. Steel, ukund Iron and Steel, Hindusthan Steel, dian Standard Metals, Kamani Metals and loys, Jeewanlalls, Metal Box, Addisons, rbanslal Malhotra, Kirloskar Oil Engines, aga Machine Tools, Tata Agrico, the E.I. Group, and Devidayal Stainless Steels. The Indian Exhibits will pertain to ferrous and non-ferrous products including castings of all types, forgings, grinding media, steel sections, semi-finished iron and steel products, wire ropes, wire netting structurals, aluminium foils and sections, non-ferrous ingots, castings and rolled sections, engineering tools, small machines and portable electric tools etc.

A question may pertinently arise as to the benefit India may hope to derive from her participation in this World Fair since she is, primarily, a buyer of engineering products, especially where producer or servicing products are concerned and not, so far, a seller on the world market in these lines of products. This question may not be of a great deal of importance, especially having regard to the rapid pace of industrialization in this country over the last one decade and more, by reason of which she should be in a position to develop sufficient measures of exportable surpluses in these lines of industry if not immediately at least in the near future and for which she would need to get acquainted with current trends in the world market while also developing the requisite production and competitive potentials. In fact it has been universally recognized that one of the basic conditions of economic growth in this country in the immediate future is the ability to progressively improve her export earnings to progressively eliminate the need to continue to depend, as she has to at the present time, upon large measures of foreign assistance for implementing her development programmes. It is a good thing, therefore, that India should have decided to participate, for even if immediate business may not result as the fruit thereof, the preliminary essays in the necessary equipment for successful competition in the world market would thus have been made. It has already been recognized that in certain lines of manufactures, Indian products can successfully compete with the best of foreign manufactures so far as quality is concerned. The one important respect in which Indian manufactures in those lines may not be able to maintain competitive advantages on the world market is in respect

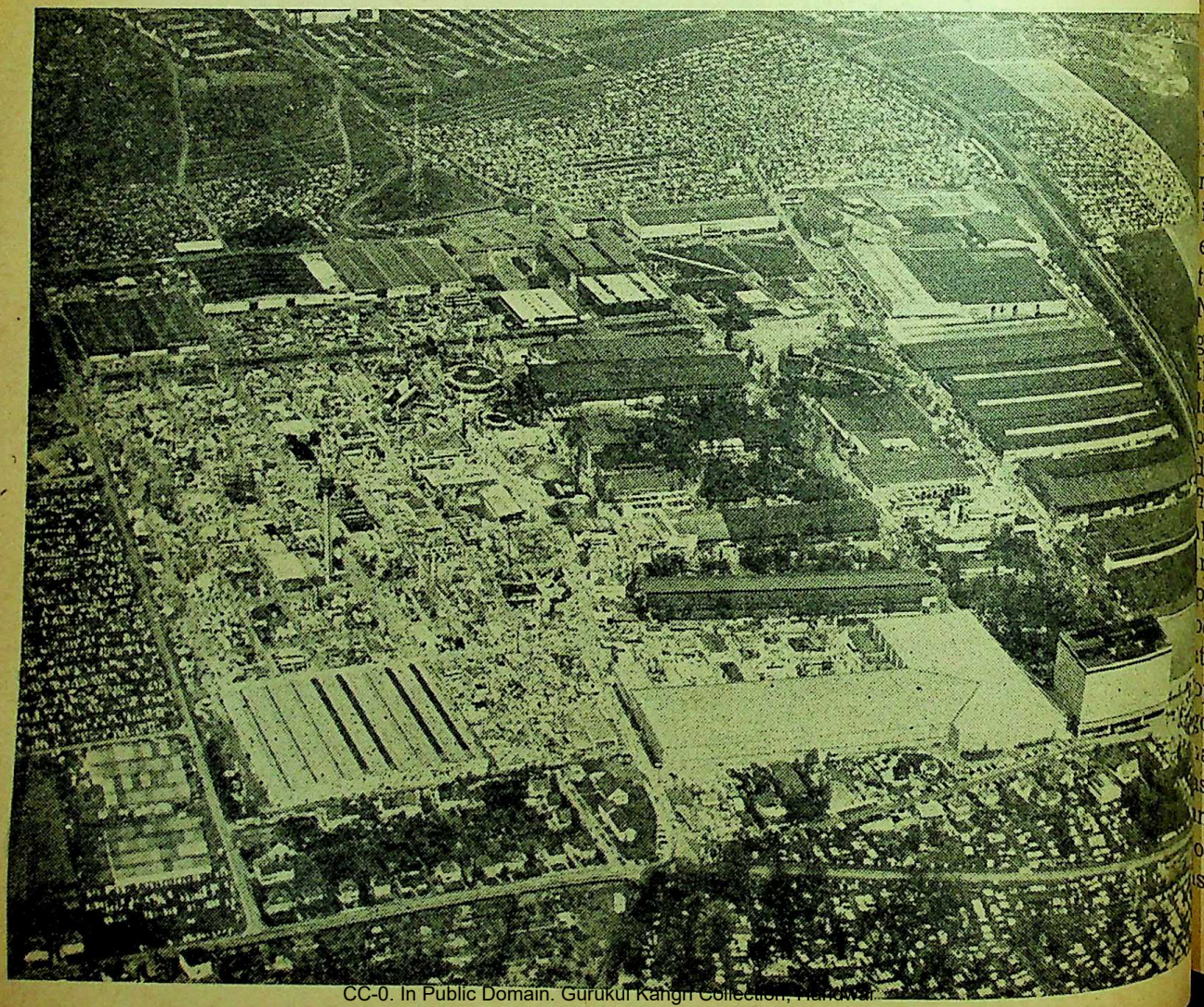
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Hanover Fair



Exhibition of the Wood Working machinery and timber trades production equipment



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

The total area of the fair grounds is about 9,500,000 sq. ft.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of their cost of production and the price. This was succinctly pointed out by Dr. Max Walter Clauss, Foreign Director of the Hanover Fair in course of a press conference held by him in Calcutta. Here, however, the lack may, for the time being at least, be covered by a judiciously devised system of export subsidies. This may not be an ideal solution of the problem of competitive efficiency. By far the much more desirable solution is, of course, that Indian manufacturers, whether they be in the private or the public sector, should develop the ability to economize their production costs to be able to maintain competitive parity with the rest of the world. While adequate attention should, no doubt be bestowed upon this aspect of the matter, a temporary period of subsidized exports may be considered quite a legitimate expedient in the meanwhile.

But to revert to the story of the Fair. It is really amazing how, within the comparatively short period of only about eighteen years, the Hanover Fair has grown into the biggest industrial exhibition of its kind in all Europe and certainly ranks among the most important ones in the whole of the present-day world. Starting from scratch, it has really become a supermarket for the world's machine making industry on a scale never before seen or even imagined possible at the more traditional exhibitions of Europe or even of North America. The salutory principle guiding the lay-out of the exhibition, that of the concentration of a cross section of related trades or industries which have been progressively growing more and more interdependent with the rapid advance of scientific methods for production and distribution like. The principal one among the world's industries with increasing areas of participation in the Fair from year to year have been mechanical and electrical engineering, steel, chemical engineering, fine mechanics, optics and a fine array of technical consumer goods. These branches of production have naturally, therefore, come to be regarded as the main pillars of the exhibition and, among them, electronics and plastics seem to be leading the field on the Fair Ground as they have been increasingly doing all over the world today in everyday industrial life.

This year some 5,800 manufacturing organizations from all over the world would be participating in the Fair which is scheduled to be held for nine days between April 24 and May 2, 1965. The rented space available will be 640,000 sq. yards, of which 400,000 sq. yards would be covered space and there would, in addition, be a parking space available, ample for accommodating some 45,000 motor cars. Of the exhibitors some 1,400 would be participating from non-German countries comprising roughly 25 per cent of the total and covering a like proportion of the exhibition accomodation, bearing testimony to the truly international dimensions of the event. The strongest single non-German element at the exhibition would be from France, with the United Kingdom and the United States as a very close second and a third. Some of the leading Japanese firms in the field of electronics would be participating this year for the first time. This, as already indicated, is a unique and, perhaps, the present-day world's largest medium for industrial marketing. Exchanging licenses and know-how is part of the normal business at the Fair and not merely machines and goods alone are sold here, but also a great deal of trade is transacted here in the latest methods of production and the use of new materials for industry.

India today has been anxiously devising all kinds of enticements for attracting foreign investors and entrepreneurial collaboration for the development of her industries within the framework of her Five Year Plans. Participation by Indian exhibitors, as is being currently arranged under the aegis of the Engineering Export Promotion Council, might prove a valuable means of establishing new contacts and widening already existing ones towards such an end. The world comes to Hanover, at least the business and the industrial world, and what easier and more fruitful method could there be for India to go there herself and establish contacts through which eventually the necessary ground work for attracting foreign investors and entrepreneurs into the field of Indian industries might be achieved ?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GEORGE ORWELL : CHAMPION OF THE UNDERDOG

By Prof. GANGA RAM GARG, M.A.

While being a rational thinker and a powerful de-bunker of spurious idealism and spirituality, Orwell was also a romantic, a lover of the past, of quaint Dickensian streets and homes, of quiet fishing ponds and streams and of old-fashioned virtues, customs and people. But this ambivalence, which Orwell himself admitted existing in the average man's mind, is different from contradictions, of which Orwell is full. As one goes through the works of Orwell, one is likely to shudder at them. In his first essay: 'Shooting an Elephant,' he had sympathy for the victim of the mad elephant and he shouldered the rifle to kill the animal, but the moment he saw the elephant, currents of sympathy for it began to flow in his heart and had it not been for the pressing demand of the crowd, he would not have shot it. In his *Burmese Days*, he vigorously criticised the British Empire but when it became a fashion to criticise it, he became more generous in his criticism. He modified his attitude towards the British Empire and even to the Blimps just before his death, and if he had lived ten years more, he would have protected it against unfair criticism. In 1943, when the British were driven out of Burma by the Japanese, Orwell came to their defence in the particular context of evacuation. He refuted the statements of some commentators who remarked that the British had abandoned the Indians to their fate. Again, in Spain, he began his service with a prejudice against the P.O.U.M.-I.L.P. viewpoint, but when the P.O.U.M. was suppressed, he said he wished he had joined it. Despite his being a staunch opponent of totalitarianism in every form, he could feel no personal animosity against Hitler's "pathetic, doglike face, the face of a man suffering under intolerable wrongs." So was the case with the Intellectuals. The Intellectuals were the target of Orwell's bitter attack, but when injustice was meted out to them, he took cudgels on their behalf. He could brook no longer their victimisation. In his *The Lion and the Unicorn*, he wrote : "Since about 1930 everyone describable as an 'intellectual' has lived in a state of chronic discontent with the e order. Necessarily so, because society as constituted had no room for him. intellectuals could find a function for the only in the literary reviews and the L political parties."

But all these contradictions are expla this fact is borne in mind that he had a sense of justice. Critically exercising his and fine intelligence in the solution of porary social and political problems and re an apparently baffling and complex proble simple issue, Orwell based his diagnosis of on the criteria of liberty, justice, decenc truth. He was against bullying, whosoeve was being bullied. In *Coming up for A* hero, George Bowling, took a few days go back to Lower Binfield, the scenes of his hood and the only impression he got w change for the worse. The old care-free fishing and dreaming was no longer possib felt that there was a large army following all of them furious at the thought that he even think of 'escaping' and enjoying hi His wife, kids, the Home Secretary, Yard, Lord Beaverbrook, Hitler and Mussolini, the Pope were after him and all shouting : "There's a chap who think going to escape ! There's a chap who won't be streamlined ! He's going back to Binfield ! After him ! Stop him !" This kind of man, Orwell felt especially dra protect. He was always ready in defence man who was being chased. Orwell's nov studies of victimisation, pure and simple. is a victim of her narrow upbringing. Comstock of poverty, Tubby Bowling society running mad and Winston Smith complete totalitarian state. There is no h fulfilled character in these novels. Inde successful characters in Orwell's novels are pitied. It was all due to his sense of justi was, in fact, a just man in Simon Weil of the word 'justice,' that is, he had interested' partisanship. This meant that

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ever Orwell knew on what side society was unbalanced, he added weight to the lighter of the two scales and he frequently changed sides. He had a number of qualities in common with Dickens on whom he wrote a long essay. Like Dickens, he had a deep hatred of oppression and bullying, like him he took delighted interest in the details of the lives of ordinary people, and championed the cause of the conventional virtues. But they had in common the rare gft of 'disinterested' partisanship, the same term used by Simon Weil. Dickens himself always supported the underdog. But when the underdog became the upperdog, he changed sides. Dickens loathed the Catholic Church, but sympathised with it on its persecution, as in *Barnaby Rudge*. He detested the aristocracy, but the moment, it was overthrown, his sympathies also changed, as in *A Tale of Two Cities*. In the Western folk-stories and comic songs, the constant theme is the victory of the weak over the strong. Orwell wished to continue this tradition and therefore deprecated the tendency of those intellectuals who had crossed over to some form of totalitarianism.

Orwell saw that in life the innocent suffer and the righteous are oppressed and he could not ignore these facts. His *1984* reveals him as a serious tragic pessimist but his pessimism did not prevent him from fighting injustice in every field in which he met it. Even in the totalitarian world of *1984*, Winston Smith, though a solitary figure, is a champion of the underdog.

———:O:———

LEADERSHIP IN PANCHAYATI RAJ

By BIBHAS CHATTERJEE, M.A.

THE Directive Principles of State policy in our Constitution envisage a social order in which there will be justice—social, economic and political. We have accepted democratic decentralisation as the means to the achievement of this goal of social justice. And Panchayati Raj is nothing but the objective counterpart, the concretised expression of democratic decentralisation. Hence, Panchayati Raj has become the order of the day. It has been launched in several States of India ; in others, it is in the process of being introduced. But within a few years of its operation, the working of Panchayati Raj institutions reveals that Panchayati Raj bodies, to be effective and successful instruments of democratic decentralisation, must be manned by proper leaders. Leadership is the pivot on which the superstructure of Panchayati Raj hinges.

To begin with, democratic decentralisation is essentially a process of trial and error. It not only means 'Government of the people, by the people and for the people' but also 'with the people.' This latter qualification has deeper significance. It implies that there should absolutely be no element of force or imposition from above or outside in the process of devolution of powers even at the lowest level. In other words, people should have active participation in the policy decisions and administration so far as their own small Gram Panchayat is concerned. They should learn by committing mistakes. Village republics will thus be born. This is a slow process, but there is "no short cut except to the pit." Our aim or for the matter of that, the aim of Panchayati Raj is thus to build up self-sufficient village republics having "duty-centred" and not "right-centred" society as envisaged by the Father of of the Nation. But this process of democratic decentralisation through Panchayati Raj is essentially a political process while building up of a village republic is a socio-economic function. To elucidate, the gaon sabha is the electorate and representatives to the Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad are chosen by the gaon

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sabha through the medium of direct or indirect election. In other words, these different tiers are miniaturised versions of representative forms of Government. Election is the main instrument for getting people for these institutions and election, by its very nature, is a political process. Election without the game of politics is possible only with "perfectly just men" of Aristotle's concept. As matters now stand, such a thought is not only unrealistic but utopian. Our world is not so perfect, our people are normal human beings with failures and imperfections. So politics will be there with its light and shade. There is no escape from it. Hence, election of representatives through the usual play of politics is the *fait accompli*. The representatives come not out of the blues but from amongst the village leaders whose allegiance to the one or the other political party or faction is not far to seek. A leader without followers is a contradiction in terms. So leadership and party or faction are the obverse and reverse of the same coin.

Thus, we cannot do away with the system of election nor can we think of leaders without some sort of affiliation to a definite political party or faction. In other words, Panchayati Raj cannot begin with a clean slate. It has to carry on with men and things as they are. But the task before the Panchayati Raj is the socio-economic reconstruction of village India and the programme for this is the much talked of, but much misunderstood Community Development. The question is how to harness the Panchayati Raj institutions built essentially through a political process to this task of fulfilment of socio-economic objectives? To put it more precisely, how to equip the leadership born out of a political process with the virtues of social leadership? The crux of the problem at issue thus boils down to the task of striking a happy synthesis between political and social leadership. Let us delve into this problem at issue in some greater details.

Political leadership is the commonest form of leadership in every country and India is no exception to this general rule. In pre-independence era, it was the only form of leadership in India having only one objective, viz., throwing off the foreign yoke and making India free from bondage. It is superfluous to say that this only objective was singularly political in character. It was the common objective for each and every s... India and was the unifying force under a ... flag. It manifested itself in a mass movem... was mainly directed towards overthro... British imperialism. Though the leaders ... their minds the socio-economic problems o... and though sporadic attempts were ma... and there for bringing about socio-e... reforms, the main objective of leaders... political. This is as it should be, because ... from foreign yoke must precede socio-e... reconstruction. India of her peoples' choic... not be possible so long as sovereignty of ... was not ensured. Socio-economic recons... was, of course, the ultimate objective and ... movement was the means towards the achi... of this cherished objective.

Naturally, leadership in pre-independen... could not but be political. But with the ... independence, the objective conditions ... demanding, *pari passu*, change in the qu... leadership. The political objective was ... not the socio-economic objective of build... India where poverty, squalor and ig... would be things of the past, where every ... would have the maximum opportunity of ... ing his own personality "along the lines ... own genius and tradition." It is needless ... that the task was legion and demanded ... tent and consistent efforts on the part ... leaders. It demanded a change in a... attitude, expression and thought. It ... radical, qualitative change in leadership. ... slogans of throwing-off the foreign yo... backdated. They outlived their purpose. ... slogans were needed—slogans of participa... partnership so essential for the success ... roots democracy. But mere slogans w... do as socio-economic reconstruction wa... platitude, not a jargon. It was a solid, ... concrete task demanding tremendous ... the part of the leaders and the people a... was an acid test to prove that the lea... worth the salt. It made the leaders at ... remember that "independence has be... freedom is yet to be."

Thus, we find that the whole ... socio-economic reconstruction hinges ... ship, rather on the quality of leadership ... is no gainsaying the fact that C. D. & P. ... remain mere shibboleths if true leade...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

lacking. Unfortunately, true leadership befitting the changed situation has not emerged to the desired extent. Hence, the problem of leadership in P. R. deserves serious consideration, because effective grassroots democracy through the agency of P. R. with C. D. as the programme of action will lose much of its charm if leaders are found wanting in requisite qualifications.

An analysis of the trend of leadership in pre-independent India shows that there was a plethora of political leaders actively associated with the freedom movement at all levels. After independence the objective conditions changed, but the political leaders at the village level could not foresee the needs of the changed situation and hence could not adjust themselves qualitatively. This rigidity, lack of adjustment, created a sort of vacuum in the field of leadership. The question may be raised and very pertinently—why this vacuum in the field of leadership ? The answer is not far to seek. The fighters in freedom movement were more eager in tasting the fruits of freedom rather than in undertaking the tremendous task of socio-economic reconstruction of the society immediately after independence. Moreover, these leaders, in their craze for getting the maximum within the minimum possible time, got disconnected with the villagers due to their preoccupations at the higher levels of administration. In other words, there was a marked tendency for leadership in post-independent era to be urban-oriented. This is, in short, the root cause for lack of leadership at village level.

There is also a second reason for absence of emergence of the right type of leadership. Villages in the pre-independence days were absolutely fatalistic and cynical in attitude and there was a sort of placid self-contentment with limited needs. In policy decisions and matters of administration, the colonial rule never considered villages as units of expression and opinion. Villages were completely left to their own. Nobody bothered about what their problems were. Planning from below was unknown. Right to self-government was against the interest of British rule. So when C. D. & P. R. came with different message, the villagers were not prepared psychologically. Their confusion was worse confounded, according to some thinkers, because of the delayed devolution of powers to village institutions as primary units of administration.

These thinkers strongly feel that instead of going through the gradual, slow process of different stages prior to democratic decentralization viz. Government programme with peoples' participation to peoples' programme with Government participation, it would have been wiser to take a big jump and to start with peoples' programme *ab initio*. Their argument is that in that case, the initial enthusiasm of the people of a new-born sovereign nation could have been harnessed to the fullest extent ; in that case, villagers would not have in their minds the image of an official machinery and would not have developed a parasistic mentality. Unfortunately, this dependence psychosis has sapped the vitals of self-confidence in the minds of villagers and has thus very adversely affected the emergence of new leadership. That is why the P. R. institutions are today faced with the very lively problem of finding proper persons to man them. Whatever the reason, there is no gainsaying the fact that the problem of leadership to meet the requirements of changed circumstances has been aggravated to some extent by the lack of confidence of the policy-makers on the wisdom and efficiency of the villagers to manage their own affairs. In this connection, the remark of the Father of the Nation that the Congress party should be disbanded and a Lok Sevak Sangh, pledged to the services of the masses be organised, is worth-mentioning.

But let bygones be bygones. It is no use ruminating over the past and indulging in armchair criticism. Postmortem examination, however, facilitates introduction of subsequent amendments in the formulation of policy. To be precise, the lesson of the past is that proper leadership is the *sine qua non* for making P. R. bodies and for the matter of that, the ideal of democratic decentralisation, an effective proposition and a success. It also tells that the influence of environment and deep-rooted set ideas is not easy to overcome nor is it temporary. The village leaders as we find them today cannot cut away completely from the moorings of their own tradition and conservative background. Most of them were landlords and businessmen. Hence their interest was fundamentally different from that of the common mass. Obviously, they cannot change colour overnight and preach and practise the gospel of mutual self-help and active parti-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cipation. Thus, the crying need of the hour is the emergence of a new leadership in village India.

But the question is what should be the type, nature and quality of leadership? The answer cannot be given by a couple of wise statements. However, we want that type of leadership which expresses the needs, desires, feelings and actions of the followers and not that type of leadership which impresses by assertion of authority. We want that kind of leadership which is not ambivalent between belief and action. But leadership is an essentially human problem and hence defies laboratory methods of experiment. Some steps however, may be recommended to create a congenial atmosphere for the emergence of such true leadership. These are :

1. Devolution of more and more powers, functions and financial responsibilities on P. R. bodies so that the execution of different nation-building schemes through the agency of Panchayats may arouse a sort of consciousness in the common mass. Consciousness, as we know, prepares the ground for leadership.

2. Functional Committees may be set up by P. R. bodies to accommodate traditional leaders who may not, in such cases, go against the P. R. bodies and may develop and acclimatise themselves to changed situations with the passage of time.

3. Voluntary institutions like youth farmers' forums, libraries, may be encour bring about dynamism in the stagnant typed outlook of the masses.

4. Intra-Panchayat and inter-pa competition may generate enthusias efforts amongst the leaders.

5. Promotion, expansion and deve of village industries and gradual disper decentralisation of large-scale industries the village economy on a sound foot thereby lessen the intensity of "push" and factors now operating between the urb rural sectors resulting in withdrawal of ctual and enterprising elements to the areas. These steps are, however, only the palliatives and the permanent solution developing the excellence of human which is an essentially educative and process.

To sum up, the future of P. R. bo the C. D. Programme rests to a large e the emergence of social leadership re shoulder the task of socio-economic recons It is true that other essential pre-requis their success are also there viz. finance, training, uniform and simple rules of p etc., but it is the proper leadership on w ultimate success of democratic decentra through Panchayati Raj lies.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LIBRARIES AND THE LIBRARIAN

By R. C. BANERJI, M.Sc.

LIBRARIES play a vital role in any scheme of education. They are the depositories of the richest treasures of mankind. The sapience of the ancients, the philosophies of the modern, the knowledge of the scientists, and the mechanics of the engineers is all stored in the libraries. Libraries are the repertories of mankind's ideas and desires delineated in fiction and in drama ; in science and in arts. They are the lazarette of literature and the real universities of modern times. They contain material for the education, direction and recreation of the youth and the adult ; the proletarian and the capitalist ; and for the neoliterate as well as for the scholars.

A Library is not merely a record room which some idle spectators visit to appreciate from a distance and contemplate over the value of the materials treasured there-in. Nor is a library a graveyard of great authors which visitors visit to venerate the nobilities who lie burried in its shelves. Within the walls of a library the reader is in connection with the thoughts and deliberations of great philosophers and the recorded best of the past. Inside the library the child and the adult ; the rich and the poor ; the liberal and the conservative, the reformers of societies and the rulers of countries all seek and find material for their information, inspiration and guidance. Inside it, slowly but surely, the work of transmuting a ruinely interested crowd into a cultivated band of arts.

Aquisition of Library Materials

A library contains hundreds and thousands of books. But it is not a simple collection of books. "A collection of books", noted Mrs. Fairchild in her article, "is no more a library than a collection of lumber is a building, or a collection of furniture constitutes a furnished home, or a collection of pipes makes an organ. A library, however small, involves systematic selection and correlation of books. It must be built upon a plan and all materials that are to go into its making must be chosen to fit that plan, just as all the units that go to make up a house must be chosen to fit its plan. In a very small library, as in a very small house, the plan is simple but it is none the less essential."* In the selection of books utmost care is necessary if the library is not to stand just for something to read. A library is a full-fledged institution and an institution is founded with a specific ideal. A library, therefore, is also built with an ideal and all books that fill its shelves should be chosen to approach that ideal. The policy of acquisition of an university library, for example, will depend upon the objectives of the university which mainly consists of conservation of knowledge, teaching and research. The library of the university is concerned with these three functions of the university. These three functions of the university determine the course for modelling the university library and its policy of acquisition of books. The library of a college must reflect the purpose of the institution of which it is a part. In the case of school, college and university libraries the nature of curriculum ; the method of teaching ; the number of teachers and the taught as well as their faculty-wise distribution ; the funds available for building the collection ; the size and nature of present holdings invariably come into consideration. The libraries of the universities and colleges offer their resources and their services to mature scholars consisting of members of the faculty of the university and other research workers ; to graduates and to undergraduates. These libraries, therefore require standard books of general reference, standard reference books useful in specific fields covered by the curriculum, stocks of books on current literature

*Mrs. S. C. Fairchild in her article entitled "Outlines and References for Library Institutes" published in the May. 1914 issue of the *New York Libraries.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of interest to students and books meant for pleasant reading. The problems of a college and a university library, however, differ in some respects. In a university generally more extensive research is carried on than in a college. Consequently, the university library concentrates more on the acquisition of research materials. It has to acquire more periodicals, manuscripts and archives, documents of all kinds, films and numerous other materials on various types of researches undertaken. The issues involved in acquiring these special materials, which form the backbone sources of research, are very intricate in nature. In order to acquire most effectively, the librarian has to take into account the relative weightage which his university gives on research and instruction. On the basis of this and other considerations, the librarian determines the kinds and proportions of these materials. Before proceeding to select books, for a library, the librarian must make a diligent survey of the institution for which he is planning and must make a comprehensive study of all the facets of the institution's activities which are linked with the collection of books. He should, for example, investigate the reading interests and demands of the people to be served by the library and adjust the services of his library to meet these demands. The number of books in the library must be consistently multiplied with a mission to meet the needs of the library's clients, —present as well as future.

The selection of books also presents difficulties because there are too many books. The inconceivable increase in knowledge has ressulted in the flow of innumerable publications. Every-day hundreds of books are published and the librarian is burdened with the heavy task of choosing out of these books. Proper assessment of books is indispensable in balancing and limiting collections and thus reducing cost of cataloging and storing those books which may be little used afterwards. Consequently, book selection engages the greater part of the activity of the librarian. In order to shoulder this responsibility successfully, the librarian should have power to evaluate books cleverly and of winnowing good books from bad ones.

In the selection of books the nationality of the author should not be a hindrance. A book should be selected if and only it is good. In a library people congregate for the sole of seeking truth and they must be giv scope to pursue truth unconditionally. the library must be developed with a national, world-wide character. In that a library may be an educational in in the true sense, it must not shut itse world of the beliefs of its masters. It mus available for its readers authentic interpr of current facts and events, and every view worth attention, must be adequately rep in it.

"Unquestionably there is a great totalitarian propaganda on the shelves of A Public Libraries. But if the American are not sufficiently enlightened regardi essential differences between totalitarianis democracy, certainly there should be no to discovery of the differences so that eve citizen may fully realize how fortunate he is.

"To clamp down a rigid censorship ideological literature of the dictator nation be tantamount to confession of two things that we feared the probable effect of it own people, and second that we are not sure of our own democratic system of ment." (California Library Association, December, 1941).

The library should, therefore, have giving ventilation to all facets of import troversial subjects. It must inspire its re the presence of numerous forms of kn and create a will in them to search a without limitation. It must allow the freedom to learn the truth through the pered interplay of competing ideas. It m the members an opportunity to become gently informed about other countries. facilitate the free flow of ideas within and across national boundaries. Such of ideas, between tribes and nations, international understanding which is these days.

In the present days, technological has shrunk the whole face of the earth brought distant people nearer to one This has, undoubtedly, innumerable ben has also created some problems. Before covery of the railway, the aeroplane, and people were generally concerned about

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and at the most, about people living within a radius of twenty or thirty miles. But today circumstances have changed. "The modern age," observed Rabindranath Tagore, "has brought the geography of earth near to us." Scientific discoveries have created an interdependent society. "Society today," says Henderson, "throughout the world, is closely interdependent. Discovery in science occur irrespective of cultural boundary-lines, as do also developments in the social, economic, and political fields. As a nation, we find ourselves lagging in cultural achievement if we fail to take full advantage of the knowledge gained through other nations' scientific and social experimentation." (Algo D. Henderson, "Policies and practices in Higher Education"; Harper & Brothers, Publishers, New York, 1960, p. 27). Today, people can no longer afford to remain satisfied just after knowing about people in their immediate vicinity. They cannot afford to be ignorant of the political, social and economic developments in other nations. To them now distant nations have become important. They, therefore, want to know and understand distant people and lands. They want to be informed about each other's affairs, conditions and prospects and eventually interlocked by mutually enriching intercourse. This mutual understanding creates a sense of family kinship and brotherly interest among the peoples of different nations and is vital to world peace. No nation can, therefore, in modern times afford to keep its people ignorant about sister nations and nothing is in better position to give information about other countries than books in a library. The library should therefore acquire any good book, irrespective of the country of its origin, if it can do something beneficial to its reader by either inspiring and informing or at least by providing some recreation to him. In choosing books for recreation, the librarian should be especially careful because A's classic is occasionally B's bore. Moreover very often it is found that in the name of recreation many a feckless fictions of pungent taste scramble into the library. Very often the librarian, in order to impress the clientele and serve his own interest, is a worshipper of numbers because the value of a library is generally judged by the number of books on its shelves and not by its contents. Rabindranath Tagore condemned this craze in some librarians for the accumulation of books. In a paper which he was to have read as the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All India Library Conference, but which was read for him in his absence due to ill-health, he said "Greed is one of the chief of man's internal enemies. Once he starts to gather and store, he becomes distracted with the obsession of Number, and tends to overlook the purpose of his accumulating, whether it be gathering of money to fill his own strong-room, or the gathering of men to enlarge his own particular sect, the spirit of accumulation sweeps him along on the current, and its blind speed blurs the destination which was his objective, his mind forgets that the value of any truth is not to be measured by its contents of things." Continuing he said "most libraries are possessed with this passion for accumulation. Three quarters of their books do not come into use, their over-grown proportions even thrust into a corner, the specially selected few that are meant for being actually used. In our popular parlance the man of large riches is called a great man. When a millionaire comes into a gathering all vie with one another to do him honour,—an honour not dependent on what he has to give, but merely on what he has. Much in the same way the bigness of all libraries is estimated by the number of its volumes. The facilities offered for their use that should have been its glory, are not deemed necessary for its pride."

"The words that are owned by our language have two different repositories—one is the dictionary, the other is its literature. It is useful to collect all the known words in a comprehensive dictionary, though comparatively but few of them are actually current. On the other hand the range of words found in literature,—which are living and therefore of which not one can be spared—is ever so much less and it has to be admitted that the value of literature is more than that of the dictionary."

"The same truth applies to the library. That part of its contents which is for the purpose of extensive accumulation has its usefulness, but the other part which is for constant and varied use gives it significance. The average librarian, however, rarely takes thought or trouble to bring the largest number of books to the utmost use, because it is always easier to overwhelm the public mind with the mere display of quantitative

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

abundance." If the librarian is to be a loyalist and if a library is to serve scholarship truly, the books must be aquired with a view to meet the requirements of the library's browsers. Each book in the library should stand on its own merits and not a single book should be chosen as an offering of worship to Numbers. The librarian should be a devotee in the real sense of the term and he should be free from any ulterior intentions. He should not swagger after mere loading of books but should be capable of rejecting the unworthy.

Classification and Cataloguing

The duty of a librarian does not perorate with the multiplication of books. A library profers an option from thousands of books and other publications. Driftless browsing of these volumes is not a correct approach to an utilitarian use of the library. There are clear-cut techniques which conduct in locating what one wants. A classified catalogue supplemented by author and title alphabetical indexes assist the browsers in pin-pointing the material they want with the least possible delay. For this purpose, after acquiring the books, the librarian has to classify and catalogue these books. Without such classification and cataloguing efficiency in reference work and proper dissemination of knowledge is not possible in these days.

Popularising the Library

The acquisition, classification and cataloguing of books, however, constitute only a part of the manifold duties of a librarian. The other parts of his duties are comparable to that of a good salesman. Just as a salesman has to create first fascination in his clients before inducing them to buy his articles ; so also a librarian has first to draw public attention towards his library through appropriate methods. In the case of public libraries, the librarian uses the method of appealing to the senses of sight and hearing through bulletins, posters, library talks etc. By these methods the librarian disseminates the news of the existence of the library and creates curiosity in the public mind. By these methods he inflames ideas in the people ; creates interest in the indifferent and informs those who have been looking for a library but did not know of its exact location. These appeals pro... lazy to leave home and proceed tow... library. Once a person is drawn to the ... the work of the librarian to transform ... comer into a daily visitor must start. T... rian must approach the newcomer, ascer... needs and then help the newcomer to ... the material he needs. Slowly the librari... acquaint the newcomer with the tech... locate information. Just as a salesman en... to keep his newly acquired customers ... by his good service, so also a librarian ... to retain the newcomers by his courtesy, ... ledge and efficiency. Rabindranath Tagore, ... of his articles published in the "Indian ... Journal," has alluded, "That library al... be called hospitable which shows an eage... invite readers to the feast at its disposa... such a hospitability that makes a library ... its size. That the readers make the lib... not the whole truth ; the library likewise ... readers." A library which takes its ser... the community it serves will eventually fi... and more readers knocking at its door...

The Librarian

In order that the librarian may ... heavy responsibilities, depicted in the di... above, it must have a competent staff—i... cular a technically qualified librarian—to ... the highly complicated professional tasks co... with the ordering, cataloguing and class... of books. The librarian is the most im... person in the library ; he is the lynch... the library so to say. In case he is of ... class calibre the money appropriated ... library will be best spent and the service ... clients will be good. The librarian ... therefore, be thoroughly familiar with all ... of librarianship. But in addition to his ... qualifications, the librarian should also ... a combination of personal qualities, ... and aptitudes without which his ... knowledge will have little value. The ... quality required is the love for books. ... librarian should have a life-long devo... books. He should at least develop interest ... books he acquires for his library. He ... have a thirst for knowledge evinced by ... of reading in spite of all difficulties ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

diversions. As has been stated, the librarian has to guide the clients in finding information. The librarians of "special" libraries are sometimes even required to collect the materials required by scholars and specialists in connection with their studies. This the Librarian can do only if he himself is in touch with the books and is proficient in dealing with the contents of books. The librarian must be an abridged encyclopaedia who must be familiar with the important fields of human knowledge and sufficiently practical to apply his knowledge at the times of his contact with his clients. The librarian should be a sympathetic guide for the clients and of a cordial and responsive nature. He should find real satisfaction in having people about in the library and should be ever ready to help them. He must ascertain their needs and desires and furnish them ample data and information. He should be courteous, sincere and honest, with his clients and must be accurate and conscientious. These are the qualities which count much in transforming newcomers into regular visitors. The librarian should realise the responsibilities of his position and put the best that is in him to be a worthy educator and adviser to the members of the community he serves. He should have curiosity, initiative and imagination. He should not have a nine to five mentality but he should be ready to work extra hours, if needed. In doing so he may sometimes be required to work during irregular hours. He should therefore have the physical endurance, patience and perseverance to confront such unusual circumstances and must feel cheerful amid such drudgeries. The librarian should not remove himself into an aura of magesterial dignity with the impression that his technical and other qualifications entitle him to a dignified berth ; he must, on the other hand, be prepared to take such inelegant jobs as the unpacking of books at the times of exigency. All these responsibilities can be shouldered by those young men and women who have been attracted to this profession because they love it.

In case the library has the right kind of Librarian and other staff, only then can it succeed in its mission. Without this a library is unlikely to attract as much attention and be of as much use as its aims deserve.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TWO MONTHS IN AMERICA

By Prof. MUKUNDABIHARI MITRA

To see the unseen and know the unknown is a desire ingrained in every normal human being. So I naturally felt elated when the chance came, through an invitation from the U.S. Government, to see the land half way across the world and know—to a limited extent though—the people of that country between two mighty oceans. The United States Information Service in Calcutta took meticulous care to make all preliminary arrangements for me, as it does for all invitees to the U.S., and gave me in detail whatever guidance I might initially require in that unknown country.

On the appointed day, I arrived at the Dum Dum airport about three quarters of an hour before 4-10 a.m., the scheduled time for the take-off of the plane. The familiar airport, which I had visited so many times in the past, gave me a new sensation that day. It appeared to be standing there to bid me a mute "so long" and wish me, as a loving relation, a safe and pleasant journey to the country beyond the seven seas.

After taking leave of my relations and friends I entered the Customs enclosure and, on my way from there to the plane about five minutes before its take-off time, I saw the dim figures of those who came to see me off shilhouted against the semi-dark background of the air-field fencing. I felt somewhat depressed and boarding the giant Pan American plane silently took my seat beside a window. There were a few passengers in the first class and most of them were asleep.

Suddenly a strange sense of loneliness came over me ; I was going companionless among unknown people in an unknown land which, in our school days, we came to know as the "antipodes." The memory of my small village, of the playmates of my boyhood and early youth, of my dear and near ones, many of whom are no more in the land of the living, flashed in a panorama across my mind and I was seized with some sort of a pensive mood. The plane, in the meantime, shot up in the air and, looking down through the window, I saw this not very beautiful city of Calcutta shining in myriads of lights spread like magnificent garlands across her darkling [illegible]. In a few minutes she vanished out of sight, nothing was visible below. I started dozing and very soon feel asleep.

About two and a half hours later I [illegible] at the pilot's announcement that we were [illegible] Karachi airport. Shortly after, the plane [illegible] coming down and "no smoking," "fasten seat belts," flashed out in letters of light [illegible] front and side walls of the plane. I looked [illegible] but saw only clouds spread from horizon [illegible] horizon like huge masses of ginned cotton. [illegible] the plane came below the clouds the arid [illegible] scape of Karachi airport and its surroundings appeared like a vast map with the blue waters of the Arabian sea glittering at a distance in the morning sunlight. After nearly two and a half hours' journey through stratosphere, we set foot on *terra firma* and naturally felt at ease along with some others, went out and walked about in the airport terminal building; we came back to the plane a few minutes before it took off again.

Within a short time we were over the Red Sea. The plane was still flying comparatively low and, looking to my right, I saw the Indian coast lying zig-zag far up the territory that is now Indian. Very soon the plane again went up above the clouds which completely shut out the view below. The route map and the pilot's occasional announcements told us that we were flying over the Arabian desert. We next landed at the airport on the Mediterranean ; from there the plane made an aerial crossing of north Cyprus and landed at an unscheduled place (Yesilkey) in Turkey for check-up of one of the engines. Then, touching successively at Lake Vienna and Frankfurt, we arrived at London airport at about 7 p.m. (local time). The [illegible] overcast with dark clouds and it was drizzling. A strong gale, in addition, made me shiver [illegible] and through in spite of my warm clothes. [illegible] the T.W.A. counter but, to my utter bewilderment, the lady in attendance told me that no accommodation was arranged for my overnight

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

London though I was definitely assured of it by Calcutta T.W.A. office. Anyway, on my insistance, she made telephonic enquiries in a number of hotels and, finally, fixed up with one adjoining the airport. The city is about twenty-eight miles away and during my eighteen hours' stop-over, I tried several times to make a bus trip there but could not go out because of the terrible cold.

Next day at 1 p.m. I boarded a T.W.A. plane for New York. Very soon we were over the Shannon Islands off the Irish coast and then we flew nearly forty thousand feet above the Atlantic of which we could see nothing because of the rolling mass of clouds below. After about six hours the pilot announced that we were approaching New York. Within a few minutes the plane started coming down and New York's sky-scrapers shot up in view followed by their humbler compatriots spread over the vast area of that magnificent city. The plane hovered for some time and at last landed at Kennedy (formerly Idle Wild) airport in the brilliant afternoon sunlight of the New World. I came out of the winged giant and proceeded slowly towards the terminal building feasting my eyes on the wonderful sights all around.

"You are, I suppose, Mr. Mitra from Calcutta," a voice greeted me at the entrance of the exit gate. "Right, thank you," I replied and instantly had my outstretched palm within the extended grasp of a quiet-looking gentleman of medium stature. "I am Mr. Slater of the State Department to receive you on behalf of the U.S. Government. Most welcome to our country—how do you do?" "Quite well," I said and followed him to the Customs. The formalities there being over (incidentally, this took only about ten minutes in contrast to the ordeal usually faced in Dum Dum airport), he took me to the baggage clearance site. In a few minutes my baggage arrived on a revolving carrier and Mr. Slater, in spite of my repeated remonstrations, slung my bags on his shoulder and asked me to follow him to the passengers' lounge, a little way off, from where I was to take my plane to Washington nearly two hours later. While walking he continued to talk to me so intimately that I felt as if he was a long-known friend in a familiar country. My lurking apprehension, natural in unknown land among unknown people, thus completely melted away at the warm touch of friendship and hospitality of the first man I met in America. This warmth of heart I felt, later on, almost invariably in all the men and women I came across during my two-month tour of that country—in cities and the countryside, in universities and newspaper offices, in formal parties and private homes and even in the streets, subways, buses and planes. And I got the first taste of it from Mr. Slater.

Mr. Slater took leave of me after giving detailed instructions about the final lap of my journey from New York to Washington. When he left, I stood outside the lounge and looked out at the western sky aglow with the light of the setting sun and the vast outlying areas of New York sprawling like a Leviathan before me. My first impression was that the city was oozing wealth and the people scattering happiness out of their contented faces. After about two hours I boarded the plane which took me to Washington in about an hour's time. It was drizzling and I started shivering in the bitterly cold wind. A State Department gentleman was present at the airport and he reached me in his car to one of the best known hotels in the city at about 8-30 p.m. In my richly furnished twelve-storey room I felt extremely lonely. So, after finishing my bath, I came down to the lobby and sat there upto 10-30 p.m. ; then I went back to my room and fell asleep.

Next morning (it was Saturday which, in addition to Sundays, is a holiday in the U.S.A.), I came down to the lobby and found a letter from a State Department lady welcoming me to the States and giving me instructions about the route to the State Department where I was to see the officials concerned with my tour on Monday. A little later, I got a telephone call from the lady requesting me to go to the International Centre at 10 a.m. for a conducted tour. It was about 9-30 and when I reached the Centre the bus carrying the tourists was about to leave. I boarded the bus and almost immediately discovered an Indian—a Maharashtrian who also simultaneously noticed me—among the tourists. The bus took us to Lincoln Memorial, Arlington (national cemetery) and from there to Mount Vernon, George Washington's ancestral house. Lincoln Memorial struck me with its simple grandeur—an imposing structure supported by as many magnificent columns as the number of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

States the U.S.A. comprised in Lincoln's time. (There have been, I was told, a few additions later on). Inside the spacious hall I found a big statue of the great President and some of his famous utterances inscribed on the walls. Some sort of a pensiveness seemed to have darkened his forehead—may be, my fancy, but the cause that worried him and cost him his life still persists. America has built Lincoln a grand memorial but has not yet been able to complete the task for which he gave his life. At Arlington, I found, among numerous tombstones scattered over a vast area of quiet greenery, President Kennedy's grave with a flame burning over it. I stood in the long queue of men, women and children and slowly moved up to the final resting place of another great President who died a martyr to the same cause for which President Lincoln laid down his life a hundred years ago. Kennedy's grave immediately brought to my mind the famous lines of Walt Whitman on Abraham Lincoln :

When lilacs last in the dooryard bloom'd,
And the great star early droop'd in the western sky in the night,
I mourn'd, and yet shall mourn with ever-returning springs.
Ever-returning springs, trinity sure to me you bring,
Lilac blooming perennial, and drooping star in the west
And thought of him I love.

After offering a floral tribute at the grave, I came back to the bus which carried us, in about forty-five minutes to Mount Vernon. It is an extensive area in Virgina on the Potomac river. The house where George Washington lived has been kept in its original shape with unavoidable petty repairs and many articles associated with his memory have been preserved in a museum. Mount Vernon highly impressed me not simply by its charming rural beauty but the history lying behind it. I came back to the hotel in the afternoon and for the rest of the day and the next day (Sunday), having no particular engagement, roamed about in the streets or quietly sat in the hotel lobby when it rained. Here I met Mr. P. C. V. Mallik, Registrar of Jadavpur University, who had gone to the States as a member of a visiting team of Registrars and was staying in the same hotel.

On Monday, I went to the State Dep... where I was warmly received. After ex... of greetings and some formal talks, I was ... to the office of the Council on Leaders a... cialists which was to draw up my tour prog... and make all other necessary arrangeme... behalf of the State Department. The in... was finalised, in consultation with me, wi... ticular care to make it as extensive and co... much variety as possible within a period ... months. My tour started, according to th... gramme, on Tuesday which was the d... "cherry festival"—a gala day for Washing...

I left Washington by train at about ... for Philadelphia. A middle-aged co-pas... began talking with me with the cordiali... warmth typical of every American I met ... where in the country. I was, however, mo... terested in the rural scenery along the r... and kept on looking at it while responding ... friendly talks. The train crossed the S... hanna river and, at the mention of its na... the gentleman, I was reminded of Col... fanciful plan of establishing an ideal colony ... name in America. I reached Philadelp... about sun-down and, after negotiating a ... traffic jam, reached my hotel in a taxi i... evening. This was Philadelphia where the ... titution of the U.S.A. was drawn up af... War of Independence at the first meeting ... gress in a historic hall. The city, one ... biggest in the country but not the ca... Pennsylvania State (the biggest city in no ... its capital), has some sky-scrapers and is ... what congested, though not like New ... Besides the Philadelphia University, wh... was shown the different Schools (School... what we call Departments in our univer... and met quite a number of teachers and ... Indian students, I saw the house where C... met and adopted the Constitution, (Liberty ... the public library, the Philadelphia ... office, the Art Exhibition Hall and several ... places of interest. This was the city of Be... Franklin and Walt Whitman—one of its ... bears the name of the former while a ... across the Delwara river is named a... latter. Particularly enjoyable to me were ... on invitation, to the country house ... George Willoughly (an ardent protago... non-violence about forty miles away fr...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ity in New Jersey State and another to the quiet suburban residence of a gentleman who invited me to dinner. The city with its historical associations and gay and hospitable people deeply impressed me.

From Philadelphia I went by air to Boston, another old historic city where the American evolution started with the throwing into the sea y angry crowds of tea chests from British ships nchored at the harbour. The city with its oldish ook fascinated me and my stay there for a week as one of the pleasantest of my experiences in merica. Harvard University and MIT in ambridge across the Charles river, Boston niversity and the Boston Public Library in oston city particularly charmed me. In Harvard met, among others, Professor J. K. Galbraith, rmer Ambassador to India, and a number of ndian students and visited almost all the places f the uninversity town, including the Longfellow ouse (residence of Poet Longfellow). MIT, the orld famous centre of technological study, verwhelmed me by its massiveness. In Boston niversity I met Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, who is e Professor of Comparative Theology there. r. Chakravarty and his wife, Sm. Haimanti evi, were exceedingly kind and talked long with e at their residence about India and, especially, est Bengal. I also visited the local Vedanta ntre where I was cordially received by the nnyasi in charge and shown round its library, ayer hall, class room etc. The office of the ristian Science Monitor was another place of erest I visited and had long discussions with Editor and other members of the editorial ff on different topics, especially Gandhian losophy and the system of secondary education America.

One morning I went by bus to Cohasset, ut thirty miles away from Boston, to see the anda *Ashrama* there. At the bus stand an known gentleman volunteered to take me in his to the *Ashrama* and I reached there at about 0 a.m. I shall never forget the quiet rural uty of the place and the warm hospitality of monks and nuns there (all American). I was ticularly moved at the sight of the chief nun, ster Bhabani) dressed in silk like a Bengali and sitting in deep meditation before a rait of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. In the rnoon she drove me in her car back to Boston. On the way, I saw the open Atlantic roaring and rolling in eternal restlessness. The sun was going down and the blood-red western sky was reflected in the waters merging in the far-off western horizon. Suddenly the thought of my country flashed across my mind and I bade adieu to the crimson sun sinking behind the new world to emerge in my land in the old world.

Mrs. Biggs of the Harvard University Marshal's office, who was my sponsor in Boston, took me in her car on a Sunday morning to Lexington several miles away from Harvard, where the first battle in the American War of Independence was fought on the bank of the small river between the revolutionaries and the British soldiers. Of the few memorials there, the statue of a "Minute Man" with a gun in his hand (these peasant soldiers were called "Minute Men" because they got ready for battle in a minute) and the grave of the British soldiers killed in the battle—a loose heap of stones with an inscription purporting that these young Britishers who came from beyond the seas to fight for their King will never return to their waiting mothers—deeply impressed me. From there I went to Thoreau's hut, now in ruins, in the midst of a lonely pine forest on the bank of Walden Pond. The great American philosopher wrote his famous book *Walden* while living in this solitary hut. On my way back, I stood awhile before the house, at Concord, of Ralph Waldo Emerson, the saintly American author who holds so honoured a place in American literature and is revered in all countries.

From Boston I went by train to Providence, capital of Rhode Island, the smallest State in the U.S.A. Here I was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. A. Q. Perry, Minister of the Church of the Mediator (Universalist). The kindness, sympathy and friendliness of Mr. and Mrs. Perry gave me a perfect homely feeling and I still delightfully cherish the memory of their hospitality. Mrs. Perry one day called me to her kitchen and showed me in the pan on the oven a giant lobster weighing, I suppose, not less than ten or twelve pounds. When it was served at the dinner in small pieces cooked with cauliflower, it tasted splendid. In Providence I met Mr. J. P. Browne, formely of Calcutta USIS, in the Providence Journal Bulletin office where he is an editorial writer. Not only did he take me one evening to his house, nearly

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

forty miles away on the Atlantic coast, but gave me as much company as he could during my stay in Providence. An unforgettable couple I met in Providence was Mr. and Mrs. Edward Lazar, both active workers in the cause of non-violence. Mr. Lazar and Mr. Willoughby came to India in 1962 and participated in the "Delhi-Peking friendship march." Both of them, again, were members of the anti-nuclear group that tried, unsuccessfully though, to prevent the U.S. test in Johnstone Island by sailing in a boat within the test area.

The next place in my ininerary was New York where I came from Providence by train. Comprising six boroughs—Manhattan (hub of the city between the East and the Hudson river), Queens, Staten Island, Bronx, Brooklyn and Long Beach, the huge city overwhelmed me with its staggering sky-scrapers, bewildering vastness, fascinating glamour and imposing magnificence. But, frankly speaking, busy and noisy New York did not charm me as much as did other comparatively quiet and restful cities like Providence, Buffalo or even Washington, for example. I stayed in New York for twelve days and visited the U.N. Building, Rockefeller Center, Guggenheim Museum, Empire State Building, offices of *The New York Times* and the *Time, Life* and *Fortune* magazines, Columbia University, New York public library and the I.B.M. office, among other things. The World's Fair at Queens,' several miles away from Manhattan, I visited thrice and was cordially received at the Indian pavillion which, however, appeared to me a rather poor show in comparison even with the pavillions of many smaller countries. What impressed me most in New York was the Statue of Liberty on an island in the Hudson river and to be reached by steamer. This huge statue stands at the mouth of the New York harbour in solemn majesty as a symbol, as it were, of the American ideal of liberty. Designed by a Frenchman, it overlooks the Atlantic and can be ascended upto the top by an elevator. I also saw the "beatnik" colony at Greenwich—a suburb of New York—and Harlem with overwhelming Negro population. The latter place reveals a seamy side of American society—its poverty and squalor amidst overflowing wealth all around. I met Mr. B. N. Chakravarty, India's Permanent Representative to the U.N., and Mr. A. Roy, Indian Consul-General. Both of them were very courteous and helpful and Mr. [illegible] of the Consulate took special care to [illegible] round the World's Fair every day I [illegible] There are two Vedanta Centres in New Y[illegible] I saw Swami Nikhilananda at the new Ce[illegible] Swami Pabitrananda at the older one ([illegible] by Swami Vivekananda himself) and [illegible] them discussed different matters with [illegible] cularly about the activities of the [illegible] Centres in America. Towards the end [illegible] twelve-day stay in New York, I became [illegible] so had to abandon a proposed visit to P[illegible] University in New Jersey State and a [illegible] programme at Amsterdam—both near Ne[illegible] city.

My next trip was to Buffalo where I [illegible] in the afternoon by plane from New Yor[illegible] quiet city with its many open spaces, [illegible] green trees along the roads and in the p[illegible] blooming flower-beds almost everywhere diately cast a spell on me. The first visited there was Lake Erie—about half walk from my hotel. Its vast sheet o[illegible] glimmering in the light of the setting [illegible] stretched upto the horizon. It was a m[illegible] sight and I roamed along the beautifu[illegible] till late evening. The next day, Mr. D[illegible] Landy, a prominent lawyer and father-[illegible] Dr. Erdman whom I met at Harvard U[illegible] took me in his car to the Niagara Falls thirty miles away. We first went to t[illegible] Robert Moses Niagara Power Plant (thi[illegible] biggest in the world, I was told) fed by waters brought there through two unde[illegible] conduits from a spot four miles away little ahead of the Falls. It is a [illegible] specimen of man's technological skill Nature's power for the benefit of man. I beautiful picture in the power-house dep[illegible] discovery of the Niagara Falls by Fathe[illegible] pin, a French missionary, in 1678. opposite side of the deep gorge throug[illegible] the Niagara flows here between the U.S. Canada, there is the Canadian hydr[illegible] power-house which also draws its wate[illegible] from the Niagara river. But, I heard, n[illegible] ever arises between the two countries supply for which there is a bilateral [illegible] This reminded me at once of what [illegible] happens between States in the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Union over sharing the benefits of multi-purpose projects like the D.V.C.

From the power-house we went to the Falls. The Niagara river (quite a big one), coming out of the Eric Lake, flows across plain land for about thirty miles and then, at this spot, suddenly falls steeply 176 feet down in the narrow gorge below along which it flows into Lake Huron in Canada (the difference in the levels of Lake Erie and Lake Huron is 326 feet) and emerges therefrom into St. Lawrence river. There are several falls of which the biggest is the Horse-shoe Fall (looking exactly like a horse-shoe); of the minor ones, the "American Fall" and the "Maid's Braid"—it is so called because it looks like dishevelled hairs of a maid—on the U.S. side look charming. The Canadian side affords a much better view of the Horse-Shoe Fall and so we crossed over there (there is the connecting "rainbow" bridge so called because of the permanent rainbows formed by sunlight and moon-light in the huge masses of spray shooting up from the Horse-Shoe Fall just behind it), had our dinner on the tenth floor of a Sheratour Hotel commanding a clear view of the Fall and then went to the its verge. The magnificent sight is unforgettable—deep blue waters jumping head-long in a vast sheet one hundred and seventy-six feet down with deafening noise and throwing up clouds of mist. I touched the ice-cold water and stood a long while on the brink enjoying to my heart's content the superb wonder of Nature.

That evening, at a dinner in Mr. Landy's house, I met, among others, Dr. Ewell, a Vice-President (corresponding to Vice-Chancellor in our universities) of Buffalo University, who invited me to lunch at the University next day. On my way there the following day, I visited the art museum—an interesting collection of statues and pictures; Dr. Ewell showed me round the University and introduced me to quite a number of teachers there. That evening I had my dinner at the residence of Dr. S. Mukherjee, a Post-Doctorate Fellow in Buffalo University, and returned to hotel at about midnight.

From Buffalo I flew to Washington again. This federal capital is called Washington D.C. (District of Columbia) to distinguish it from Washington State in the west coast. It was established by George Washington out of land from several contiguous States; it is no part of any State but a separate unit. I saw, among many other things, the White House, the Capitol Building (Legislative House), Washington Memorial, Jefferson Memorial, Columbus's statue, Smithsonian Institutes, Library of Congress, U.S. Government Education Dept. Office and the Indian Embassy. One of my pleasantest experiences there was Tagore's birth-day celebration. It was a neat and impressive function attended by more than a hundred persons—American and Indian—over which I had the honour to preside. In Washington, I mightily relished pure Bengali dishes—a welcome departure from my insipid rice-peas-potato vegetarian food in eating houses—at a number of lunches and dinners in the houses of Bengalees I came to be acquainted with there.

The next lap of my journey was from Washington to Chicago where I reached by plane. The city, as usual, is a pretty long distance from the airport and the trip in a taxi in the cool evening air was very enjoyable. Chicago at once brought Swami Vivekananda and the Parliament of Religions to my mind. With the vast Michigan Lake on one side, many tall sky-scraper-like buildings and an oldish smack, it attracted me but not as much as did Washington or Buffalo or Boston. During my several days' stay here, I visited, among other things, two local newspaper offices, the office of the *Ebony*, (a mass circulation magazine owned by a Negro and devoted mainly to Negro affairs), the North-Western University (where I had a radio inter-view on South-East Asia, Kashmir politics, Indian planning and what-after-Nehru—Nehru was still alive), Chicago University (where I had an informal meeting with Indian students) and the Chicago Art Museum where the Parliament of Religions was held. It is a magnificent museum but there is no trace of the "Parliament"—not to speak of Swami Vivekananda who made history there. What struck me particularly was the com-plete ignorance of the information staff there about Parliament of Religions or Swami Vivekananda. The museum building, I heard later from Swami Vivekananda of the local Vedanta Centre, was under construction at the time of the "Parliament" and was selected as a suitable place for the meeting. (Originally, a "world's fair" was proposed in Chicago as a quater-centenary celebration of the discovery of America but sub-sequently the plan was changed for Parliament

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of Religions held one year later). Cannot the Government of India or the Ramakrishna Mission request the Museum authorities to do something to preserve the memory of "Parliament of Religions" and Swami Vivekananda? At the Vedanta Centre I was cordially received by Swami Vishwananda, who is over eighty, and had his pleasant company for about an hour. What, however, made an abiding impression on me in Chicago was the Michigan Lake with its blue, limitless expanse, the charming open spaces on its shore and the beautiful road skirting it for miles together.

From Chicago I went by train to Varna, a farming village in Illinois nearly 130 miles away. I was to be the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Logan Lewis there for four days. They were waiting with their car at the station and warmly received me. Their house was about half an hour's drive and I reached there in the afternoon. American farms, as I found them in Illinois, are extensive, comprising 500/600 acres in the minimum to 3,000/3,500 acres in case of bigger ones. The lands are generally rented from landlords, as was the system in this country till the abolition of zamindaris, and agriculture is completely mechanised. The farmer cultivates his vast land alone with tractors and carries on other operations with the help of machines. There are fertiliser and grain storages in every farming area and, moreover, poultries and other livestocks. (By the way, I found no duck, buffalo or goat in America excepting two of the last-mentioned animal on the ledge of a hill during my rail journey from Denver to San Francisco). Every farmer has a car and his house (rented or his own) equipped with telephone, television and other modern amenities. In Varna I found a small aircraft belonging to a farmer. The houses, however, unlike those in our villages, are widely scattered—each within or on the border of the extensive farm—and there are net-works of beautiful all-weather roads. The vast green fields with sprouting crops and reaching the horizon on all sides (I heard that moisture is supplied by water seeping underground from winter snow) not only amazed me but brought home to me how America has come to be the granary of so many countries in the world. Ten to twelve farming villages have, generally, a central township with shops, "supermarket" (an open market as distinguished from shops) schools, amusement and other
of amenities; these townships are very
well arranged. The farming communi
besides, a community hall where they
least once a week and discuss different
especially relating to their farming
I was invited to a community hall meet
people there showed great interest in
Indian customs like caste system, sacre
cows, icon worship, marriage system et
are not very well-informed but are di
understand and appreciate other people's
and practices. Another notable feature
America—rural not in the Indian
smooth and effective local self-gov
Administration at the local level is car
and taxes collected by committees el
adult suffrage. It was a highly interes
instructive, too—thing to me to know
system works. During my stay at Va
taken one day to the Federal A
Research Institute at Peoria, more th
miles away, and was shown round thi
ficent research centre. I found a Be
from Calcutta working there for his D
on our way back, I was taken to the gia
of "Caterpillar" tractors, the *Peoria Jou*
and the Peoria station of American Br
Company where I appeared at a televi
view on my impressions of American
televised interview was shown me i
and broadcast that very evening. Next
a somewhat long interview with a rep
of a local newspaper, *The Henry News-R*
I was asked to give my impression of
people and their way of life. The inte
published at length, with my photo
the paper. I had a mind to visit
nearly 120 miles away, where Abraham
started his professional and political
was born in the neighbouring Kentuc
but could not do so for want of time.

From Varna I came back by
Chicago and that afternoon started by
Denver, a beautiful Central American
5,200 ft. above sea level. After a
there, I started for San Francisco
(California Zephyr). The 1,498-mile tr
through the Rockies will ever be cheris
memory as one of the most thrilling
during my American tour. It took abou

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and most of the time, except when I slept at night, I sat in a "Vista-Dome" (glass rooms, furnished with cushioned chairs, on the roof of the train) and feasted my eyes on the superb scenery spread all around. The railway runs for many miles along the Colorado and Feather river canyons (canyons are deep gorges with streams). Colorado has somewhere shrunken into a narrow stream, somewhere fairly broad, but everywhere rushing noisily along its rocky bed. I saw, at places, snows lying like white sheets of cloth on hill tops and glittering in the clear and bright sunlight. The railway passes through forty-six tunnels—the shortest being only 63 feet long and the longest (Muffat tunnel) 6.2 miles long, 16 feet wide, 24 feet high and 9,239 feet above sea level, the second longest rail-road tunnel in the western hemisphere. The most wonderful sight was the figures on brown rock-slopes for many miles on either side of the railway track. These have been cut on the hard rocks by wind and rain and snow through centuries and look exactly like Buddhist pagodas and monasteries and, sometimes, like the Buddha in silent meditation. Similar figures, much larger and more numerous, I saw later on in Grand Canyon.

I reached San Francisco in the afternoon and, contrary to what I was told, found the place appreciably colder. The weather there is uncertain—sometimes clear and bright and the next moment foggy and rainy. This is due to the wind constantly blowing from the Pacific. San Francisco, the biggest city of the western coast, is on a thumb-like rocky peninsula on the other side of the back bay (seventy miles long and three to ten miles wide) and connected with Oakland and Berkely on the mainland by several bridges of which the most remarkable are the "Golden Gate" bridge at the mouth of the bay (so called because it is bathed in the golden light of the rising and the setting sun) and the "Bay" bridge (the longest in the world—eight miles—I was told). The city, like many others, has a China town. Many of the roads run up and down. There are some sky-scrapers though not as tall as those in New York. The city has a fairly big Spanish-speaking population, as in many parts of West America (the Spaniards came to settle there early) and I was asked on several occasions if I spoke Spanish. I stayed here for over a week and, among other things, visited the Berkely University (one of the seven campuses of the UCLA) which, I came to know, has seven Nobel Laureates on its teaching staff. I was invited to lunch at the University and had discussions—mainly political and educational—with three teachers one of whom (Professor of Administration) was very well-informed about Indian political affairs. I also met here Dr. Margaret Fischer who visited the Ladakh area and has written a book on Indo-Chinese border conflict. She fully supports India's case but was critical of the Government of India's handling of the situation. The University has a centre for the study of Gandhian philosophy of non-violence and I had quite an enjoyable discussion on the subject with the teacher-in-charge. There is a Vedanta Centre in San Francisco, another in Berkeley (adjoining the University) and a third one, under construction, at Olema—a village about thirty miles from the city. I visited all the three Centres and spent an afternoon at Olema where several thousand acres of virgin land with streams, hillocks and primitive forests almost on the Pacific coast have been purchased by the Centre. It is a lovely, though lonely, place where I found several redwood trees, among many other unknown varieties, and deer and rabbits roaming about without any fear. On my way to Olema, I was shown a place (now converted to a park) where Swami Vivekananda rested for a few days when he was taken ill during his tour of this area. I also saw the Cow Palace, site of the Republican Convention, but did not enter into it. I met here two Indian youngmen who, I was told, had gone on foot from India to England, via Russia, and then crossed the Atlantic by boat. They belong to Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Sarv Seva Sangh and, through them, I was introduced to Dr. M. G. Steadman, M.D., a leading medical man of San Francisco, who was the organiser of an anti-nuclear test expedition in the Pacific. San Francisco made an abiding impression on me with its quiet grandeur and charming scenery.

It was in San Francisco that I heard of the death of Prime Minister Nehru. As I came down to my hotel lobby at about 7-30 a.m. on May 27 (it was May 27 evening in India), Dr. Raghavan (Professor of Sanskrit, Madras University, who had gone to the U.S. on a lecture tour and we were staying in San Francisco in the same holtel) hurried to me with a newspaper and told me in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a choked voice "Nehru is dead, look here !" I was stunned to see the news in bold headline across the front page of the paper and ran my eyes through the report. For more than half an hour we sat face to face silently thinking of what might happen to India after Nehru. The mammoth funeral procession was shown in nation-wide television in the U.S.A. and all the news-papers published the death news prominently and made highly appreciative comments on Mr. Nehru as a man and statesman. Many of those I came to be acquainted with in the city either saw me personally in hotel or left chits there to convey their condolences ; even common people I met, like hotel boys, taxi-drivers and eating house attendants, expressed sorrow and spoke of his greatness. At Cairo airport terminal building, on my way back, an Egyptian lift-man asked me (in English) if I was an Indian and, on my affirmative reply, he said : "You have suffered a severe loss in Mr. Nehru's death—he was a great man."

With a heavy heart I left San Francisco by plane and reached Phoenix (Arizona) in the evening. Though in a desert area, the city is wonderfully clean, and, during my short stay there, cast a spell on me. Early next morning, I left by air for Grand Canyon and landed at the airport (a dusty field without tarmac) in an hour. From there I reached the Visitors' Center on the Canyon at about 9-30 a.m. and immediately started for sight-seeing in a tourist bus which took us, along the Canyon rim, up to the "Hermit's Rest" at the western end of the bus route. Grand Canyon is really a grand spectacle without a parallel anywhere else in the world. It is a gorge, with an average depth of one mile width of ten miles from rim to rim (fourteen miles at the widest points), through which the Colorado, the second longest river in the United States and one of the most dangerous in the world, runs for 217 miles from its junction with Little Colorado at the upper end to Grand Wash cliffs near Lake Mead at the lower end. Its bed down in the gorge is nearly 300 feet wide and 15 to 45 feet deep but can scarcely be seen from the rim one mile or so above. The Canyon has been cut, through millions of years, by the powerful river current and widened by such forces as freezing and thawing, thunder-showers and the prying action of plant roots. Besides the beauty of the open sky, the forest and the rocks and a few varieties of birds and small animals—and squirrels—and shrubs (mostly cactuses most wonderful sight is the temple-like fig the Canyon walls, like those I saw on hill on my way from Denver to San Francisc much more prominent and bigger. I came to the Visitors' Center at mid-day and, after my lunch, sat on or walked along the C rim and enjoyed the scenery. There are (pioneered by pre-historic Indians) by whi can go down to the gorge upto a consid distance. A souvenir stall, a museum a "Hopi House" (where Indians perform co dances in the evening) near the Visitors' keep alive the Grand Canyon's historic with the primitive Indians fairly large n of whom still live in close-by preserved area tracks of ancient ruins and irrigation near the "Indian Gardens" (down in the C tell of a crude but fairly advanced agric civilisation and religious culture practically out, with its creators, by waves of Eu immigrants. I came back to Phoenix by in the evening, had a telephonic talk wi Asit Roy (a close relation of one of my fr at Arizona University—130 miles off—wi could not meet for want of time and, tire whole day's strain, soon fell asleep.

Next day, I started by plane for New where I stayed two days this time, attend invitation, a meeting of the preparatory co for Gandhiji's birth centenary celebrati America and then left for Washington. I r Washington by a shuttle plane (many pass I found, are monthly ticket-holders and office at Washington by plane from New at about 9-30 a.m. and was cordially recei Mr. Hrisikesh Banerjee of Indian Supply and Mr. Ramaprasad Banerjee of Indian E whose guest I was during my six hours' the city. After taking leave of Mr. Margolius, Mr. R. L. Abbey and others office of the Council on Leaders and Spec I started by a TWA plane for home. The had to be changed in New York for another plane which left Kennedy airport at 10 While flying over the Atlantic I saw sunris it was 2 a.m. by my watch (American The plane reached Rome at 11-20 a.m. shifted there to a Lufthansa plane which at Cairo (here I had a glimpse of the Sec

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the air), Daharan (Saudi Arabia), and Karachi and reached, at 6-15 a.m. next day, Dum Dum airport from where I had started exactly sixty-two days ago with the good wishes of my relatives and friends who were eagerly waiting this time with beaming faces to welcome me back in their midst. Thus ended my visit to the "antipodes" the memory of which flashes off and on in my "inward eye" across the widening gulf of time and will ever remain a source of refreshing joy in lengthening retrospect.

The most striking feature of American democracy in operation, as it appeared to me during my short tour, is absence of tangible State interference in any sphere of the people's life. The State dislikes such interference and the people resent it. Apart from the country's completely free economy, this is evident in the educational set-up and even in day-to-day life in the U.S.A. Prices, particularly of foodstuffs and other essential articles, are standardised, without Government order, and these (including house rents) are appreciably lower than in this country in relation to the comparative economic standard of India and the U.S.A.; taxes are paid ungrudgingly—these, by the way, are pretty high and food and many essential articles have double taxes in many places, State and Federal ; vast traffic, even in streets of big cities like New York, Chicago and San Francisco, is controlled by automatic Belisha lights and I hardly saw any policeman anywhere in the street (there is practically no street accident within cities—they occur usually on highways). Mechanised civilisation seems to have developed machine-like discipline in the people.

This love for democratic self-management is reflected in the organisational set-up of the country's education too. By and large, the universities in the east are private (in the west there are fairly large numbers of State universities) and they are financed mostly by private sources ; in their management also the State has practically nothing to do. Administration, including curriculum-framing, inspection etc., of secondary and elementary schools are entrusted to elected district school committees and, for this purpose, areas are divided into school districts. Education is free to the secondary stage, covering twelve years, and also in junior colleges where they exist (such colleges for two-year study after secondary stage are coming into being in some areas). Secondary education, diversified from the ninth form—but not in water-tight compartments as in our Higher Secondary schools—is the weakest link in the American education system. University education, almost entirely centralised, (there are no affiliated colleges), covers four years' under-graduate study and, generally, two years' post-graduate study with wide choice of subjects. Every academic session is divided ino three terms with a long summer recess when many students take up jobs in factories, hotels, eating houses, etc., to earn their educational expenses (these are pretty high, especially in well-known universities like Harvard). University education is characterised by specialisation and the standard in most universities compares favourably with that in European universities of repute.

America, I heard, is a country of newspapers and magazines. What I saw there fully confirmed the truth of this saying. Besides hundreds of magazines of numerous varieties, there are large numbers of daily newspapers but, excepting very few—like *The New York Times*—these are provincial or, more strictly speaking, local in the sense that their circulation is confined to the localities of their publication and local matters cover the major portion of their space. Almost every city has one or more newspaper and the circulation of each one of these runs into lakhs. Full of ads, they are very bulky (a Sunday *New York Times*, I found, had 175 pages) but neither in the display of international news nor in comments on them they are, generally speaking, superior to Indian papers. I saw about a dozen of newspaper offices and was struck everywhere by the highly mechanised method of production. In organisational set-up, American newspapers are somewhat different from their Indian counterparts—each department having an editor (news editor, city editor, financial editor, editor of the editorial page etc.) independent of one another and not even under the overall control of an editor. Policy matters are decided broadly by the Publisher who is the proprietor of the paper. Such an arrangement not unoften results in discrepancy between views and trend of news presentation. News Editor of *New York Times* cited, as an instance, Kashmir on which, he said, the view of the paper is anti-Indian but news presentation is not so.

Of the much heard-of Negro problem,

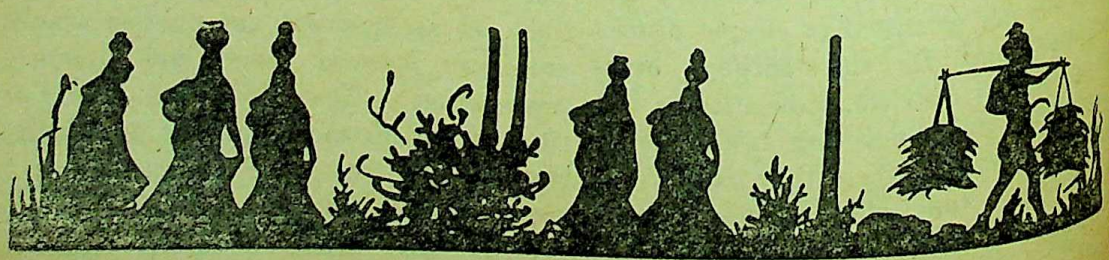
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

practically nothing is visible to a foreigner's eye in the northern States. There is not the slightest discrimination between the white and the black in any sphere of day-to-day life—in hotels, restaurants, cafetarias, drug stores (not medicine shops but a kind of miscellaneous stores, including food and soft drinks), buses, sub-ways, offices, factories or anywhere else. But the comparative poverty of the Negroes, generally speaking, cannot escape an observant eye. Red-cap boys and sweepers at airports and railway stations, shoe-blacks (very few in number) in big city streets, hotel maids and unskilled workers in factories—they are the first victims at every step of progressive machanisation—are almost all Negroes. The condition in which the poorer sections of them live in Harlem (New York) and other slum areas and the discrimination in housing facilities in some of the northern States (a proposed legislation, in Rhode Island to remove the Negroes' handicap in securing residences in white areas failed when I was in America) are some of the visible slurs on American democracy in the north. I also heard that there are white-dominated trade unions, even in the north, unsympathetic to Negro workers. Of the violent colour prejudice in the southern States, I need to add nothing to what is known throughout the world.

Family life in America is characterised by comparatively early marriage and separation of children from parents on attainment of majority. The latter has many good points but one aspect of it—the loneliness of old retired people (particularly widows, widowers and divorced) —would appear distressing to us, habituated as we are to a different way of living. I found a good number of such old men and women living a rather dull and cheerless life in hotels. Trying to cut everything short—distance, dress, women), language (in words, as "motor and hotel" and spelling, as "night") and automation-crazy, Americans generally, what we call materialistic in our But there are among them men and women feel a deep spiritual urge and I met several and gentlemen who, in their private talks me, agreed to my view about the lack spiritual mooring of their great civilisation the possible consequences of it. They do not much about world politics but, excepting very few cases, I found everybody I met in to blame India rather than Pakistan for Kashmir problem, communal riots and matters relating to the two countries. This convinced, is largely due to the deplorably publicity by Indian agencies in America Pakistan's virulent propaganda as well as pro-Pakistani bent of most of the American papers. Leaving aside certain things here there, the friendly, hospitable and informal and the country of rivers, hills and forests oaks, pines, maples and willows—of lilacs balls, tulips and daisies have left on me an impression on which my memory fondly lingers with joy and pleasure in vacant hours sometimes, even in the midst of daily work. America is truly a land of dee though it will yet take a considerable time that ideal state of democratic comra visualised by Walt Whitman :

I will plant companionship
Thick as trees along all the rivers of A
And along the shores of the great lak
And all over the prairies
I will make inseparable cities
With their arms about each other's
By the love of comrades
By the manly love of comrades.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AN INTRODUCTION TO VAISNAVA VEDANTA OF THE BENGAL SCHOOL

By J. C. CHAKRAVARTI

When Professor Whitehead says that the "general characteristic of the European philosophical tradition is that it consists of a series of footnotes to Plato,"[1] he, of course, uses the word "footnote" as a metaphor, since we all know that there are a good many European philosophers, dead and alive, from the great Stagyrite to Bertrand Russell who are fundamentally in disagreement with Plato. But when it is said that all Indian philosophies are but a series of footnotes to the Upanishads, the term "footnotes" need not be taken in a metaphorical sense, since what is stated is a fact literally true, which no philosopher of India would ever deny. One can say, and very justly, that the philosophy of India has been written once and for all by the seers of the Upanishads. And this is so because of the fact that the Upanishads are the spontaneous expressions of the deepest intuitions of the ancient sages and not dry fabrication of purely discursive intellect. Like the expressions of profound aesthetic and mystic intuitions, the texts of the Upanishads embody experiences which are flexible, rfee, and broad. Thus they have remained the inexhaustible source of information and inspiration, profoundly rich in their suggestiveness and implications, for the use of the philosophers throughout the ages.

Results of purely intellectual gymnastics are generally finished products, cut and dried. They have nothing more to them when once understood; they leave no mystery when once analysed; whereas the free expressions of intuitions, sensuous, aesthetic, romantic, mystic, of whatever type they may be, are elusive; they never can be grasped in their completeness; they never can be stabilized by the categories of thought—an irrational surd, a residue, a mystery is always left over. This is the reason why they continue to be the unfathomable fountainhead of suggestions for all time and to all seekers who know how to unlock the mystery. Such are the Upanishads of the early Hindus.

Vedanta philosophy, literally "the end of the wisdom-teaching," is the name given to the essential purport of the principal Upanishads that were brought out and systematized in five hundred and fifty-five aphorisms attributed to the sage Badarayans. Being written in aphoristic form, this work of great veneration had to be commented upon. Dozens of commentaries have been written upon these aphorisms by the foremost thinkers of the country. Judging from the standpoint of originality, depth, and their bearings on the religion and culture of India, the commentaries of Sankara, Ramanuja, Maddhava, Ballava, Nimbarka and Baladeva are regarded as of the highest importance and greatest influence. All these philosophers and their disciples are called Vedantists. Their philosophies are embodied mainly in their commentaries and super commentaries and in other original works which they produced. Another ancient work of profound philosophic value is known as Bhagavad Gita, the Song Celestial, as it has been called. It forms a part of the great epic Mahabharata. The Gita attempted to bring about a very thorough synthesis of the existing Upanishads of the time. This book has attracted the interest of the philosophers as much as have the aphorisms of the Vedanta. Almost all of the great Vedantists have some commentary on this little book of seven hundred stanzas.

Apart from the Vedanta philosophy, there exist other systems of thought, such as Sankhya, Yoga, Nyaya. These systems of thought are not in any sense in serious disagreement with the Vedanta. An attempt has been made to bring about a synthesis of all the systems of thought by the Puranas, literally, ancient truths. They are semi-philosophical works. There are eighteen of them, attributed by tradition to one person, Vyasa. The most outstanding of these Puranas is the Srimad Bhagavata which itself is considered as a commentary of the Vedanta. In this book have been fused all the great systems of Hindu

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

philosophic thought with wonderful genius and skill. This book commands perhaps, the combined veneration that the Christians cherish for the New Testament and the Platonists for Plato's dialogues. What is meant is that it is a work of both religious and philosophical value. Those who are especially influenced by this book commonly go by the name Bhagavata or Vaisnava. Sri Jiva Goswami whose philosophy we are about to study in this paper is one among those Bhagavatas who wrote illuminating commentaries on this book of great veneration and left immortal contributions to posterity. The overwhelming tendency on the part of the Indian philosophers for writing commentaries and commentaries on commentaries is to be explained by the fact that they wanted to contribute their thoughts to one common fund of their culture. No one intended to make a fresh start like Bacon or Descartes, decrying all the past traditions as "idols." No great philosopher has lived on the soil of India who did not have profound respect for his tradition and who did not enrich his tradition profoundly by his contributions, mostly in the form of commentaries.

In the pages that follow, I shall try to consider the metaphysics of Vedanta in general and the contributions of Sri Jiva Goswami in particular. My attempt may be compared to that of one who would try to write the philosophy of Neo-platonism with special reference to Proclus. Such a person would have to make a very general survey of the philosophy of the Platonic dialogues and then through Plotinus arrive at Proclus. Here, in an analogous fashion, I intend to write about the general ontological position of the Upanishads, which is virtually the metaphysics of the Vedanta, and after a brief review of the approach of Sankara and Ramanuja, consider the philosophy of Sri Jiva Goswami. It has already been remarked that the ground work of the Vedanta was laid by the Upanishads. The ontology of the Upanishads, therefore, constitutes the background of all the Vedantists, including Sri Jiva. We shall therefore start with the general metaphysical position of the Vedanta. This will also acquaint us with the background which Sankara, Ramanuja, and Sri Jiva in common with all Vedantists. Next we the contributions of the two great of Sri Jiva, Sankara and Ramanuja. Vedantists are to Sri Jiva what Aristotle Augustine are to Thomas Acquinas. In our of Sri Jiva we shall first consider his position in relation to his ontological of the Upanishads and next the attempted between the two opposing Sankara and Ramanuja. Lastly we shall four sections on theology, psychology, and ethics of Sri Jiva and his school. four fields are, however, traditionally Sri Jiva's philosophy simply gave them colouring. Posterity developed a new towards these fields due to his It is this, I believe, that constitutes one major contributions of a philosopher in to a culture as a whole. Not a radical of tradition but a new outlook, more more thorough and more integrated with needs and demands of the time, is what owes to the philosophers. This may need not be the immediate aim of the pher ; but this is what his work amounts posterity as it appears in the perspective history. If this be so, Sri Jiva occupies a place in the history of thought.

My sole aim is to present the subject all possible presuppositions and implications. exposition is primarily historical. however, have been made to make it well but that does not mean there intention to defend the position Usually Indian philosophers are quoted stantiate and Western philosophers are to clarify the subject under discussion. times polemical language is used to reject any aspect of Western thought it in sympathy with the particular point that to be under consideration so that European American students may better unknown subject in terms with which well acquainted.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

POPULATION BEHAVIOUR AND ITS CONTROL WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO INDIA

By SANKAR RAY

The voluminous influx of the population to an ever-increasing extent has laid down an effective imprint upon the tranquil totality of human species today. Our flow of life over the universe is suddenly impeded resulting in a crisis in civilisation. The time is already ripe for giving a precise and appropriate direction to our thoughts and schemes with a special eye to this unresistible positive influx. Now every category of our development projects should be conditioned by a dimensional assumption, viz., economical upper-bounding to population growth. Demographers, who have so far been exiled in an exclusive regime, should step in to lead us as the principal planning machine. Our accumulated technical experience would be the most fitting investment in this respect. It is an international new deal.

Population-situation

With a view to making it out clearly, it will be convenient to periscope the pattern of population changes statistically. South-east Asian population has been increasing at the rate of 1.7 per cent per year. Superficially this seems to be overlookable. But one will be frightened if one can imagine the addition of 25 million new mouths every year, that too only in a part of the globe. Before World War II, it had been 1.2 per cent and around 1970 it might cross 2.1 per cent. The population of the world has been increasing at the rate of 1.3 per cent approximately. In the previous century, it was 0.53 per cent. The world will be under a danger signal at the end of this century, when the population will be around 6270 million. But these methods of estimation are wrong. Because these estimates are based on the assumption of linear relationship between the frequency of increment and the year. This assumption is erroneous. Demographic variables are seldom found to behave in a linear trend, nor in a quadratic trend. None of these trends being dependable, demographers have, accepting the relatively small amount of error, taken logistic equation to foresee the population changes. In India, the logistic equation is not appropriate due, in main, to the most unreliable and fluctuating figures in previous censuses without conforming to any law of growth and to the accelerating relative rate of increase with the increasing population. It is worth-mentioning in this context that the logistic curve starts rising slowly near the base line, then turns gradually up more and more at a quicker rate till reaching the point of inflexion and gets flatter and flatter till it reaches the limiting population.

Censuses of India

The censuses of India could be divided into two parts, one, those before the Independence, and another, post-Independence figures. Firstly, let us focus our attention to the pre-Independence episodes. In 1901, the population was 236.2m. In 1910, this rose upto 252.1m. increasing at the rate of 5.73 per cent per decade. In 1921, the population was found to be 251.4m. which means 0.31 per cent decrease. One may ridicule the fantastical statement. But this was entirely due to the massive participation at the Non-Cooperation movement. The requisite amount of information could not be elicited due to the refusal in furnishing them from a considerable part of the population. So all the statistical appraisals during that period had lost all values and objectives. This could be confirmed when the census of 1931 showed an inflation of 11.31 per cent, which, in 1941, soared up to 14.22 per cent. The population of undivided India, last enumerated, was 318.7 million.

With the inauguration of revised census operation, this figure showed itself as 361.1m. in 1951. This population indicated an alarming inflation in 1961, rising at the rate of 21.51 per cent. The population bulged out to 439.2m. To this inflation, the fresh inclusion of Jammu

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and Kashmir into the census jurisdiction had contributed a lot. Nevertheless, demographers reasonably read the handwriting on the wall. Since then all our eyes became concerntrated on a nucleus of determination, viz., maximised resistance to the population-inflammation with an optimum democratic and socialistic guarantee. At this stage, India has to accommodate 14.6 per cent of the global population with only 2.4 per cent of the total land area. Agronomers have given the verdict that India can provide bread for 450m at the best. This limit has already been exceeded. Frightening enough, this estimate ignores the prevailing nutritional deficiency of 10-20 per cent in the average consumption habits. By 1971, the population will be not less than 551.26m, even if arithmetical trend is assumed.

Need for Demographic Exploration

The first task lying with the demographers today is to work out a series of empirical population growth model equations. This is complicated indeed in a country like India where faulty census figures are hindrances for underlying necessary assumptions for formulations. Yet considerable reliance upon sample surveys is reasonable and a fairly accurate situation can be appraised if this method is adopted. Needless to say, that the task of controlling population growth should have a conspicuous place in all our planning. The world will be muddled in a sanguinary convulsion even if men seek to survive with minimum indents for their stomach. Extensive family planning is indispensable. This should be brought into existence in every city, every village and in every home. Questions of legislation should also be given thought with reasonably maximum curtailment of indiscriminate fertility habits. Extravagant fertility should be policed even with restricting fundamental rights. Agricultural build-up is compulsory for making potentials for raw materials and subsequent industrialisation. It has been experimentally observed that low fertility is helpful for effective industrialisation. Demographers have, therefore, stressed upon rapid rural and urban industrialisation. India is on the threshold of a "population-explosion" which has already come about in China. The population-density of India is 370 per sq. mile. So there is time yet for ... fication and for brushing off disappointm...

Health Conditions

But the health conditions are appr... improving. Death rate has come down by ... cent. The steady decrease of infant mort... a confirmation again for such conclusion, a... Infant Mortality Rate is four times as high a... of most of the western countries. But the r... natural increase has soared up by about ... cent during the last six decades. Life Expectation of Life has increased from 2... 45 years. While these achievements in the of public health are worth praise, the simul... and correalated drive for family planning be a must. Birth rates should have confined to a strict upper bound. Some East Asian Countries have indocrinated ration" as an outlet for the surplus of the p... tion. If deliberations are so desper... character, why don't they start mass st... Burma and Ceylon are such examples. moral and social cowardice and this cha... is a rape over humanitarian values. This and calumny must not be tolerated.

Econometrical Standpoint

Before we step out to advocate family ing, let us rather have a brush up of the mentals of Econometrical structure of Economic Planning. Needless to say multiplication of per capita income and formation are common objectives of these respect, India has much to owe to P... C. Mahalanobis for his monumental contr... According to his findings, the per capita is the product of the rate of investm... National Income Coefficient of Net In... minus the rate of Population Growth. We ar... ested in both of these. Incidentally, the ... component of the above equation is equal rate of National Income Increase. How... little concentration to the above mathe... models will enable one to understa... importance of increasing the rate of in... In India, this is roughly 7 per cent and is fluctuating. In advanced countries this, is of overall development, attains a consta...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

pproximately. This stationary value is a the-retical truth. For instance, in UK this is about 1 per cent and has fluctuated only twice in a ong interval. In USA this is 12-13 per cent, and ad showed 16 per cent only twice between 879 and 1948.

Regarding growth models, three models are mostly accepted: Malthusian, Optimum and Harrod-Domar. The first two are comparatively bsolete and the last one is in vogue due to its recision and purposiveness. This was again nodified by Professors Coale and Hoover in its pplication to underdeveloped countries. Accord-ng to modified Harrod-Domar Model, Rate of rowth is equivalent to the product of the rate of aving and the average Social Productivity of apital (=reciprocal of the Capital-Output Ratio). his model is laying a dimensional assumption of ow fertility for larger investment. It may be noted, est one conceives wrong, that the rate of saving not a constant saving of income. To imple-ent a highly specific production function, these rofessors have reiterated the indispensableness low fertility as the steering of planning auto-obile, particularly in a country-in-the-making. his means stationary value of Capital-Output atio. This is perfectly in agreement with the ahalanobis' Model. We can safely conclude that ow the term "Fecundity" must be rubbed off om all our concepts. The wound that can be flicted upon a country by the malignant growth population is easily imaginable by any sensible rson. This is a severe obstacle to the optimised ut of man-power and rationalisation of raw terials, and this has considerably narrowed wn the Average Labour Productivity. In fact, is only 105 dollars in India, whereas in USA s 2442 dollars and in West Germany it is as gh as 3495 dollars. Thus the vagueness of r-increasing Labour-Force due to the flocking pulation is beyond all doubts.

A Few Statistical Surveys

The psychological resistance to contraception uld, therefore, be reverted into psychological istance to recurrent conceptions. Contraception uld turn into a mass habit. There are gious obstacles coupled with superstitional gnation. Illiteracy is a difficulty indeed. But cational orientation is a long-term affair. So the drive should be channelled through social works. This is an uphill task. Yet this can only render proper and desired shapes. Even religious obstacles could be crossed over, if cultural enlightenment is there. Contraception, sterilisation and determined resistance to conceptions, I reiterate, should be categories of our national programmes. I shall mention a few statistical surveys evidencing multifarious benefits of contraceptive practices. During 1956-57, the Demography Section of Indian Statistical Institute carried out a Sample Survey to study the prevalence of this in Calcutta City. Out of a muster sample of 6884 married couples, married once, 1018 couples were selected at random with equal probability scheme. They were further stratified into 3 strata. The 1st stratum contained Doctors, Engineers and Office Executives; the 2nd stratum contained Clerks, Supervisors and Retail Traders; and the 3rd stratum contained skilled and unskilled labourers. This survey gave the following findings: p. c. reduction of pregnancies were 37 per cent, 21 per cent and 6 per cent in the three strata respectively. This shows the existence of a significantly high association between Cultural Characteristics and Practice of contraceptives.

Thus the efficiency of contraceptive practices is a confirmatory truth. In a sample survey at F. P. Clinic, Ramdas Peth, Nagpur, the Pregnancy Rate was found to be 16.55 per cent (Preg. Rate = Total Pregnancies/years of exposures to methods, expressed as percentage) after contraceptive training. The efficiency of contraception (E.C.) was found to be as high as 69 per cent (E.C. = 100-100x Post Clinic Preg. Rate/Pre Clinic Preg. Rate). These factual explorations are considerably convincing. Now to adopt these is upto our reasons.

Legislation of Abortions

Lastly, I shall take up the cudgels on behalf of Legalisation on abortions. In most of the East European Socialistic Countries, this experiment has got desired results, Japan has also a pioneering part in this experimentation. In addition to providing aspiring resistance to indiscriminate fertility, it was found that the Death Rate in abortions is microscopically small. In Sweden, this is 64 in 100000, in Denmark it is 68 in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

100000 and in East Germany it came out to be 38 in 100000 only. Moral giants may snap militant fingers at me. Do they think that the society is a jargon of piety honesty and exactitude? Do they think that the antique Adam and Eve have forsaken us? . . . . They will not be able to find answers for these. They will be eloquent on distress and problems, but will fight shy of being active in uprooting them. I say, this morality is but a deception.

Conclusion

Summarising, I shall put forward the following suggestions as means for controlling the population.

(i) Rapid rural and urban Industrialisation,
(ii) Accelerated bid to cultural uplift,
(iii) Extensive propaganda,
(iv) Statutory foundation of restricted conceptions,
(v) Effective family planning programmes with particular emphasis upon mass sterilisation, and
(vi) Legalisation on abortion.

The world has seen series of ba... this population inflation is the most fur... we have ever met. We shall face it w... arms and realistic ammunitions. We ... confident of our victory by our succes... up. It is a must.

Bibliography :

1. Aspects of Population in an At... J. N. Sinha, I.P.F. Report of Confere...

2. An enquiry into the prevalen... traceptive Practices in Calcutta City ... S. M. Poti, M.Sc., S.M., (Harvard) ... Malaker, M.Sc., and B. Chakrabart... (Demography Section, Indian Statistical ... Calcutta, I.P.F.)

3. Talks on Planning : Prof. P. C... nobis, F.R.S., I.S.S. Publications.

4. Family Planning : Methods a... tions : S. P. Phadnis, M.A. Journal ... Planning Welfare, Dec. '60.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indian Periodicals

English—The Only Language

Writing editorially, the Indian Libertarian to say something on the present devastating cial language controversy which, to most nking readers would, we feel, prove to be most posite :

Congress rule for the last seventeen years, has notable achievement to its credit or rather dis- dit, and that is—All-round Disintegration of country. British imperialism, so much nounced by the Congress and Leftist patriots, at least done one good service to the country giving the educated sections of the Indian ple, one inter-state language English, and ugh it, one common modern outlook on life also to a certain extent, a sense of belonging a world community.

But with the disappearance of the foreign e, also began the slow but sure process of oing all this good that Britishers had done. the political front, Congress has dominated scene so much so that other parties appear stand no chance of coming to power through nocratic means. On the economic front ugh, Planning economic slavery of the ple to the State, the Congress has brought ut nothing but economic chaos, though in the ess, it might have consolidated its political er and position.

And after working so much havoc with the try in political and economic spheres, it has turned attention to what appears to be its ap- ted task of disrupting the cultural and social that had been partially built up in the past ugh a common official language and a common ium of instruction at higher levels of education.

ENGLISH AND NATIONAL UNITY

Continuing, the said editorial, points its rs to an undeniable historical fact, that it the English language more than, perhaps, one other single factor, that helped to forge nationhood of the Indian people and rein- its struggles for emancipation from foreign ical domination. It is not impossible that the top leadership of the ruling party at present in power are not sufficiently well versed in the lessons of history and were, thus, unable to assess the dire consequences of their hasty decision to completely switch over to Hindi that followed as a matter of course. Says the Indian Libertarian :

English has thus played no mean role in bringing about this much-needed integration of the country. And it might well do so. For, relatively speaking, there is no living language which could compete with it in the richness of vocabulary and expression of thought, literary and scientific. By a happy historical accident at least in this respect, we got into touch with this language and through it, the noble thoughts and ideas on almost all subjects under the Sun and with the world cultural pattern. The Indian mind encaged and crippled within the narrow grooves of a decadent social organisation, an other-worldly philosophy, superstitious beliefs and dogmas instilled into it for ages together, found itself in a totally different climate at once life-giving and invigorating, when it came to imbibe some of the spirit of scientific thought through English literature. The educated people first became spiritually free and then they imparted this spirit of freedom to the common people. This rich legacy left to us by preceding generations nurtured in Liberal English education, is sought to be wasted away by our pseudo-patriots and national chauvinists in the name of national language and parochial nationalism.

NEHRUISM DETHRONED

These 'patriots' particularly Hindiwallas of the North, are now trying to thrust Hindi down the throats of unwilling non-Hindi speaking people of the South. The language policies of the muddle-headed Congress governments have come very handy to them to fish in these troubled waters. They would count no risks too great and no means too mean to achieve the object. Those who lose no opportunity of adoring Nehru as a veritable God, seem to have no compunction to throw his ideas on Hindi vis-a-vis English to the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

winds. His solemn promise that Hindi would not become the All-India Official Language unless non-Hindi speaking people were willing to accept it as such, has been all but conveniently forgotten by these Hindi fanatics and disruptionists.

HINDI DISRUPTIONISTS

Two elementary facts of history were completely ignored when the rather precipitate decision to switch over to Hindi for all offical purposes was promulgated on the last Republic Day ; first, that Hindi is, at best, still only a dialect rather than a full-fledged language with an adequate arsenal of a comprehensive vocabulary and, although the means of expression of the largest single group of the country's population, its proportion to the total population of the country hardly exceeds a bare thirty per cent ; secondly, this dialect was literally forced down the throat of the country by a simple majority of only just one vote, that also the casting vote of the President of the Constituent Assembly. The Indian Libertarian continues :

The recent resolution of the Government which, in effect, seeks to divide India into the Hindi-speaking Zone which will have nothing to do with English in its correspondence with the Centre and non-Hindi speaking group which will use English or Hindi in this matter is mischievous, unpatriotic and anti-national. It will disrupt Indian unity. The self-immolation of two college-students by burning themselves, on this issue and the vehement anti-Hindi demonstrations on the part of all sections of South Indian people reflect the depth of anti-Hindi feelings among Southerners.

The Congress leaders and Hindi patriots, it is hoped, will now become wiser at least after these events. They must learn to make a clear distinction between anti-British feeling and anti-English sentiment. Though many entertained the first during the freedom fight, they were never for that reason anti-English. They did or even now, do recognise the benefits accruing from English, its unrivalled superiority over regional languages and its capacity to weld us all into a common brotherhood as no Indian language can. In fact, English is the only Indian language which is known to us and which has linked different regions, while all other languages including Hindi are at best regional and provincial and have never operated on All-India level. Let us be clear about this aspect of English in its relation to the various regional languages, the...ers of which are in no mood to accord a... these languages the unique honour of ... All-India language. It is only English ... has attained to this honoured status by ... its historical importance, intrinsic merit ... capacity to function as inter-state link ... and its worthiness to become a vehicle ... national and universal communication.

WHY T. T. K'S POLICY HAS FA... TAX OBJECTIVES NEED RECONSIDERATION

Writing under the above caption ... "Commerce," a special correspondent ... analyse the reasons why the policies of the Finance Minister have, so far, utterly fai... twin objectives of promoting growth and ...ing the price pressure within reasonable ...

"Whatever a man earns in the highe... brackets, about nine-tenths of that are tak... by the Exchequer. Where then is the ... to earn and to save ? It is unfortun... looking to the taxation structure in the ... it is impossible for the society to pr... Henry Ford or a Nuffield starting from ... For if a man earns, he has to pay a heav... tax ; if he spends, he has to pay expendi... if he dies leaving any savings, his succe... to pay a heavy estate duty. Never in the ... history of any democratic country has ... drastic and far-reaching fiscal chang... effected in so short a time."

In these words a leading industri... India succinctly summed up the impact ... taxation on the country's economic deve... Although its adverse effects have been p... on many occasions in the past, the a... have failed to take proper note of the ... existing tax level has been sought to be ... on the ground that it is unavoidable in t... ests of the country's defence and develop... it is not appreciated that, if the economy ... to stagnate as at present, neither de... development can be promoted. It is ... suppose that we can effectively defend t... merely with the help of what is produced ... Ordnance factories. Modern warfare be... it is, it is essential that the entire econo... always function at high efficiency to d... country successfully. It is hoped, ther... while introducing his next budget, the ... Minister will carefully review the effec... ation and announce such measures as w... real fillip to vigorous expansion of the ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

T. T. K's Criteria

The Union Finance Minister laid down a four-fold criteria as the objectives of his tax policy while presenting his first Union Budget in 1957. Since then the Finance Minister has formulated further budget proposals, but the stated objectives have remained as elusive as ever :

While presenting his first budget as Finance Minister in May 1957, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari laid down four criteria for tax policy. These were :

1. It must produce a sizeable addition to public revenues ;

2. It must provide incentives for larger earnings and more savings ;

3. It must restrain consumption over a fairly wide field so as to keep in check domestic inflationary pressures and to release resources required for investment ; and

4. It must initiate such changes in the tax structure as would make tax yields progressively more responsive to increased incomes and facilitate an orderly development of the economy, with due regard to the social objectives.

Although these principles were enunciated about eight years ago, they seem valid even today. Indeed, none on object to these principles as such. But it is essential to emphasise that they have not been implemented in the right manner. The tax policy has been carried out in such a way as to defeat these very objectives and retard economic growth. For example, in the anxiety to achieve the first objective, namely to produce a sizeable addition to public revenues, due importance has not been given to the second objective of providing incentives for larger earnings and more savings. The gross tax, tax revenues of the Government of India has gone up from Rs. 364 crores in 1953-54 to about Rs. 1,500 crores in 1964-65. New taxes have been resorted to even when the revenues have been quite bouyant and the funds necessary could have been obtained from the prevailing level of taxation. Revenues have been deliberately under-estimated and fresh levies imposed mainly with a view to hitting the rich and proclaiming the Government's faith in socialism. It has not been realised that there can be no progress towards socialism when production in field and factory fails to record a steady and substantial increase.

The third objective of curbing consumption has also not been correctly implemented. It is one thing to discourage conspicuous consumption in order to avoid waste and extravagance. But it is a different and serious matter when an attempt is made to cut down the demand for articles of mass consumption by means of high taxation. The excise duties on essential items like cloth, sugar, kerosene, soap, paper and several other items have been steeply increased in recent years and this is one of the factors contributing to the rise in the price level. The purpose of planning, ultimately, is to provide the citizen with more goods and services. But the standards of consumption in our country have hardly shown an appreciable increase ; indeed, in many cases they have either remained stationary or declines. For example, the *per capita* consumption of sugar in 1963-64 was 4.58 kg. as compared with 4.08 in 1948-49. The *per capita* consumption of mill-made cloth was 9.69 meters in 1963-64 as against 9.02 meters in 1948-49. The net *per capita* availability of cereals and pulses was 13.2 oz. and 2.1 oz. in 1963, as against 13.2 oz. and 2.3 oz. in 1954 respectively.

The fourth objective of tax policy refers to the "orderly development of the economy." But this exactly what we have not been able to achieve. The economy today is confronted with a critical situation. Mr. Krishnamachari himself described this as "extremely grim." Since then some eminent industrialists have also expressed similar views. Mr. A. D. Ogilvie, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry, said in December last : "I think that it is correct to say that, over the country as a whole, there is some feeling of inertia and there is a disturbing lag in performance. I believe that a good deal of this is due to the heavy burden of corporate and personal taxation and to the feeling on the part of those who have to pay it, that it is a crushing burden and this, in turn, has produced a sense of discouragement." Sir Jehangir Ghandy, in his Convocation Address to the Calcutta University in January this year, observed that the Indian economy was going through the "gravest economic crisis" since the attainment of independence. Mr. J. R. D. Tata has said that, in the forty years he has been in business, he has never seen such "universal gloom" in the industrial sphere. According to the President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry, there has been a "distinct deterioration" in the economic situation.

Confidence Lacking

It will, thus be seen that although the first objective of the Union Finance Minister's tax

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

policies, that of stimulating the growth of the public revenues would appear to have been amply served, neither of the consequential objectives of stimulating corresponding economic growth nor of increasing the availability of essential consumer goods for mass consumption at fair prices have been even remotely achieved :

It is thus clear that the tax policy of the Government, though it has helped to raise revenues on a large scale, has not succeed in its fundamental objective of stimulating economic growth and increasing the availability of essential consumer goods at fair prices. As a result, there is frustration as well as discontent among both business men and the common people, and this is hardly conducive to the creation of an atmosphere suitable for launching the Fourth Plan. In his Budget Speech in February 1964, Mr. Krishnamachari said : "In the corporate sector, the primary need of the hour is to infuse some confidence. The resources of this sector have to be augmented from within as well as from without, and it is, therefore, necessary to provide incentives to the existing companies to plough back a larger share of their profits and also diminish the dis-incentives for inter-corporate investments." But the fact that the leading spokesman of the private sector have, with one voice, expressed grave concern at the situation shows beyond doubt that tax policy, having failed to inspire confidence, needs careful reconsideration.

The Finance surely knows what exactly is to be done to end the stalemate and revive the investors' confidence. In fact, he has already made a beginning in this direction by announcing in December the scheme for tax credit certificates. But this does not appear to have been popular or effective. It is now recognised that, unless at least some of the major deterrants to investment are removed, it will be difficult to break the stagnant situation and create a feeling of enthusiasm on the part of the investing public.

Specific Suggestions

The writer, then, goes on to make some concrete suggestions which, in his view, might help to break through the present stagnation and induce a measure of dynamism in economic growth :

Specific suggestions have already been made by many regarding the direction in which tax relief is necessary. The suggestions relate to appropriate changes in the divident tax, tax on bonus shares, exemption of wealth tax in respect of investment in shares of new companies, non-applicability of capital gains tax to bonus ... surtax on companies, estate duty and ... and the annuity scheme. It remains to be ... what extent the Finance Minister will be ... make suitable adjustments in these measures.

Mr. Krishnamachari's hesitation to ... right thing may, perhaps, arise from two ... first, the loss in revenue and, second, the ... criticism from the Opposition and, even, fr... own party that the Finance Minister, ... concessions, is placcating the capitalists.

But neither of these reasons will be ... convincing. The loss in revenue will made ... be appreciable ; and it can be made mo... good by the higher revenues from greater ... mic activity. Even now, in stagnant co... the revenues have been quite bouyant. In ... to October of the current fiscal year, the ... gross revenue of the Government of Ind... higher by over 10 per cent at Rs. 846.82 ... against Rs. 767.39 crores in the corres... period of 1963-64. The increase in ... revenues, in particular, was very imp... amounting to Rs. 242.62 crores against ... 393.58 crores. The experience of other co... like the U.S.A. shows that tax cuts, far ... affecting the revenues of the Exchequer, ... help to increase them ; and in India als... is sure to happen. As the President ... Associated Chambers of Commerce re... recently : "the basic effect of a very subs... reduction in taxation would be great and ... long run, perhaps even in the short ru... economy and the Government would benefi... a fresh growth in confidence, increased ... and investment and development of broad... increases in production."

As regards the criticism that conc... are likely to be misinterpreted as surren... capitalism, the Finance Minister and the G... ment of India can easily refute it. It has ... proved again and again that the inve... market in India is supported not by a h... of big business men but by a large num... middle class people in the income grou... Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 per annum. It has ... estimated that shareholders with holdings ... than Rs. 10,000 constitute more than ... cent of the total number of shareholders ... listed companies on recognised stock exch... So, tax concessions will benefit these class... ultimately, of course, the entire country ... more vigorous and widespread ec... activity.

In any case, the time has come for ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

thinking and bold action. 1965-66 is the last year of the Third Five Year Plan. It is essential, therefore, that, at least now, the Government should give convincing proof of the fact that the planning process need not necessarily result in acute shortages and high prices and that even the present generation can, in their life time, look forward to, a period of plenty.

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baraanshi Pandit Mana Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, Hongkong, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can redress the pernicious influence of evil planets, help to win difficult law suits, ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent child lessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness.



(Jyotish-Samrat)

Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji

WONDERFUL TANTRIK BLESSINGS BENEFITED MILLIONS ALL OVER THE GLOBE

Dhanada grants vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity, honour and fame in life. Puja expenses ordinary Rs. 7.62 nP. Special Rs. 29 69 nP. Super-Special Rs. 129.69 nP.. **Bagalamukhi** to overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in services and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials, it is unparalleled. Puja expenses: Ordinary Rs. 9.12 nP. Special Rs. 34.12 nP Super-special Rs. 184.25 nP. **Mohini** : Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Puja expenses: Ordinary Rs. 11.50 nP., Special Rs. 34.12 nP, Super-special Rs. 387.87 nP. **Saraswati** : For Success in examination gain of retentive powers and sharp memory. Puja expenses : Ordinary Rs. 9.56 nP., Special Rs. 38.56.

A few names of admirers—The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court. Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt. The Hon'ble Chief Justice Mr. B. K. Ray of Orissa High Court. The Hon'ble Minister, Government of Bengal. Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot. The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh and Ex-president of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Monmatha Nath Roy Chowdhury, Kt. His Highness the Maharaja of Athgarh. Her Highness the Dowager Sixth Maharani Saheba of Tripura. Her Highness the Maharani Saheba of Cooch Behar. Mrs. F. W. Gillesple, Detriot. Mich, United States of America. Mr. K. Ruchpaul. Shanghai, China. Mr. J. A. Lawrence. Osaka Japan & many others.

Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request.

Estd. 1907] ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY [Regd

Head Office & Residence : 50-2, (M.R.) Dharamtola St., "Jyotish Samrat Bhaban" (Entrance on Wellesly St.). Calcutta-13. Phone: 24—4065. Consultation hours : 5 P.M. to 7 P.M

Branch Office :—105, Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Calcutta-5. Consultation hours, 9—11 A.M. Phone: 55—3685.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Foreign Periodicals

More About Khrushchev

N. C. writing Editorially in the *Saturday Review*, analyses some of the reasons which may have led to the downfall of Khrushchev. One of these may have been his rejection of omniscience ascribed to Karl Marx in the communist philosophy. He publicly declared that to assume that "war was inherent in the capitalist system" was foolish for, in the present nuclear age the only alternative to co-extermination :

The visit of the Chinese Communist leaders to Moscow underlined at least one major reason for the ouster of Nikita Khrushchev, whose raw criticisms and characterizations of the Chinese left little room for reconciliation.

We were astounded at Khrushchev's bluntness about the Chinese when we raised the question at a private meeting in the Kremlin in December, 1962. Although our visit was primarily concerned with negotiations for the release of religious figures incarcerated in the Soviet Union, we got into political matters. For example, when we asked the Chairman how he reacted to the harsh criticisms of the Soviet Union by the Albanians, he said the Albanians reminded him of something that happened when he was a young man.

"I used to work in the mines. Some of my fellow miners had a strange way of amusing themselves. During their lunch hour they would call over young children whose ages ran from four to six or seven. Then they would teach the youngsters the foulest words imaginable and offer them kopecks if the children would run home and repeat these dirty words to their parents. Well, I think I know who's been teaching the Albanians dirty words."

We asked the Chairman if the incident he had just related was privileged. "Not at all," he replied. "I'll probably use it publicly myself."

And he did—before a meeting of the Supreme Soviet. Nor did he hesitate to say he wouldn't lift a finger to help the Chinese develop nuclear weapons. He literally brushed aside territorial claims by the Chinese on the basis of lands seized by pre-Revolutionary Russia.

But the rift with the Chinese involved much more than a dispute over national between the two giant Communist powe involved a costly and possibly disastro inside the entire Communist world. It volved a fundamental ideological strugg was bound to produce a vast upheaval.

It would be a mistake, however, to that the need to avoid an irreparable break the Communist world was the only major for the removal of Nikita Khrushchev. Th important single part of the Khrushchev p was directed to the economic strengthen the Soviet Union and the upgrading standard of living of its people. However, as a large portion of the national budge into the manufacture of weapons, it was sible to achieve these objectives. Only by Soviet industrial capacity for nonmilitar poses could Khrushchev's domestic ai achieved. But this involved a basic assess America's present and historic situation. had said that war was inherent in the na capitalism. If Marx was right, then the would have to maintain maximum milita paredness, with an almost indefinite de upgrading the home economy. Khrushch the position that it was foolish to assign cience to Marx.

"Marx had no way of anticipating changes that would occur a century late told us. "He certainly couldn't foresee th trophe of nuclear war. I don't think th wants to be destroyed by atomic weapo more than we do. What alternative is t coexistance ? Coextermination ?"

The attempt to seek arms agreements surmount another major ideological barri was the old Marxist contention that the U to depend on armaments in order to economy going. Here, too, Khrushchev strated his unorthodoxy. He said he reason why the American economy co maintain high prosperity on a full peacetim He saw no Marxist laws of inevitability collapse of American capitalism.

Reinterpretation of Marx, however, enough. It was necessary to how results in disarmament negotiations with

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Only in this way would he be able to achieve increased consumer production at home.

This accounted for the importance he attached to the nuclear test ban and other measures that would domonstrate progress in his policies toward the West. The Chinese characterized these policies as appeasement, declaring that the U.S. would take advantage of his softness. In particular, they pointed to American proposals for a Multi-lateral Force as a way of equipping Germany, Russia's historic enemy, with nuclear weapons.

In mid-September of this year there came, in rapid succession, three news stories in the American press that unhinged whatever was left of Khrushchev's policy. The first was a report, attributed to "authoritative sources," saying that the U.S. Government had decided to exploit the differences between the Soviet Union and China as a prime objective of its foreign policy. The second item, also attributed to unnamed sources, said the U.S. had no intention of concluding disarmament agreements with the Soviet Union, because the U.S. wanted to exert maximum pressure on the Soviet economy. The third report told of West Germany's confidence that it would possess nuclear weapons.

Soviet leaders have a chronic inability to evaluate news in the American press. They assume stories attributed to "authoritative sources" are either a deliberate government plant or a forerunner of a formal announcement. In either case, they have been known to make political decisions based on what are actually unfounded or suppositious reports. The "news" stories about American exploitation of Sino-Soviet problems and about the decision to maintain the arms race as a means of bleeding the Russian economy were critical enough. But the story about German fingers getting close to nuclear triggers was fatal. Nothing upsets a Russian more than the specter of a remilitarized Germany.

It seems clear that Soviet leaders at this point felt they were faced with the collapse of the main features of the Khrushchev policy. Disarmament negotiations with the U.S. had been at a standstill for months. The domestic economy, both industrial and agricultural, was lagging. The ideological differences with China were rapidly developing into a grave national confrontation. Communist parties all over the world were splitting up. The policy of coexistence was being exploited by the West to Russian disadvantage; or so it appeared. Finally, Germany was coming close to nuclear capability. Khrushchevism hadn't worked—or so the Soviet leaders thought. He was through.

The implications for the American and Russian peoples and, in the larger sense, for the world's peoples are somber indeed. For the Russian people, the effect will be fewer goods in the stores and higher prices, a little less room for the circulation of ideas, and less breathing space for probing artists and writers. For the Americans, the effect will be increased tension and strain that comes from greater uncertainty about the men whose fingers possess shattering nuclear power. And for the world, it means less hope and more dread.

What makes the total situation both ironic and tragic is that the Russians miscalculated the U.S. position. Despite apparent lack of progress at the Geneva Arms negotiations, the U.S. was genuinely seeking a way to end the arms race and prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. And the Johnson Administration had quietly decided not to push the Multi-Lateral Force project. Finally the report about maintaining the arms race because of its impact on the Soviet economy may have had partial validity four or five years ago, but it has no sanction today in the highest councils of the U.S. Government. To the extent, therefore, that these developments figured in the final decision to jettison the Khrushchev policies, the decision was poorly founded. At this point it is difficult to know what the U.S. could do or say to forestall the threat of unity or even a detente in the Communist world. But at least we have learned—as we ought to have learned many times before—the importance of full communication. Mistaken evaluations or miscalculations in a nuclear age are lethal. Government today ought to be concerned not just with the formation of policy but with the clarification of policy in such a way that all may understand.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

KATHER KAJ (in Bengali) : By Lakshmiswar Sinha. Published by Orient Longmans Limited, 17, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta-13. Revised and Enlarged edition 1964. Introduction by Rabindranath Tagore. Preface by Sudhi Ranjan Das. 352 pp. with copious working drawings, maps and diagrams and index. Price Rs. 6.75.

When a life-time of experience and realisation enters into a book—the end-result cannot but be impressive by any standards. Lakshmiswar Sinha's book on Woodwork is a book of the superior category. If it were merely a manual on a basic craft, it would not probably call for detailed notice. But it is the work of an educationist, a pioneer—protagonist of activity education with whom the cause of craft-education and assigning it its rightful place alongside the conventional three R's,—has been a life long absorption and concern.

It would probably not be out of place here to mention that the book appeared in print, nearly forty years ago, at the insistence of Rabindranath Tagore whose stature as an educational philosopher is now universally recognised.

In his author's preface Sinha has given his own background and how he came to write such a book. Most boys feel a natural attraction for workman-like chores. For Sinha, born and bred in rural Sylhet, it was : 'I shall be a carpenter if I can.' A wise and far-seeing father indulged and encouraged this natural inclination. Teenage found Sinha apprenticed to a Japanese master-craftsman Kasahara by name, at the Rural Reconstruction Institute founded by Tagore at Sriniketan.

While a student he felt a kind of urge to share his experience and to hold up the possibilities of wood work as an educational craft. It received more than Tagore's moral sup poet arranged publication of the bo Santiniketan Press and contributed a s introduction : "True education shou complete men of us." The Poet says, "B book-reading person cannot be called a man. It is surprising that this does not those who mould educational norms an of the country. On the other hand, t sedulously been preaching, through years, that the educated gentry need complete as human beings. So long as th man is able to read and write, his eyes. limbs do not need to be trained to perf functions properly ; he would not lose thereby and least of all his dignity as a of the upper class. Thus it is the ineff inefficient man, unversed in the proper limbs and senses, who is held up as an of perfect gentleman. So long as the educ of our Bengali gentry found a safe har quill-driving world of clerks, everything to be harmless and secure. Once there crowding in the white-collar profes educated Bengali showed up to be abjectly helpless creature on earth. Th now come for us to realise that the of bookish knowledge is no safe vessel us across the turbulent sea of a competi that pen-pushing is not all the manua we should acquire, we should be able t hands to more practical mundane use. if in response to the challenge of the Lakshmiswar Sinha has written this *Woodwork* : he would not name it

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

robably in deference to the delicate sentiments f the gentry. However be it, the book will be ound useful by everyone, by those who would ke to take up carpentry as profession as much s by those who wish to pursue it for education. man who is not able to put his hands to good e is like a cripple—be he a pundit or a prince. was with this idea of educating the untrained ands that this book has been written. I hope it ill be well-received at home and at school. The riter is himself engaged in the pursuit of wood- ork with a spirit of dedication. He is tireless in is efforts to master the craft in theory as much in practice. He can, therefore, be depended for writing authoritatively on the subject."

Shortly after, Tagore appointed him a teacher of hat used to be known as manual training in the chool department of Santiniketan. That was in e early twenties.

Nearly forty years have passed since that me. It is truly remarkable that all through the assage of these long years, in spite of a bewilder- g change of values and vicissitudes, the author as remained faithful to his old love. Tagore eputed him to Sweden to specialise in Slojd at e well-known Naas Institute where he made s mark both as a trainee and a master. Returning me after having spent years in Scandanavia, he as called by Mahatma Gandhi to lend a hand ith what was known as Wardha system of ucation, first at Wardha and thereafter at the ai Talim Bhavana at Sevagram. The disband- nt of the Sevagram Ashram after 'Quit India' ovement, found him experimenting and perfect- g his system of integrated craft education at hagarh—a centre founded and managed by in his native Sylhet, until partition forced him give it up. In 1948 when Vinaya-Bhavana was anised as a teacher-education institute of Visva- arati to work out the Sargent Scheme—a dified version of the Wardha system—Sinha s once again pressed into the service of his a Mater. Appropriately enough, for the last eral years he now heads the Woodwork partment at Sriniketan where he started his eer as a specialising student in this craft, forty rs ago. Or in other words, he has come round full circle, and has the satisfaction to see that at Visva-Bharati Woodwork now occupies a place of honour in its scheme of education.

The present revised and enlarged edition of *Kather Kaj* is the outcome of a singular and steadfast devotion to a cause, a vindication of the validity of craft activities forming a vital part of what Tagore used to call Education for Fulness. Into this book the author has poured all the maturity of his knowledge and experience of the art and science of woodwork, as also of the principles and methods underlying the pursuit of this craft as an educational activity. It is no idle claim that the author has made when he says that the book would be found useful by Basic and Higher Secondary Schools, Teacher Training Colleges, Polytechnics and Carpentry work-shops as well as hobbyists. I would like to add to these categories the name of the Common Reader who, I am sure, would find the book equally as interesting.

The maps, diagrams and working drawings enhance the use and value of the book to a considerable extent. Finally, the Publishers must be congratulated on the imagination and enterprise they have shown in publishing the author's two books—*Karpas-Silpa O Siksha Bignan* (Spinning and Weaving as an educational Craft. This book came out two years ago) and *Kather-Kaj*. In not too distant a future, one may expect our educational policy to veer again towards a correct appreciation of Basic Education. The policy-makers will surely see the validity of what Tagore used to say about the child revelling in play which is work to him, and in work which is play to him. Gandhiji defined this work as 'socially useful and purposeful activity.' It is in this context that the crafts relating to the basic needs of man came prominently in the programme of Basic Education. Spinning and Weaving are as basic as Woodwork. It may well be claimed, therefore, that these two books of Sinha's fulfil a felt need. If that be so, there is no reason why the two books should not be translated in the other languages of the Union. I am sure the Publishers will address themselves to this task before long.

KSHITIS ROY

Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji
Printed and published by Kalyan Das Gupta, Prabasi Press Private Limited,
77/2/1, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Statement about ownership and other particulars about THE MODERN REVIEW to be published in the first issue every year after the last day of February.

FORM IV

1. Place of Publication :	CALCUTTA (West Bengal)
2. Periodicity of its Publication :	Monthly
3. Printer's Name :	Sri Kalyan Das Gupta
Nationality :	Indian
Address :	77-2-1, Dharamtala Street, Cal-13
4. Publisher's Name :	(Same as above)
Nationality :	—
Address :	—
5. Editor's Name :	Shri Kedar Nath Chatterji
Nationality :	Indian
Address :	77-2-1, Dharamtala Street, Cal-13
6 (a) Name and addresses of individuals who own the newspaper :	Prabasi Press Private Limited. 77-2-1, Dharamtala Street, Cal-13
and (b) those of shareholders holding more than one per cent of the capital :	1. Shri Kedar Nath Chatterji— 77-2-1, Dharamtala Street, Cal-13 2. Mrs. Arundhati Chatterji— 77-2-1, Dharamtala Street, Cal-13 3. Miss Roma Chatterji— 77-2-1, Dharamtala Street, Cal-13 4. Mrs. Sunanda Das— 77-2-1, Dharamtala Street, Cal-13 5. Mrs. Ishita Dutta— 77-2-1, Dharamtala Street, Cal-13 6. Mrs. Nandita Sen— 77-2-1, Dharamtala Street, Cal-13 7. Shri Asoke Chatterji— 77-2-1, Dharamtala Street, Cal-13 8. Mrs. Kamala Chatterji— 77-2-1, Dharamtala Street, Cal-13 9. Miss Ratna Chatterji— 77-2-1, Dharamtala Street, Cal-13 10. Mrs. Alokananda Mitra— 77-2-1, Dharamtala Street, Cal-13 11. Mrs. Lakshmi Chatterji — 77-2-1, Dharamtala Street, Cal-13

I, the publisher of the Modern Review, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief,

Date—1.3.65 Signature of Publisher—*Sd.* Kalyan Das Gupta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

FOUNDED BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

(A Monthly Review And Miscellany)

VOL. CXIV. NUMBER 1 TO 6

JULY TO DECEMBER

1963

EDITED BY

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDEX OF ARTICLES

A

(The) Achievement of John XXIII
J. Taravas 208

Agricultural Credit and Refinance Corporation
Dr. M. D. Sharma 58

Anarkali
S. N. Qanungo 116

Are Standards in Secondary Schools Falling ?
Prem Kripal 210

B

Behaviourism
Sri Shyamlal Mistri 216

Bhotias—The Frontiersmen of Kumaon
Dr. R. P. Srivastava 135

Black Preparations of the Whites in South Africa
Suresh Ram 213

Book Reviews 75, 158, 235, 315, 394, 475

Brahmo Samaj and Swami Vivekananda's Chicago Lectures
Mononit Sen 443

C

Calcutta's Appalling Traffic Problem
Som Nath Chatterjee 379

Christian Concern for Peace 73

Cooperative Banking
Vaikunth L. Mehata 161

Current Affairs
K. K. Nandi 9, 95, 172, 254, 332, 411

D

(A) Demographic Study of Rajasthan
Prof. D. C. Sancheti 63

(The) Depressed Economy of West Bengal
Subhas Chandra Sarkar 17

(The) Development of Keatsian Imagery
D. P. Sengupta 303

E

Early British Relations with South-Western Bengal
Binod Sankar Das 220

Education for Comprehensive Planning
J. Minattur 228

Effects of Bank Rate Rise
Paras Ram 113

Evolution of Hindi Drama
Amal Sarkar 25

F

Fiji Indians
P. Rahiman

Foreign Periodicals 81, 163, 243, 321, 4[illegible]

(The) Foundation of the Indian Bishopric
Nisith Ranjan Ray

G

(The) Genesis of the Indian National Cong[illegible]
B. L. Grover

I

Indian Administrative Service : The Steelframe of New Democracy
G. P. Srivastava

Indian Periodicals 79, 161, 238, 318, 3[illegible]

J

John Steinbeck
David Stride

K

Kahlil Girban
Kubernath Ray

Kuer Singh and Eighteen Fifty-Seven
Gopal Lal Sharma

(The) Kurmi Mahatos of Manbhum
P. C. Roy Chawdhury

L

Libraries in Mediaeval India
Dipak Kumar Barua

Life With an Artist
Mrs. Devi Prasad Roychowdhury 35, [illegible]

Little Rock : Arakansas, Six Years After
The Rev. Colbert S. Cartwright

Lord Curzon and the Politico-surgery of Bengal (Oct. 16, 1905-Dec. 12, 1911) : A Review
D. B. Mathur

M

Maldive Islands : The Harbinger of Cold War in the Indian Realm
Ramesh Dutta Dikshit

March of Washington
Prafulla Chandra Mukherji

(The) Mishmis of Lohit Frontier Division
Col. P. N. Luthra

Missionaries and Printing in India
P. Thankappan Nair

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Modern Review Fifty One Years Ago 68
Modern Review Fifty Years Ago 154
Modern Review Forty Nine Years Ago 229
Modern Review Forty Eight Years Ago 311, 391

N

(A) New Light on Plato
D. S. Mahalanobis 140
New Phase of Khadi Development
Subhas Chandra Sarker 356
Notes 1, 85, 165, 245, 325, 405

O

On Pakistan Census of 1961
Jatindra Mohan Datta 118

P

(The) Plan Muddle
Karuna K. Nandi 451
Planning and the Rule of Law
M. G. K. Reddy
Police Reform in India
Brahma Bharadvaja 367
Population of Greece about 1200 B.C.
Jatindra Mohan Datta 465
Prof. Toynbee and Western Civilization
Debiprasad Bhattacharyya 261
Progress of European Renaissance up to 1500 A.D.
Dr. Paresh Nath Mukherjee 223

R

Racial Tensions in the United States
Kenneth L. Hill
Rammohun and Modern Education in India
C. R. Goswami
Rewriting Indian History
D. P. Singhal
(The) Role of the Law Giver in Machiavelli's Political Thought
Sisir Kanti Bhattacharyya
Rural Reconstruction Around Santiniketan
Ratilal Mehta

S

Signs in Foreign Aid
Prof. C. L. Khanna
Social and Public Services and Social Balance
Prof. Mrs. Ashalata Bose
Some Early Archaeological Finds of the Sundarban
Malidas Dutta
Some Reflections on the Changing Efficacy of Monetary Policy
Prof. Naresh Ch. Nanda

Sri Aurobindo and Bande Mataram
Uma Mukherjee and Haridas Mukherjee 125
(The) Story of the Gazetteers
P. C. Roy Choudhury 448
(A) Study in Financial Relations between the Union and Rajasthan
C. S. Nainawati 371
(The) Supreme Court and the Indo-Pak Agreement about Berubari and Certain Enclaves
Prof. D. N. Banerjee 341
Symbolism of Durga-Image and Durga Puja
Amal Sarkar 360

T

Tax Reform—Major Task Ahead
Thoughts on Ancient Hindu Ideas of
I. Bhatnagar 188
Rebirth
S. K. Nandi 292
Three Decades of Air Transport in India
R. S. Kaushik 110
Towards A Democratic Administrative Pattern for Rural Development
Prof. Sant Lal Singh 101

U

U.S. Schools Test 'Do-It-Yourself' Teaching Technique for Basic Physics 462

V

(The) Vedic Sage Agastya in Malaya
Prof. O. C. Gangoly 285
Vivekananda's Faith and the Ramkrishna Mission
Mononit Sen 33

W

Wajid Ali Shah—The Last King of Oudh
S. N. Qanungo 352
Welfare State
Prof. C. L. Chakrabarthy 387

CURRENT AFFAIRS

(The) Compulsory Savings Deposit Scheme 95
Corruption in Government 8
Corruption in High Places 418
(An) Economic Survey for 1962-63 12
Food Crisis in West Bengal 332
India's Poor 178
Krishnamachari on Price Control 257
Need for Accelerating Rate of Growth 340
(A) Picture of the National Economy 254
Press Council Bill—An Insult 420

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(The) Price Feud in Calcutta 411
Taxation, Prices, Defence and Development 172
Traffic Congestion in Calcutta 259
U.S. Arms Aid to India 15
West Bengal Government's Housing Racket 416

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Admonitions from Comrade Mao 321
Defining the U.N's Role 163
(The) De-regionalization of a Problem 483
Educating Women 164
Education Around the World 402
Free Enterprise Economy Not for the Lazy 323
Letter from Birmingham City Jail 243
Morocco's Little Inquisition 81
(The) Need for Arab Unity 403
Prometheus Bound 482
(The) Rusty Bells of Hope 243
Sweet, Spontaneous Humanity 83

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Area Plans Are Essential Basis of our Foreign Policy
Economic Mobilization in the context of the Emergency
Employment
Fort of Flattery
How Poor, The Poor ?
Khrushchev's Left
Other Conditions
Problems of Leadership and Democracy in South-Asia
Rephasing the Third Plan
Some Aspects of University Education
Medium of Instruction
Swami Vivekananda As an Advaitist
Village Plans

আপনার পণ্যের

প্রচারে

প্রবাসী

প্রকৃষ্ট

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

FOUNDED BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

(A Monthly Review And Miscellany)

VOL. CXV. NUMBER 1 TO 6

JANUARY TO JUNE

1964

EDITED BY

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDEX OF ARTICLES

A

Acharya Kakasaheb Kalelkar—Literatteur, Educationist, Parliamentarian (Fifty Five Years of Public Service) Savyasachi 360

(The) Advent of Youth The Late Acharya Brajendra Nath Seal 175

Antiquity of Angkor Dr. Manomohan Ghosh 44

Art and Artist in Ancient India Prof. C. V. Ramachandra Rao 375

(The) Aryanization of Ancient Cambodian Prof. O. C. Gangoly 43

B

Bengali Literature in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century : A Brief Survey Prof. Kanchanmoy Mojumdar 135

Book Reviews 75, 154, 217, 297, 379, 457

Buddhist Culture in Bengal Sudhansu Bimal Barua 210

C

(The) Case for a Permanent Tribunal of Inquiry R. K. Swamy 257

China and India—Problems & Prospects Chester Bowles 107

(The) Classical Conception of the Poet in India and the West Sarbeswar Das 58

(The) Cold War & Its Impact on American Opinion James Channing 245

Community Development and the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution of India Prof. Makhija 250

Constitutional Guarantee of Freedom of Expression Joseph Minattur 40

Current Affairs Karuna Kumar Nandi 7, 87, 167, 232, 313, 392

E

Education for Librarianship R. C. Banerji 294

Education in Moghul India Prof. Atulananda Sen 278

Emergency Provisions in the Constitution of India : An Appraisal Prof. Mohammad Ghonse

F

Foreign Periodicals 80, 159, 223, 302

(A) Forgotten Episode in the life of Raja Rammohun Roy Amiya Sen

(A) Forgotten Kingdom of the Himalayas Amiya Kumar Chakravarty

G

George Santayana (1863-1952) Dinesh Kumar Sen

(The) Ghaznavide Invasion of India Abraham Early

H

(The) Heroines in Kalidasa's Plays (A Study)

How to Plan a better Calcutta Som Nath Chattopadhyay

Humanism in the Comedies of Christopher Prof. Akhileshwar Jha

I

India & Nuclear Weapons Prof. D. N. Banerjee

India : Fifteen Years After Independence Haridas T. Muzumdar

Indian Influence on Malay Customary Law Joseph Minattur

Indian Periodicals 77, 157, 219, 299

"Indian Stock Exchanges & Industrial Finance" Prof. K. P. Agarwal

Industrial Growth & Social Justice Chester Bowles

K

Khadi—The Last Opportunity Suresh Ram

Krishnamachari's Second Budget : A Critical Evaluation Karuna Kumar Nandi

M

Mahakavi Vallathol "Tagore" of Kerala Dr. Abraham Paul

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Maithili has been for a long time and is today a Living Language
Dr. Jayakanta Mishra 214
Malhar Rao Holkar—The Founder of the House of Holkar
Prof. S. N. Qanungo 455
"Management for Industries"
N. Sen 426
Methodological Problems of Rural Research
Bishwa B. Chatterjee 203
Mineral Resources of Jammu and Kashmir State
Prof. R. L. Mehta 354
Miyan Tansen
Prof. Amal Haldar 130

N

Nehru Highlights in Pictures 433
New Trends in American Financial Situation
Kamal Rohtagi 429
Notes 1, 82, 161, 225, 305, 385
(A) Note on the Technique of Evaluation
Prof. T. V. Sethuraman 367
New Trends in Economic Policy
Karuna K. Nandi 73

O

On the Khadi Programme
Vaikunth L. Mehta 401
(An) Open Letter
William Hookens 248

P

Panchayati Raj—Theory and Practice
Shri S. M. Shetty 349
Parents' Role in the Education of Children
Miss Usha Biswas 268
Perspective of India's Planned Progress and Prosperity
Prof. G. L. Khanna 179
Place of Plato in Political Philosophy
Prof. Satyendra Nath Paul 446

R

Raja Birbal
S. N. Qanungo
Ramanuja's Contribution to Indian Philosophy
Dr. Anima Sen Gupta 365
(A) Rare, Old, Tanjore Painting
K. P. Padmanabhan Tampy 114
Recent Trends in Indian Administration
Ashoke Mohan Roy 132
Regional Variations in Agricultural Production and Productivity
Prof. M. Balasubramanian 343, 411
(The) Rise and Fall of the Radhanagari
Prof. Prafulla Ch. Sarkar 126
(The) Role of a Modern State
Sisir Kanti Bhattacharyya 373

S

Sardar K. M. Panikkar—Scholar, Journalist & Diplomat
Karuna Kumar Nandi 49
(The) School City 150
(The) Siege and Fall of Hooghly
Mohit Das Gupta 45
Soviet Music Today
Tikhon Khrennikov 119
Studies in Mother Montessori's Philosophy of Education
Leena Nandi 124
Swami Vivekananda
A. Frenchwoman 369
Swamiji's Last Letters
Debi Prasad Bhattacharyya 408

T

Tagore As A Poet and A Painter
Prof. V. V. Tonpe 324
(The) Tenth National Exhibition of Art
Usab 320
(The) Training of Art Students
Sri Devi Prasad Roy Chowdhury 271
Trends in Indian Banking
Santosh Kumar Adhikari 347
Trends in Rajasthan Politics ; Mahuwa Bye Election (A Viewpoint)
Prof. K. L. Kamal 67

W

Wage Output Relation in Small Industry
Miss Bela Bose 441
(The) World Community Day Celebration
Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar 405

CURRENT AFFAIRS.

Agriculture 200
Cause and Effect 317
Concentration and Monopolies 396
Conditions for Growth 397
Continuing Industry Orientation 316
Exercise in Futility 314
Exit Kairon and the Aftermath 317
Failure of the Plans 399
Fair Deal to Farm Growers 314
Feasibility Studies by Working Groups 239
Fourth Plan Perspective 313
(The) Future of Coal 313
232

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Government of West Bengal
Growth of Big Business
Healers and Teachers
Human Objectives
Lack of Concern over Price Pressures
Legislation for Joint Stock Companies
Measures to Combat Price Pressures
Minor Emphasis on Agriculture
(The) Monopolies Commission
(A) Nation Held to Ransom
(The) New Harvest
Other Edibles
Parliament on Planning
Population Growth and the Communities
(The) Price Problem in West Bengal
(The) Problem of Prices
Rising Growth Rate ?
(The) Sixty Eighth Annual Congress
(The) State Budget this Year
Unexplored Potentials

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

(The) Legacy of Konard Adenauer
Letter from East Pakistan
(The) United Nations Nobody Knows
(A) Macro-Micro Man
(A) Rendezvous with Pegasus
Report on C. P. R.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

392 (An) Act of God in Lok Sabha
236 Betrayal
399 Education and its Content
319 How Positive is Our Credit Policy ?
314 Leadership's Role in Developing Faith
15 May the Government Become Wiser
394 National Integration, A Process
315 Need for Self-Introspection on the Part of Leadership
233 Process of National Integration
392 Technical Education and Research
393 Two other Aspects—Religions and Economic Factors
393
7
167

NOTES :

319 (The) A.I.C.C. Meeting
233 Apologia
170 (The) Book Co. Ltd., Calcutta-6
87 Corruption
174 (The) Cruise of the U.S. 7th Fleet in the Indian Ocean
318 Education
Hindusthan Standard
80 India After Nehru
159 Jawaharlal Nehru
223 (Dr.) John Haynes Holmes
302 Kashmir and Sheikh Abdullah
383 Kashmir, Pakistan and Sheikh Abdullah
463 (The) Riots
(The) World 1, 82, 161, 225,



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE PRABASI

INDIA'S LEADING BENGALI MONTHLY

Advertisement Rates For Single Insertion

	Rs. P.
ORDINARY POSITION	
Ordinary Full Page	100.00
,, Half-page or one column	60.00
,, Quarter page or half-column	35.00
,, One-eighth page	20.00
Next to and or opposite contents	125.00
Ditto half-page	75.00
Ditto quarter-page	45.00
Ditto one-eighth page	30.00
SPECIAL POSITIONS	
Page facing second page of the cover	150.00
Page facing third page of the cover	140.00
Page facing last page of the reading matter	140.00
Page facing back of the Frontispiece	155.00
Ditto half-page	80.00
POSITION WITHIN READING MATTER	
Full Page	180.00
Half-page	95.00
Quarter page	50.00
One col.	30.00

Space within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

COVERS	Rs. P.
1st page of the cover (1"X6")	190.00
2nd page of the cover	200.00
3rd page of the cover	175.00
4th page of the cover (One-colour)	225.00
(Bi-colour)	275.00
(Tri-colour)	350.00

SUPPLEMENT size 8"x6" (to be Printed and supplied by the advertiser)

8 pages (or 4 slips) ...	400.00
4 pages (or 2 slips) ...	250.00
2 pages (or 1 slip) ...	50.00

MECHANICAL DETAILS & OTHER PARTICULARS

Type area of a full page	8"X6"
,, ,, half pgae	4"X6"
Number of columns to a page	2
Length of a column	8"
Breadth of a column	3"
Type area of half-column	4"X3"
,, ,, quarter-column	2"X3"

Zincos and screen blocks (65 screen) are accepted. Matrices or unmounted blocks are not accepted.

PRABASI PRESS PRIVATE LIMITED
77/2/1 Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13

THE MODERN REVIEW

Subscription : Payable in Advance.

Annual — Inland	:	Rs. 15.00
,, — Foreign	:	Rs. 24.00
Half-yearly—	:	
— Inland	:	Rs. 8.00
— Foreign	:	Rs. 13.00

(Advance Payment. Rates are inclusive of postage)

On V.P.P. order—V.P.P. Charges—extra

16 Single Issue :
Inland : Rs. 1.25

Cheque on Banks outside Calcutta are not accepted.

If regular subscribers do not renew their subscriptions and/or send stop-orders in due time, the next issue after the expiary of their current subscriptions, will be sent per V.P.P. —assuming their willingness to continue.

Complaints of non-receipt of any issue of the Modern Review—must reach our office by the 15th of the month in question—and in all cases the *Subscriber Number must be quoted.*

Terms for News Agents :—On application : (minimum 5 copies of the Modern Review per month—should be ordered. Special Rates for 20 or more copies per month—on advance payment.

Manager
THE MODERN REVIEW

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

26 MAR 1965
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW Price : India and Pakistan Re. 1.25 P. Registered
Subscription—Ind. & Pak. Rs. 15.00, Foreign Rs. 24.00, Single copy Rs. 2.00 or

CITY BOOK SOCIETY

THE PIONEER PUBLISHERS OF ILLUSTRATED JUVENILE LITERATURES

Books of Late Jogendra Nath Sircar entertained & enlightened the Children of
&
Enthused Lakhs of Non-Bengali Children to learn Bengali.

Hasi Khusi I
99th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Hasi Khusi II
38th Edn. — Re. 0.80
(The two most outstanding books to learn Bengali)

Mojar Galpa
25th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Asare Swapna
18th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Ranga Chhabi
31st Edn. — Re. 0.80

Khelar Sathi
27th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Chhabir Bai
25th Edn. — Re. 0.70

Bane Jangale
9th Edn. — Rs. 5.00

Galpa Sanchaya
5th Edn. — Rs. 4.50

Khukumanir Chhara
17th Edn. — Rs. 3.50

Chhabi -O- Galpa
19th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

Chhotoder Chiriakhana
7th Edn. — Re. 1.87

Hasi Rasi
33rd Edn. — Re. 1.40

Chhotoder Ramayana
36th Edn. — Re. 1.12

Chhotoder Mahabharat
36th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

CITY BOOK SOCIETY
64, College Street
Calcutta—12.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The MODERN REVIEW

संस्कृत
गुरुकुल काँगड़ी

VOL. CXVII, :- No. 4 WHOLE No. 700

23-4-65

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

Letters to and from Rajnarain Bose
The Message of Mahatma Gandhi
—Prof. P. D. Kaushik
Radicalism In French Politics
—Prof. P. N. Mukherjee
Theory of Art In Painting & Sculpture
—Dr. Alok Ghosh
Hindi
—Sri A. K. Moitra
Nepal—A Study
—Prof. S. Roy Chowdhury

APRIL • 1965

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOR

PRINTING

WITH A DISTINCTION.

Contact the

PRABASI
PRESS
PRIVATE LD.

We print in 3 LANGUAGES

ENGLISH

BENGALI

DEVNAGRI

*

for more details—Contact the

MANAGER

PRABASI PRESS PRIVATE LD.

77-2-1 Dharamtala Street,

CALCUTTA—13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A UNIQUE PUBLICATION

Rare Photographs

AND

SPEECHES & WRITINGS

OF

DR. B. C. ROY

500 Page Volume in

Beautifully Bound

Art Paper

Price : Rs. 20/- only

●

To keep yourself well-informed

READ

Weekly West Bengal

Subscription :

Yearly Rs. 6/- Half-yearly Rs. 3/-

ENQUIRE:

BUSINESS MANAGER

Home (Publicity) Department.

Writers' Buildings,

Calcutta-1.

W. B. (P) Adv-D. 1773/65

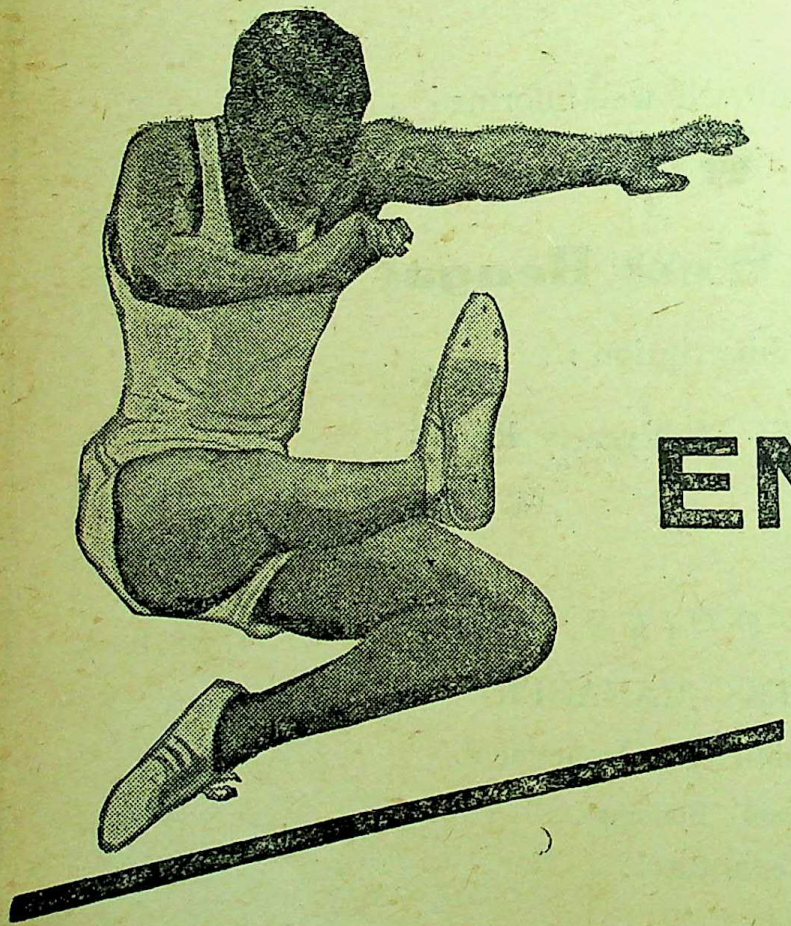
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. CXVII. No. 4 CONTENTS FOR APRIL, 1965 WHOLE NO.

NOTES
CURRENT AFFAIRS—Karuna K. Nandi
SOME INTERESTING LETTERS—Letters to and from Rajnarain Bose
THE MESSAGE OF MAHATMA GANDHI—Dr. Pitambar Datt Kaushik
RADICALISM AS A POLITICAL CREED IN FRANCE
—Dr. Paresh Nath Mukherjee
PRE-REQUISITES FOR DEVELOPMENT
PLANNING—Prof. Praphulla Chakravarti



A RAPID
PICK-ME-UP
FOR
WORN-OUT
ENERGY



ENERGO

Energon is a palatable restorative tonic for persons of all ages and in all seasons. It increases appetite, aids digestion, stimulates the nervous system, removes physical and mental exhaustion and restores health.

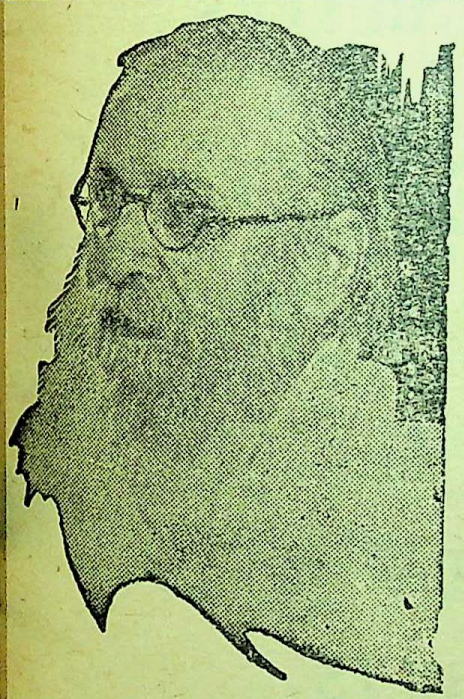
BENGAL CHEMIC
CALCUTTA BOMBAY KANPUR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
HINDI—A. K. Moitra	272
APPLIED ART IN SCULPTURE & PAINTING—Dr. Alok Ghosh	276
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL	288
NEPAL—A STUDY—Prof. Satyabrata Rai Chowdhuri	289
NATIONALISATION OF BANKS IN INDIA—Prof. D. V. Sawhney	295
MINA BAZAR OF THE MUGHAL DAYS—S. N. Qanungo	300
PURDAH & MODERN WOMEN—Manindra Nath Das	303
EDUCATION FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMET—Prof. G. L. Chatterjee -	309
INDIAN PERIODICALS—	314
BOOK REVIEWS—	317
FOREIGN PERIODICALS—	319



ভারতমুক্তিসাধক

আনন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় ও অর্দ্ধশতাব্দীর বাংলা

শ্রীশান্তা দেবী প্রণীত

প্রাপ্তিস্থান : সিটি বুক সোসাইটী

৬৪, কলেজ ষ্ট্রীট কলিকাতা

সিলেক্ট পাব্লিকেশন্সের

একটি অপূর্ব্ব উপহার-গ্রন্থ

অনেকগুলি তিনরঙা পাতাজোড়া ছবি এবং প্রায়

পাতায় পাতায় একরঙা ছবি সঙ্কলিত

খাঁচা নেই

যে চিড়িয়াখানায়

(লেখক—শ্রীসুধাংশুকুমার চৌধুরী)

গল্পের মতই চিত্তাকর্ষক এবং জন্তুজানোয়ারদের

শিক্ষাপ্রদ বিবরণ।

দাম —সাড়ে তিন টাকা।

প্রাপ্তিস্থান : সিটি বুক সোসাইটী

৬৪, কলেজ স্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা-১২

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

GOES TO PEOPLE
WHO COUNT
AND
ARE YOUR
BEST BUYERS

ADVERTISE IN THE MODERN REVIEW

and Reap
the Best of
RESULTS

For particulars:

Contact — **The Manager**

77/2/1 DHARAMTALA STREET, CALCUTTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

= প্রবাসী =

৭৭।২।১ ধর্মতলা ষ্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা-১৩

গ্রাহক-গ্রাহিকাদের জন্য :—

ভারত ও পাকিস্তানে সডাক বার্ষিক মূল্য ১২৲, ঐ যাণ্মাসিক ৬৲, ঐ প্রতি সংখ্যা ১৲ টাকা। বিদেশী সডাক বার্ষিক মূল্য ১৮৲ টাকা, ঐ যাণ্মাষিক ১০৲ টাকা, ঐ প্রতি সংখ্যা ১·৫০ টাকা : অগ্রিম দেয়। বৎসর বৈশাখ হইতে আরম্ভ হয়। তবে গ্রাহকের সুবিধামত অন্য যে-কোন মাস হইতেও করা যায়। টাকা মণিঅর্ডারে অগ্রিম পাঠানোই ভাল। প্রবাসী বাংলা মাসের ১লা তারিখে প্রকাশিত হয়। যথাসময়ে প্রবাসী না পৌঁছিলে ১৫ তারিখের ভিতর স্থানীয় ডাকঘরের রিপোর্ট ও নির্দ্দিষ্ট গ্রাহক নম্বরসহ পত্র লিখিতে হইবে। পুরাতন গ্রাহক-গ্রাহিকাগণ তাঁহাদের চাঁদা যে সংখ্যার সহিত নিঃশেষ হইবে, সেই সংখ্যা পাইবার পর ২০ দিনের ভিতর পুনর্ব্বার চাঁদা বা প্রবাসী লইতে অনিচ্ছাজ্ঞাপক পত্র না পাঠাইলে, তাঁহারা পরবর্ত্তী সংখ্যা ভিঃ পিঃতে লইয়া চাঁদা দিতে ইচ্ছুক এই বিশ্বাসে ভিঃ পিঃ প্রেরণ করা হয়। চিঠিপত্র বা টাকা পাঠাইবার সময় গ্রাহক নম্বর উল্লেখ না করিলে অসুবিধা অবশ্যম্ভাবী।

বিজ্ঞাপনের হার

সাধারণ—১ পৃঃ	১০০৲ টাকা
„ ½ বা ১ কলম	৬০৲ „
„ ¼ পৃঃ বা ½ কলম	৩৫৲ „
„ ⅛ „	২০৲ „
সূচীর পরে ১ পৃঃ	১২৫৲ „
„ নীচে ½ „	৭৫৲ „
„ „ ¼ „	৪৫৲ „
„ „ ⅛ „	৩০৲ „

বিশেষ পৃষ্ঠা

বিজ্ঞাপনের প্রথম পৃঃ	১৫০৲ টাকা
„ শেষ „	১৪০৲ „

অন্যান্য বিশেষ পৃষ্ঠার বিজ্ঞাপনের হার জানিতে হইলে—পত্র লিখুন।

রিডিং ম্যাটারের মধ্যে

১ পৃঃ	১৮০ টাকা
½ „	৯৫৲ „
¼ „	৫০৲ „
½ কলম	৩০৲ „

(পত্রিকার শেষের দুই ফর্ম্মার মধ্যে যায়)

কভার পেজের বিজ্ঞাপন-হার

১ম কভার (নীচে) (১″×৬″)		১০০৲ টাকা
২য় „		২০০৲ „
৩য় „		১৭৫৲ „
৪র্থ „	এক রঙ্গে	২২৫৲ „
„ „	দুই রঙ্গে	২৭৫৲ „
„ „	তিন রঙ্গে	৩৫০৲ „

সাপ্লিমেণ্ট

(বিজ্ঞাপনদাতা কর্ত্তৃক সরবরাহ করিতে হইবে)

৮ পৃঃ (৪ স্লিপ)	৪০০৲ টাকা
৪ „ (২ „)	২৫০৲ „
২ „ (১ „)	১৫০৲ „

এজেন্সি এবং চুক্তিবদ্ধ বিজ্ঞাপনের রেটের জন্য এবং অন্যান্য বিষয় ও বিশদ ভাবে বিজ্ঞাপন সম্পর্কে কিছু জানিতে হইলে দয়া করিয়া পত্র লিখুন।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

METRIC SYSTEM · THE ONLY LEGAL SYSTEM · METRIC SYSTEM · THE ONLY LEGAL SYSTEM

Metric System is the only Legal System

buy always in

Kilograms



Metres



Litres

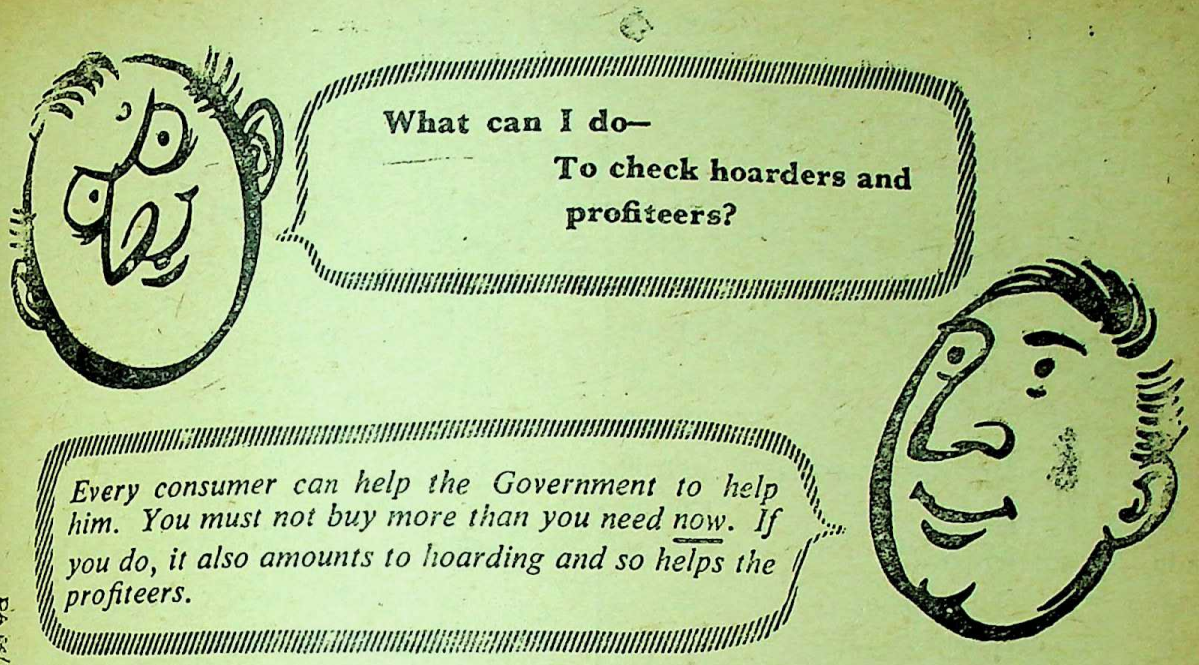


DA 64RM

METRIC SYSTEM · THE ONLY LEGAL SYSTEM · METRIC SYSTEM · THE ONLY LEGAL SYSTEM

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Gram : Coke Plant

Phone : 23-8621 (8 lines)

THE DURGAPUR PROJECTS LIMITED

(A Government of West Bengal Undertaking)

Regd. Office : 10, Middleton Row, Calcutta-16

Would Welcome Trade Enquiries Regarding :

COKE OVEN PLANT PRODUCTS

. Coke, Benzene, Toluene & Toluol,

. Benzol (Motor, Refined & Industrial Grade II),

Light & Heavy Solvent Naptha.

Xylene

TAR DISTILLATION PLANT PRODUCTS

1. Processed & Road Tar (Rt 2 & Rt 3)
2. Napthalene & Napthalene Oil,
3. Oil (Carbolic, Anthracene, Wash & Timber Pickling)
4. Sodium Phenolate
5. Pitch & Resin

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

—Advertisement Rates—

ORDINARY POSITION

	Rs. P.
Full Page	150.00
Half-page or one column	80.00
Quarter page or half-column	50.00
One-eighth page	30.00
One-eighth column	20.00
Page next to and or opposite contents	180.00
Ditto half-page	100.00
Ditto quarter-page	60.00
Ditto one-eighth page	40.00
Ditto one-eighth cloumn	30.00

SPECIAL POSITIONS

Full Page facing second page of the cover	200.00
„ Page facing third page of the cover	190.00
„ Page facing last page of the reading matter	195.00
„ Page facing back of the Frontispiece	210.00
Ditto half-page	110.00

POSITION WITHIN READING MATTER

Full Page	220.00
Half-page	120.00
Quarter page	70.00
„ col.	50.00

Space within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

COVER PAGES

Second page of the cover	
Third page of the cover	
Fourth page of the (*One-colour*)	
(*Bi-colour*)	
(*Tri-colour*)	

SUPPLEMENT size 8½″ × 6″ (to be printed supplied by the advertiser)

8 pages (or 4 slips) ..	
4 pages (or 2 slips) ..	
2 pages (or 1 slip) ..	

MECHANICAL DETAILS, Etc.

Type area of a full page	8″ ×
„ „ „ half page	4″ ×
Number of columns to a page	2
Length of a column	8″
Breadth of a column	3″
Type area of half-column	4″ ×
„ „ „ quarter-column	2″ ×

Only Mounted Stereos & coarse screen block screen) are accepted.

Subscription Rates 1 year Rs. 15.00. Half yearly Rs. 8.00
Single copy Rs. 1.25P. including postage.

Prabasi Press Private Limited
77/2/1 DHARAMTALA STREET,
CALCUTTA-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



THE CLOUD-MESSENGER—MEGHA-DOOTA
Artist : Ramprasad Das

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL 1965

Vol. CXVII, No. 4 Whole No. 700

NOTES

The World

World tensions are at their highest in hat area in South-East Asia that comprises ndonesia in the South, Malayasia in the Vest and the Indo-Chinese group of States the North and East. There is actually á shooting war" going on in North Vietnam nd the Viet-Cong occupied areas in South ietnam, although there has not been any eclaration of war by either of the States ntrolling the warring forces.

The U.S. has not only stepped-up its r-strikes on selected targets in North ietnam but it has also landed combat oops to protect the Danang air-base. here are 3500 U.S. Marines on guard ty there, besides about 20000 Technical visers, trainers, air-pilots and other auxi- ry personnel who are supposed to be there ing in a non-combatant capacity.

Besides the Marines, jet fighter and nter-bomber pilots of the U.S. Air-force pilots of Carrier based planes, are being d openly now for air-strikes against rth Vietnam bases, hitting at munition ps, bases for naval-craft and radar ions. The air-strikes are being carried out U.S. fighter pilots with enhanced fre- ncy and force, although little is known ut the actual destruction caused by these acks, beyond what is reported by the ts themselves after their return.

The targets are as a rule well-hidden, excepting where they are on the coast-line or on islands in the Gulf of Tonquin, and the damage or destruction caused by an air-strike is not so clearly visible as they would be if the attack were on an industrial complex or a naval base. Further the secondary results expected by the U.S. authorities, in the shape of the slackening of Viet-Cong activities through the shrinkage or stoppage of supplies and fresh trained combatants from North Vietnam depots, or in the form of an approach by North Vietnam for pourparlers leading to a negotiated peace, have not been forthcoming as yet.

The only reactions that are apparent, are the increasingly hostile attitude of the Communist World towards the U.S. as a resultant of these massive air-strikes on targets in a country that is not at War with the U.S.A., and the rising concern of the nations allied to the U.S. but not involved in this particular affair, and of the non-aligned countries, at this trend towards escalating the undeclared war. There are chances of this conflict being stepped up to the "point of no return" through the intervention of Peking. A World conflagration may be the consequence, though as yet the major powers excepting the U.S., are not involved.

The U.S. seems to be determined to carry through its programme for the destruction of the North Vietnamese depots of warlike stores and also the means of send-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ing those supplies to the Viet-Cong bases in South Vietnam. The main objectives of the U.S. are to disrupt the supply of men and material to the Viet-Cong by North Vietnam through destruction of the depots and supply bases in North Vietnam. There are no appreciable signs as yet that these air-strikes are helping towards the attainment of those objectives. The Viet-Cong is still as active and bold as ever and is still attempting to take over fresh areas, despite the air-assaults on their bases in South Vietnam, and the attempts by the South Vietnamese ground forces to drive them out of their forest strongholds.

There has been an abortive attempt at a **coup** in Laos by some Rightist forces. Beyond that the position remains as unsettled and enigmatic as it has been for the past three years. Active warfare has been stopped for sometime, of course, but the Pathet Lao group of "Leftists" remain irreconciliable and without their co-operation no settlement is possible in that country.

The Indonesian "Confrontation" of Malayasia continues. There are sporadic attempts at landing small Commandoes on the coast of Malayasia, while guerillas penetrate into Malayasian territories in Borneo across the dense jungle-covered frontier line with Indonesia. Indonesia is actively trying to drive out all U.S. interests in its territories and the openly hostile attitude of the population is the consequence of officially inspired moves.

Both Pakistan and China are anxious to build-up a Peking-Rawalpindi-Jakarta Axis but as yet there is no confirmation of any firm alliances having been made. The Republic of Indonesia has a population of about 98 millions of which 90% are muslims and Pakistan has a slightly smaller—about a million less—population with about the same percentage of muslims. And, further, the Indonesian archipelago is strategically placed in the Indian Ocean. So both Pakistan and China are deeply interested in forging close links with that republic. But as yet President Soekarno seems reluctant to give up non-alignment.

Pakistan formally installed Mo... Ayub Khan as its first elected Pr... towards the end of March. The elec... course was a foregone conclusion a... 80,000 pre-selected—and in most cases ... picked by Ayub Khan's trusty sati... persons, out of a total of 97 millions ... were allowed to vote. Curiously e... with all this rigid screening-out of in... dent minded persons. Miss Fatima ... secured 39% of the vote, which ... clearly what would have happened ... and open adult franchise had been ... as in all democratic countries—fo... elections.

In any case Dictator Ayub Kha... seized power in 1958, will hence... be President Ayub Khan. The same ... which has beaten hollow all the "... mandering" moves of Western party-... has given him control over the 150 ... (general seats) National Assem... Pakistan, where about 116 of his he... secured seats.

In Ceylon Madame Sirimavo B... naike could not secure control o... Parliament. Her party could only ... 55 seats whereas her rival Dudley S... yake's United National Party sec... seats. Senanayake's party concluded ... mal alliance with the Tamil speaking ... rities' Federal Party which gave ... yake the requisite strength to fo... Government. Mr. Dudley Senanay... been the Premier of Ceylon twice ... and is exceedingly well-known in Ce... abroad. Nothing is known as ye... whether he would carry-on w... arrangements made by Madame ... naike with foreign nations. He ... clared for the non-alignment ...

There is considerable differ... opinion even in the U.S. regard... feasibility of the U.S. bombing and ... programme in North Vietnam atta... objectives. The **New York Times** ... an editorial captioned "Vietnam Dile... the following vein in its March ... The central thrust of current ... States policy in Vietnam is the b... aerial bombardment of North Viet...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

persuade Hanoi to stop its aggressions against South Vietnam. The theory is that the Vietcong insurrection will peter out if Hanoi agrees to a cease-fire and cuts off the supply of arms and manpower to the Communist guerrillas in the South.

So far, the U.S. air raids on North Vietnam over the past five weeks have resulted in no appreciable let-up of Vietcong military operations. This focuses attention on several key questions, including these: To what extent do the Vietcong rely on the North Vietnamese for help? Does Hanoi, in fact, call the plays for the Vietcong? Would the revolutionaries in the South adhere to agreements made by Hanoi and Peking?

The Vietcong have become a formidable force. They no longer can be regarded as barefoot peasants making random terrorist attacks with makeshift weapons. They are well-organized, well-trained, well-supplied fighters armed with sophisticated Russian and Chinese weapons. They include an estimated 35,000 "regulars" (professional soldiers) augmented by as many as 120,000 "irregulars" (guerrillas).

Western experts calculate that the Vietcong now control over half the territory of South Vietnam, most of it rural.

Regarding alternatives to this policy of aerial assault and attrition, the same editorial goes on to say:

As for the chances for a negotiated settlement, the Communists last week showed no softening of their positions. Hanoi continued to ignore Washington's invitation for an "indication" of willingness to come to terms. In talks in London, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko rebuffed an appeal from British Prime Minister Harold Wilson for a peace initiative.

On Friday, after the talks ended, he demanded an end to the U.S. raids on North Vietnam and total American withdrawal from Vietnam as conditions for a settlement. He said North Vietnam and the U.S. should have primary voice on whether to convene a peace conference. This seemed to lend weight to Washington's belief that Hanoi is the primary force behind the insurrection in South Vietnam.

In response to Mr. Gromyko, Secretary of State Rusk expressed regret that Russia apparently was uninterested in further diplomatic efforts to promote a settlement. Russia and Britain are co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference which divided Vietnam, and the general assumption has been that they would issue the call for a new conference if one were to be held.

At home the U.S. Government has at last shown unmistakable reactions to the brutal and callous disregard shown towards the Civil Rights of the American Negro by certain executive elements in the U.S. "South". The Civil Rights march which took place about the end of March in Alabama was given the protection, judicial and executive, by the Judicial and Federal authorities of the U.S., and was successfully carried out to the end. The sub-human monstrosities who have so far kept the flames of racial discrimination blazing, through acts of violence, did however succeed in slaughtering a white woman, who had helped the Civil Rights marchers, by following her car until they were at a lonely spot and then shooting her. Four men have been arrested, all belonging to that assemblage of atavistic persons with depraved minds, known as the Ku Klux Klan.

Another event, worthy of record as being a mile-stone in man's conquest of space, has been the exploit of a Russian astronaut Lt. Col. Aleksei A. Leonov, who floated in "outer space" for about 10 minutes, taking photographs and doing certain gentle acrobatics. He finally re-entered the spaceship Voskod 2, to which he was attached by a life line. Incidentally he must have been travelling at 18000 miles and hour while floating in space, weightless but in the same orbit and at same speed as his ship. The spaceship was under the command of a colonel in the Soviet Air-Force Pavel. I. Belyayev.

Incidentally this was the latest of a series of Soviet "firsts" in the space race, starting with the launching of "Sputnik I." the first earth satellite, on October 4, 1957. There were a series of "firsts," following Sputnik I, including a satellite with an animal abroad, a Sun satellite, photographs of the hidden

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

side of the moon, and a Venus probe launched from orbit. Then came the exploit of Yuri Gagarin as the first spaceman, on April 12, 1961, with one circuit of the earth. Then followed the first double launching with humans in August, 1962; the first woman in space in June 1963 and the first triple manned launching in October of last year, in the spaceship Voskod I.

Lt. Col. Leonov's feat was executed about 300 miles above the Earth. He came out of the spaceship Voskod II through a special compartment or air-lock, which was sealed off from the main cabin in which the "Captain" Colonel Belyayev continued to pilot the craft. Leonov came out and pushed himself away from the craft though he was linked to it by a cord. He sailed off to a distance of about 15 ft., in a state of complete weightlessness. After doing some acrobatics, in a slow and gentle fashion for about 10 minutes he pulled himself back to the hatch by the connecting cord. After he had sealed himself inside the air-lock, oxygen was admitted therein until it was at the same pressure as the main cabin and then he went in. A television camera attached to the side of Voskod II allowed the television viewers in the Soviet Union and other nations in Europe to see, directly on their screens, the startling pictures of the Cosmonaut in the black void of space!

Advertisements And Income Tax Rules

The ways of bureaucracy in India, in dealing with matters affecting public interest have been always as unpredictable as that of "the eagle in the air" and "the snake on a rock", as described in the Bible. But even so the Central Board of Direct Taxes surpassed itself by the publication of the Amended Income Tax (Third Amendment) Rules 1965, setting out new limits and conditions for allowance of expenditure incurred on advertisement permissible under the Income Tax Act on March 8. The Board did not set out the draft Amendment for the approval of the Parliament prior to its publication in an Extraordinary issue of the Gazette of India; it did not consult the interests concerned. Indeed, the Finance M... let the impression prevail that his ... had netiher been sought nor obtained ... to the publication of the amended r...

One can imagine that Pandit ... would have quoted Allice in Wo... and remarked that the ways of the ... were getting "Curiouser and Curious...

Prior to the amended rules com... force advertising expenditure of busi... industrial concerns was wholly exem... income tax. Under the new amended ... as published on March 8, limits ha... set to the tax-free expenditure on ... tisement in respect of business and ... trial houses and also separately, ... motion picture industry, international ... port and hotels and restaurants. The ... imposed were based on a rigid ... between turnover and advertising ... priation on a slab system, and were ... very nature a menace not only to c... who draw their main income from ... tisements but also to all industrial a... ness concerns in the country that p... deal with the general public as th... tomers. For those who produce or ... bute consumer goods in a com... market or a growing market, ad... ment is an essential factor for b... maintenance and the expansion of pro... and sale.

No other democratic country h... even proposed a fiscal measure ... nature, let alone imposing it in ... thoughtless and reckless fashion. T... basis of the measure, that is the ... turnover to advertising allowance, ... down in the amended rules showed ... the arbitrary and unrealistic na... the new rules but also the lack of ... hension on the part of the Board as ... capacity for the disruption—and ... the destruction—of certain trades ... fessions, by some specialized branc... ministry and throwing the democr... cesses of competition in the open ... completely out of gear. Indeed the ... ings of the Central Board of Dire... into this highly specialized sphere ... city, without any prior consultat...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the interests concerned could well be fashioned into a comedy, if it did not contain within its "blanket" regulations the death sentences of Commercial Art and trained writers of special "write-ups" and of the smaller papers and the entire range of monthlies and periodicals.

Monthlies and periodicals are largely dependant on the advertisements of the book-publishing trades. And book-publishing means heavy and highly skilled advertisement writing, layout and placing, all of which mean, proportionately, a far heavier outlay in advertising than any other trade and industry with the exception perhaps of the Cinema industry. The amended rules, if they were enforced, would have meant disaster not only for the book-trade, but for all monthlies and periodicals—which may not mean much to the illiterates of the Central Administration at New Delhi but it would lower the ranking of India amongst the civilized nations of the world to a far lower notch than to what it has been lowered by the present heads of the Union.

We do not know if the saying of John Wesley, "Cleanliness is indeed next to Godliness" is known to the gentlemen of the Central Board of Direct Taxation as being closely associated with a famous brand of soap but soap is akin to cleanliness—which they undoubtedly know—and is likewise heavily linked to advertisement—which is apparently not known to those worthies—and the absurd regulations of the amended rules would have stifled all but the most powerful combine, which would have obtained a monopoly.

The reaction to these income tax rules has been sharp and unfavourable and has forced the Central Board of Direct Taxes to cancel them by a special announcement. But the announcement is not final, complete or unconditional. It merely proposes to observe the formal procedure of holding consultations with the interests concerned before giving a legal shape to the restrictions proposed by the Central Board. There no indication as to which interests are going to be consulted; neither is there any indication that the advice proffered by those who are consulted would be accepted or even taken any notice of by the Finance Ministry. Indeed it seems to us that it is the familiar device adopted by all skilled politicians to stave-off forceful and pointed criticism for the time-being and to obtain time to device devious means for gaining the same objectives.

Of course the Government notification is apparently bland. The Government's fresh proposal is to prescribe "certain limits and conditions," as provided in the Income Tax Act of 1961, in consultation with the "interests concerned." A press note issued by the Ministry of Finance, Department of Revenues on March 30, invited members of the public and others interested to send their comments and suggestions to the Secretary, Central Board of Direct Taxes, New Delhi, by April 24. The note further adds "These comments and suggestions will be duly considered by the Government."

We are firmly of the opinion that no rough and ready "slab-wise" formula can be devised for imposing restrictions on advertisements. If it be done the possible repercussions on trade, commerce and industry would be serious and would finally affect the profits of the "interests concerned" to such an extent that the fall in revenues from those sources would be serious.

Different commodities require different scales of advertising, and all of them require far higher allocations during introductory and emergency periods. These have to be duly considered with other factors.

Sheikh Abdullah

Our ministry has made a mistake in showing leniency so far to Sheik Abdullah. There can be little doubt about that. But all the same too much prominence and publicity has been given to him and his activities, both by our press and by our parliamentarians. Mrs. Pandit was quite right in reproving the Lok Sabha members for lionising Sheikh Abdullah. In the ultimate analysis, it really matters little as to where the Sheikh goes or what he says, once he is stripped of his aura—as a political stormy petrel, whose habtiat is India.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

And he will lose that aura and all the political glamour emanating from it, if he does not return to India by the 30th of April of this year. Of course he may migrate to Pakistan—where he would be submerged like the erstwhile "Azad Kashmir" leaders—or he might seek asylum as a political refugee in any other country that might be willing to entertain his pleas and petition. But that would mean his political death, for Sheikh Abdullah would be of little use to even the bitterest enemies of India, like China and Pakistan, unless he remained inside India as a thorn in the flesh of the body politic of that country. And the Sheikh is lkiely to be well aware of that fact too.

For in our judgment he is not out to jackal for either China or Pakistan, he is out for himself and himself only, as the head of an utopian buffer State, shorn from India by political pressure and by the force of World opinion generated and guided by the great Sheikh and his friends, and maintained inviolate and independent by the clever adjustment of balanced power—the balancing demonstration to be staged by the wizard of Kashmir!

Of course all these are of the stuff that dreams are made of. The World knows only too well by now that guarantees and treaties stand as nought before the lust for power and expansion of rapacious and unscrupulous neighbours. What is happening in Indo-China is a glaring demonstration of that. And if a clear picture in more concrete terms is desired then he illegal and absolutely unconscionable "division of spoils" between Pakistan and China of Indian territory in the northern areas of Kashmir, may be taken as an advance projection of the shape of things to come in the land of Sheikh Abdullah's dreams.

Our Ministry of External Affairs has never had much of a reputation for either alertness or perspicacity. This Abdullah affair has merely highlighted its shortcomings. But even so the detailed account of the happenings at Algeirs, as given by our Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Swaran Singh, in the Lok Sabha on April 5. We append below an extract from the Hindustan Standard's report on that statem

Mr. Swaran Singh said in his statement: The Government has since full report from the Foreign Secretary. Foreign Secretary arrived in Alg March 27 and left on the morning of M after attending the meeting of the S Committee of the Afro-Asian Confe Sheikh Abdullah had also arrived in A on March 27, a few hours before the F Secretary's arrival.

From March 27 to 31 very little of Sheikh Abdullah's visit was taken Algiers press and radio. It was, ho known that Sheikh Abdullah, durin period, visited some officials of the Alg Government.

On his own request, Shikh Ab accompanied by Mirza Afzal Beg, ca the Foreign Secretary on the morning March 30 at our Ambassador's res Our Ambassador was also present for the time. Sheikh Abdullah spoke i usual vein.

He also claimed that he had no saying anything in the course of h which he had not said in India.

The Foreign Secretary told S Abdullah that his statements in Lond Cairo, as reported, indicated that wh criticised India he had not a word of cism for Pakistan and that there was resentment in India in regard to his and utterances in foreign countries.

Sheikh Abdullah requested an e mnet on his passport for Pakistan Foreign Secretary told him that this tion had been considered by the G ment and that it was not felt necess desirable for him to visit Pakistan present time, and that, therefore, no endorsement could be given.

Sheikh Abdullah gave no indic his talk with the Foreign Secretary persons he was going to meet. He g the slightest hint that he had any meeting the Chinese Premier, Mr. En-lai. In fact, Mr. Chou En-lai arrive in Algiers until some hours March 30.

According to our Embassy in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sheikh Abdullah met Mr. Chou En-lai on the evening of March 31. We have no information whether the meeting was at Sheikh Abdullah's initiative or Mr. Chou En-lai's, although I notice from a Press statement in Cairo that Sheikh Abdullah himself requested the interview.

There has been criticism that reports had not been received from Algiers from our mission or from the Foreign Secretary who was there. The fact is that the mission had kept us informed about the arrival and known activities of Sheikh Abdullah in Algiers, regularly. Telegrams were sent by our Embassy on March 28, 30 and April 1 and there have been subsequent telegrams since. Sheikh Abdullah met Mr. Chou En-lai in the evening of March 31. The Embassy came to know of it on April 1 and sent a cable the same day which was received here only on the afternoon of April 2, after I had made the statement in the House. No cable was received from the Foreign Secretary regarding the meeting between Sheikh Abdullah and Mr. Chou En-lai for the reason that this meeting took place after his departure from Algiers on March 31.

Sheikh Abdullah has, since leaving India, visited Saudi Arabia, U.A.R., U.K., France and Algeria. The pattern of his activities and utterances abroad is well known. We are satisfied that the countries visited by him are friendly to us and their Governments have not been influenced by Sheikh Abdullah into taking a position adverse to us. His meeting Mr. Chou En-lai and his accepting an invitation to visit China is extremely objectionable. Sheikh Abdullah's seeking Chinse support in regard to Kashmir which China has invaded and parts of which it is illegally occupying, amounts in the Government's view, to a highly prejudicial act.

The Government has decided that all endorsements on the passports of Sheikh Abdullah and other members of his party, other than those necessary for the purposes of Haj pilgrimage, will be cancelled forthwith. The passports themselves will be valid only up to April 30, 1965 to enable them to complete the Haj. We are, as usual in such cases, informing all the Governments concerned of this decision.

Mr. Swaran Singh, referring to Mr. Barua's point that the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto, had offered a Pakistani passport to Abdullah to visit China, said it was for Abdullah to decide whether he wanted to accept Pakistani citizenship. If he so decided, he must take upon himself all the consequences, Mr. Singh, said.

Mr. Swaran Singh said Abdullah had not suggested, orally or otherwise, that he wanted to visit China.

Mr. Swaran Singh appealed to members not to say anything which might impair the friendly relations between Algeria and India. Algeria had the most friendly relations with India.

Algeria had taken the most correct attitude in respect of Abdullah's visit.

Neither Mr. Ben Bella nor the Foreign Minister of Algeria had granted Abdullah any interview. He had met only some officials. The Algerian Ambassador in Delhi had also clarified that the Government of Algeria had nothing to do with anything the Sheikh had said at Algiers.

As Mr. Swaran Singh remarked, it is up to Sheikh Abdullah to decide on his future actions. If he decides to quit India, he is certalnly at libery to do so. But once out, he becomes an undesirable and if he takes Pakistan citizenship then he becomes an undesirable alien. As for his powers for mischief, they were at a peak when he was in power in Kashmir—and he has a substantial potential if he remains an Indian Citizen possessing all the rights and privileges as such. If he quits he can only be listened to by our enemies—and that is all!

—0—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

Unaccounted Money

While discussing the current year's Union Budget in these columns last month, we referred only cursorily to the question of "unaccounted money" and expressed our apprehension that the measures or inducements proposed by the Union Finance Minister in his Budget Proposals would be as abortive of any substantial results in forcing out "unaccounted money" from their hidden caverns as any or all of his preceding measures towards such an end have been upto date. For one thing, the inducements proposed to be offered to pursuade a voluntary disclosure of such money would, we commented, be tantamount to, on the one side, compounding a felony if tax evasion of this suspected manner and magnitude is at all regarded as felonious on the part of the evaders. Secondly, such inducements as have been sought to be offered, would be bound to act as a sort of disincentive to the honest tax payers in that the benefits proposed would only apply to the habitual tax dodger and not to the honest tax payers. And yet it is the action of the former which, as the Finance Minister himself admitted "are a source of considerable *mischief* (emphasis ours) in the economy" and has been responsible for much of the distortions from which the economy has been currently suffering. No one would disagree that "the question of how to mitigate this evil is a baffling and a difficult one." Earlier inducements, such as exemptions from penalty in the case of voluntary disclosures, the Finance Minister claimed, "have had some success in encouraging voluntary disclosures" but from indications available it is obvious that its measure has only been negligible so far because responses received have been mainly from people who had "comparatively small and medium incomes to disclose."

A Clever Twist

The Finance Minister goes on to say "Various suggestions have been made from to time to encourage disclosures on a larger and give an opportunity to those who wish turn a new leaf(?) to do so without *undue harassment.*" The Finance Minister fondly hopes

> "with the reduction in tax rates (he has) already proposed, the scope and incentive for tax evasion in future will be reduced. The present time, therefore, offers a unique opportunity to enable people who have evaded tax in the past to come out and make a clean breast of it."

The Finance Minister also sounds very pious when, with his tongue in his cheek, he seems to deplore that "it is not at all an easy matter to devise a solution which would at the same time be fair to people who have paid taxes honestly in the past and reasonable enough to encourage voluntary disclosures on an adequate scale from a part of those who wish now to be relieved from their past evasion." He goes on to claim that he has "attempted to devise a solution bearing in mind all the complex economic, social and moral considerations that underlie the phenomenon of unaccounted income and wealth'" and hopes that the honest tax payers will not be aggrieved by what (he proposes) to do and that those who have been mislead(?) in the past would find it reasonable enough to return to the path of civic responsibility."

In making such a statement as a preface to the actual measure he now proposes, the Finance Minister would appear to have assumed that those tax dodgers who have "unaccounted" incomes and who have, thereby accumulated "unaccounted" wealth would wish to be relieved of their "past evasion." As far as one can

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

from their complete indifference to the severe distortions that their misdeeds in this behalf have been causing to the economy and which, thereby, have been occasioning mounting distress to the people at large and intractable problems to the Government of the country, there have never been any indication that they would wish to be relieved(?) of their past evasions. On the contrary, there is every evidence to confirm that, on the contrary, they have been availing themselves of every possible opportunity to make further additions to their ill-gotten and "unaccounted" wealth and income by speculative operations in the market, especially relating to the essential consumables sector, which do not seem to have been amenable to any kind of legal, fiscal, moral or social discipline so far. The asumption by the Finance Minister that they would now wish to be relieved of the burdens of their past evasions would appear, therefore, to have been born entirely out of the Finance Minister's own wishful thinking coupled with his and, generally his Government's, complete impotence to effectively deal with them in any way. Secondly, it appears to be indicative of the thinking of the Finance Minister and his colleagues in the Union Government that he assumes that this community of affluent tax dodgers have been *mislead* in the past and the results of their operations leading to the supposed "unaccounted" income and wealth have not been actuated by deliberate design and which have been a direct and callous violation of all the accepted canons of personal and social rectitude. In fact, the question of lack of rectitude on their part appears to have been very carefully and consciously avoided in the Finance Minister's statement, although that would seem to be the very crux of the whole matter.

The Measure Proposed

But the mind of the Union Finance Minister would obviously have been following a patently pernicious course to an even larger extent than would appear to have been following ordinarily revealed by the statements quoted above. For in actually announcing the measure included in his current budget proposals anent "unaccounted" wealth or income, he states :

"These persons who have *unaccounted income* (emphasis ours) to declare can make a declaration with relevant particulars and at the same time deposit in cash at the Reserve Bank of India sixty per cent of the *income* (emphasis, again, our own) declared. The remaining 40 per cent of the *income* so declared can be taken to the assessee's books under intimation to the income tax authorities. *No further assessment* (our own emphasis) in regard to the income so disclosed by this process will arise and the identity of the persons will not be disclosed . . . . In order to induce people to come out quickly, a rebate of 5 per cent of the tax on all incomes declared and tax paid thereon in the month of March will be given. In other words, the effective tax rate will be 57(?) per cent. Those who feel that their tax liability in respect of amounts to be disclosed would be less than 57 or 60 per cent would be free to resort to normal disclosure and have the income so disclosed taxed at the appropriate rates by income tax authorities after proper assessment . . . . I need hardly add that we propose to continue with our searches. It is incumbent upon the Government to use *all the legal weapons* (emphasis, once again, ours) at its command to deal with those who spurn this particular opportunity of making voluntary disclosures."

In the relevant Clause of the Finance Bill relating to this particular matter also, measures enunciated relate only to particulars of undisclosed *income* and nowhere, either in the statement of the Finance Minister explaining the measures proposed to be devised in this behalf, nor in any of the clauses or sub-clauses of the Finance Bill actually spelling out the measure in concrete terms, is there any mention of undisclosed *wealth* or of any measure to deal with it.

By popular estimation—there is obviously no means of arriving at anything like a precise estimation in this behalf—the amount of undisclosed money in circulation in the market is some Rs. 3,000 crores. Various statements of the present Union Finance Minister from time to time in this connection as well as those of his predecessor would seem to support such an approximate estimation of the volume of "unaccounted" money in existence in the country, although the present Finance Minister was also, at the same time, careful enough to underline that this was only a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

guess and could not be anything like a precise estimate of the actual volume of such money. Assuming that only the supposed income derived from this accumulated wealth would now be brought under the purview of taxation under the Finance Minister's new measure—from the language of his explanatory statement to Parliament in course of his Budget speech as well as in the Clauses of the Finance Bill this alone, it seems, is intended to be included and dealt with—it is difficult to visualize how this is going to resolve the problem of "unaccounted" money or, in plain words "black money." Even supposing that every individual in the country had a sudden elevation in their moral and social sensibilities and came out with a declaration of his "*undisclosed income*," it would bring out something like Rs. 300 crores, assuming that income is computed at even as high a figure as 10 per cent of the accumulated capital, and tax extracted thereon at the rate of 57 or 60 per cent. It would seem obvious, therefore, that by the Finance Minister's much boosted new measure, the bulk of the problem of *unaccounted wealth* and its demonstrably distorting effects on the economy will still remain substantially unresolved. And, as by the relevant provisions in the Finance Bill, accounts, in this behalf, once dealt with would never be reopened in the future and will not be subject to any process of reassessment at any time hereafter.

Government Held To Ransom

It would seem obvious that holders of unaccounted money have been holding the Government frankly to ransom, so much so, that they are not merely prepared to compound the former's felonious tax evasions in the past, but also that they are prepared to extend to them benefits and privileges under legal sanction, to which the honest tax payer would never be entitled. It is a tragic reflection of the level of integrity and rectitude of a Government who are prepared to face such an opprobium that they are not merely prepared to extend a premium on deliberate dishonesty, but that even going such a long way to meet this community of tax dodgers, they are also prepared to leave the bulk of the problem relating to the affair largely unresolved. It would seem that in this matter now, as in the past, the Co... are content to continue to yield to fr... unabashed blackmail by a handful of ... conscienceless and wholly anti-social ... and black-marketeers and smugglers!

The irony of the whole thing would ... be that even after sacrificing ever... principle of ethical administration and ... public policy, it is hardly likely that the ... ment would achieve even a fraction ... little they had set out to gain by such ... able methods. The Finance Minister had ... a 5 per cent concession in their tax rates ... who would disclose their "unaccounted ... and pay tax thereon within the last day of ... this year. For the rest, a sixty per cent ... for such undisclosed income has been pr... for those who would make voluntary dec... under this measure within the 31st of M... year. As we write, the last day of M... already approached. It would be both i... and instructive to learn the measure of ... that may have been achieved so fa... connection and the amount of additional ta... that may have flown into the coffers ... Union Government as a result thereof. Th... Finance Ministry would do well to make ... statement—or at least Parliament can ... to make a statement on the floor of th... after the expiry of the month of March—... the bulk of undisclosed income that ... thus been declared and the consequent ... tax income that Government may have ... therefrom. If we are any judge of the ... of the community of our profiteers, ... cannot have been much to write hom... Likewise, it is very doubtful if any ... stantial result would accrue even within ... limit of the next 31st of May. If our ... sions in this behalf prove to be correct—... hardly any doubt that they will—what ... the net gain to the country that such ... sacrifices by the Government of every ... principle of ethical administration and ... will have brought in? Except to pro... again, that the Government are weak ... principled and are wholly without the ... mental strength to govern the country ... civilized country should deserve to be ... it will have gained nothing that we can ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Parliament and the Government

It is also a sad commentary on the quality of intelligence brought to their work and the vigillance exercised by our people's representatives in Parliament that they should have wholly overlooked the clever twist by which the Finance Minister while promising to propose measures to deal with "unaccounted incomes and wealth," wholly leaves the latter out of the purview of the actual measures he proposed and incorporated in his current year's Finance Bill to deal with the matter. We have already discussed at some length the poor and, to our view wholly undesirable quality of the measure actually proposed and the even poorer results that are likely to be achieved thereby even within their comparatively limited purview, that of dealing only with "unaccounted income" and not as the Finance Minister earlier promised, also with "unaccounted wealth." Parliament should never have permitted this to have gone through—the overwhelming majority of the ruling party, one concedes, would make it inescapable—without adequate criticism and public analysis of the real character of the measure proposed. By passing such a measure the Government have only succeeded in holding themselves upto public ridicule by every civilized standard of public administration and by allowing this to be done practically unopposed, at least in so far as the real character of the measure is concerned, the Opposition in Parliament have also allowed themselves to be made a passive participant in this questionable and wholly ridiculous transac-

and Unaccounted Money

The Finance Minister has also provided additional concessions to owners of unaccounted money. He has refloated the Gold Bond on more or less their original conditions and terms as earlier devised by his predecessor, except that he has raised the interest rates on the present Bonds by a substantial margin. Gold has, notoriously, been one of the principal repositories of unaccounted money in the country and which was found to have been the main inducement for the massive quantities of gold that used to be smuggled into this country. It cannot be truthfully claimed that smuggling of gold has been wholly eliminated, but there is no doubt that its volume has shrunk by a considerable extent. The past Finance Minister promulgated an order under which everyone in the country holding gold, except ornament gold, beyond a certain quantity, was required to make a declaration detailing his holdings of the bullion and to explain the sources from where they were accumulated. The returns received did not, presumably, cover even a fraction of the Gold that was held and the Government had neither the strength nor the ingenuity to force it out into the open. We, in these columns, cited how successfully it was done by the Revolutionary Government of Burma and suggested that nothing short of such summary proceedings would be likely to achieve results. They have not. But at least, on account of the definite damper that it has been possible to place upon the smuggling of gold, most of the unaccounted money in the country appears to have been finding occupation in other speculative operations, especially by way of hoarding of commodities in the essential consumables sector which are in short supply. It has been admitted often enough by people in high authority in both the Union Government and at States levels that for a great deal of the crisis in the foodgrains and other essential edibles during the last two years, such hoarding operations by people out to achieve speculative gains were mainly responsible. Searches for cash money hoards as have been carried out by the authorities from time to time and which, the Finance Minister has promised, would be continued, can unearth only a very small fraction of such money. The bulk of the money, it is reasonable to suspect, would be found employed in financing speculative hoardings of commodities in short supply and it should not be difficult, given the determination and the honesty of purpose on the part of Government and their vigillance and law and order agencies, to unearth these hoards. We and others also have suggested in the past that it is exactly what should be done and which alone would enable them to effectively deal with crises in supply as well as with unaccounted black money simultaneously at one single stroke. It would be idle

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to plead that it is difficult, as even the Prime Minister has often pleaded, for if the police are unable to discover such hoards which cannot be in small bulks easy to conceal, they should be instantly dismissed for incompetence and replaced by those who are more competent to discharge the obligations of their office. We do not suppose that given the necessary instructions and powers, the police are not competent enough for the purpose. What seems, obviously, to be lacking is that the Government themselves are too weak and vacillating on this urgent public problem. If, instead of offering all sorts of immoral inducements to our profiteers and tax dodgers as the Finance Minister has been seeking to do, he were able to carry his colleagues with him to deal with such persons in the manner suggested by us, results would have been far more effective and our public life would have been cleansed of a great deal of murk and dirt which appear to have been distorting it at the present moment.

* * * *

Incentives To Foreign Investors

In course of our comments on the 1965-66 Budget in these columns last month, we have already cursorily referred to the incentives incorporated in the Budget proposals for the declared purpose of attracting foreign investments into India. The implications of the concessions offered are, we feel, both far too important and far-reaching to be dismissed with a casual reference and would, therefore, bear further and more detailed re-examination on the present occasion. The Budget extends the scope of offering tax concessions to foreigners and foreign enterprises in several directions.

Non-resident Individuals

So far as the individual non-resident is concerned, a major change in the Budget is the abandonment of the concept of 'total world income.' According to the current rules, such non-resident assessees are charged to tax on their Indian income at the maximum rate of income tax plus super tax which, together, aggregate 48.37 per cent. In the case of assessees whose income attracts super tax rate higher than 19 per cent (which is the est rate at which super tax is charged to dents), the tax is charged at the higher rate. The non-resident, however, option to be assessed on his income in the average rate of tax applicable to world income. Under this system the dent has to declare separately both his and his total world income, although he be charged to tax only on his Indian This led, in many cases, to taxation at high rates apart from the fact that also the difficulty of correctly ascertain size of the total world income. The taxation now proposed in the current B non-residents deriving incomes in India gards the concept of 'total world inco would, accordingly, provide a fairly measure of tax relief to them.

It should, however, be noted in this tion that although a non-resident will titled to avail of the minimum exempt and the personal allowances applicab married person among the resident asse will continue to enjoy allowances on wholly and necessarily incurred in the mance of his duties, and which includ allowance, travelling allowance, children ance at Rs. 2,000 per child or upto 25 of his income, whichever is less. This will be in addition to the provision in in the Finance Act which lays down that resident who may derive any income purchasing goods in India and export abroad will not be liable to tax on this even though he may maintain an office agency in India and irrespective of the the goods so exported may have been to some kind of manufacturing process Besides, a foreigner on tour of duty will be exempt from income tax if his the country, in the aggregate, does not period of 90 days.

Taxation of Companies

On the other hand the 1965-66 extends the scope of tax concessions

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

being enjoyed by foreign technicians employed in India. Under the existing rules, a technician with specialized skills in industry and business management, is exempt from income tax on his income in India for a period of six months, but if the contract of service is given prior approval of Government, this period of exemption will be three years which can be extended by a further period of two years with Government's approval if the employer pays the tax on his income. The present Budget extends this latter exemption by a further period of three years with Government's approval. The total tax holiday now enjoyable by a foreign technician employed in India will aggregate a period of eight years in all, instead of the five years as has been the rule hitherto.

We have already commented rather at length on this particular concession. We have every reason to suspect that this concession, even for the originally allowed period of five years, has already been grossly abused. There may only be two legitimate reason for such a favoured treatment to foreign technicians and the corresponding sacrifice of the public revenues involved in the process. First, that thereby the country arranges to cover the current lacks in certain specialized skills not available within the country or, if at all available, not sufficiently adequate for purposes of our current development plans. Secondly, and which is a corollary of the first, that by offering such concessions gaps in the technological know-how in the country would be filled without which foreign investors would be wary of exporting their capital to this country. While conceding these requirements, it is necessary to ensure, first, that the concessions offered are utilized actually for purposes of filling in assessable gaps and lacks in the skills available in the country and, secondly, and which to our mind of view is an even more urgent considera-tion, that these concession to foreign technicians actually do not operate as an obstacle against and deterrent to the development of indigenous skills in a corresponding order within the country and the repatriation of Indian technologists who are at present employed in foreign industries and business houses abroad. In other words, the tax concessions offered to foreign technicians employed in India, must not be allowed to prevent or obstruct development of corresponding indigenous skills or repatriation of existing Indian skills abroad, so that this country may continue to be a dumping ground for so-called foreign technologists. We are afraid with skills as scarce as they are said to be in the countries from where they are said to be obtained for Indian business and industry, we have only been getting only the left-overs of those countries and have been paying an unconscionably high price for them. The argument that these concessions are necessary for facilitating the import of foreign capital, even if the quality of the skills imported may be somewhat off-grade, is too sanctimonious and too self-defeating to be either legitimate or convincing.

We in this country, we are afraid, have been making too much fuss over these so-called foreign technicians and their importance in the scheme of our development plans seem likely to have been far too exaggerated out of all reasonable proportion. But what is even worse that there are innumerable instances of such so-called technicians being invested with far too wide discretions and initiatives both in the public and the private sectors, which make them virtual masters of the organizations which they are really imported to work for as paid servants. The matter requires, we feel, a thorough fact-finding investigation by a high level commission before further concessions, in the nature of those proposed in the current Budget, should be extended to their cases.

But to revert to the main purpose of our present discussion, no major changes in the tax structure applicable to non-resident companies appear to have been proposed in the current Budget except in the matter of capital gains tax. If non-resident or foreign companies invest the whole or a part of the capital gains accuring to them, the tax on capital gains or a proportionate part thereof, as the case may be, would be refunded to them. In the 1964 Finance Act a large number of non-resident companies who invested in Indian companies or were giving technical assistance to Indian industries were offered several major concessions. For example, incomes earned in India by non-resident companies by way of fees for certain services rendered in India were taxed at the highest rate of 50 per cent only. Similarly, the rate of tax

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

on income from dividends payable by a Sec. 103 (Old Sec. 23A) company or a wholly-owned subsidiary company engaged in priority industries (16 industries are listed), the rate of tax was only 15 per cent, while in the case of an Indian company it was 25 per cent. But an even more important concession made in the current Budget is the complete abolition of super-tax on inter-corporate dividends. The rate of tax, it is true, on income other than those from dividends, royalties or fees for technical services and tax-free Indian securities, has been raised from 63 per cent to 65 per cent (inclusive, of course, of super tax), but this higher rate will apply only after eliminating the various exemptions and concessions and reliefs.

Comparison with Other Countries

Taking into account all these exemptions and concessions, it would hardly be relevant—it might even be misleading—to compare tax rates on foreign companies in India with those in other countries. The net burden, naturally, would depend on the nature of the income received by the companies concerned. In the case of individuals international comparison of marginal tax rates would have to take into account the base to which these are applied. It may be true that marginal tax rates in India are quite high, but the many concessions and exemptions have the effect of narrowing down the base on which these rates are applied and the net effective tax rate may not, therefore, be substantially unfavourable compared to those in other countries. Besides, there is a considerable scope for 'profit-shifting' by non-resident companies which are mainly branches or subsidiaries of international concerns, thereby correspondingly reducing the tax burden. This profit shifting is generally known to be done by the simple process of price adjustments between chains of subsidiaries and, consequently shifting 'profit' from one country to another. The profits made by some companies of this order have been known to be understated by invoicing exports at a low price, while imports are invoiced at a higher price.

Tax Incentives Largely Irrelevant

It is, however, very doubtful if the present approach to taxation of foreign income in India as incentives for foreign investments, is very great validity. Recent studies car in the U.S.A. which is one of the exporters of capital, seem to indicate that does not play a very important part i mining the order of investment abroad. been observed that for many economic developed countries, the tax system is a impeding element than other factors economies concerned.* The more i obstacle to foreign investment is the developed state of the economy itself, fol such other causes such as scarcity of capital, a restricted potential demand, credit facilities and scarcity of skilled ciplined labour and technicians, inadequa transport, power, health and education f political instability, erratic and unstable and taxation policies and procedural delay

Even supposing that tax concessions generate a psychologically favourable cli encouraging foreign investments, its effe nevertheless be considerably offset by the practice in the capital exporting countr taxing the entire world incomes of their which would only have the effect of the concessions given by the capital i countries to revenues of the capi porting countries, leaving the net on the investor substantially unchanged where the tax rates, after concessions, capital importing countries are still high those of the capital exporting countries. some indications have been available readiness of the capital exporting countr make necessary adjustments in their tax s to encourage overseas investments. I recently entered into such a tax-sparing ment with Japan and West Germany a possible that both the U.K. and the U.S. may be moving in the same direction. T be a far more valuable incentive to investors than the mere tax exemptions, co

---

* *Foreign Investment and Taxation* and Wender. According to the study ca by them, one of the most important retarding the flow of foreign investment potential foreign investors are either ig disinterested,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and reliefs offered by India to foreign operators and investors in this country.

Such tax sparing agreements, however, are likely to detract from the element of equity in the tax structure of both countries concerned,—those exporting and those importing capital alike,—and go against the very spirit of double taxation agreements which seek to ensure equal treatment to equally situated individuals, whatever may be their sources of income. Nor do these agreements modify or eliminate the various obstacles that impede foreign investments. On the contrary, such tax-sparing agreements may very well operate as incentives to foreign investors to withdraw income from the capital importing country instead of reinvesting it there. Concessions like tax-holidays are usually limited to specified time schedules beginning from the initial period of investment, and it is only natural that the investor would want to draw the maximum benefit of such concessions that would be reinforced by tax-sparing agreements of the type described above, by withdrawing the earnings on these investments from the capital-importing countries rather than reinvest them there.

It is also to be noted that a factor which often distorts the incentives derived from tax concessions given to investments arising out of imported capital is the tendency, which is common enough on the part of the many capital-importing countries, to copy such concessions offered one another with the result that the competing concessions often largely cancel each other out. It is possible or, at least, desirable, that there could be discussions at international levels with a view to evolving a pattern of agreements or conventions that would help to eliminate such competition which at present undoubtedly exist.

One surer way of encouraging increase of foreign investments is to make conditions favourable for reinvestment of the proceeds of the already invested capital. We have already seen that current tax-sparing agreements are more likely to encourage withdrawal of such proceeds rather then induce their reinvestment in the country where such incomes originate, especially at a time like this, when the Government feel that there is need for an increasing area and volume of more and more foreign investment. What is needed is, perhaps, some kind of an agreement with the capital-exporting countries that they would tax the incomes of their nationals arising out of investments abroad, only when they are withdrawn from the capital-importing countries. Such a provision, if it is possible to arrive at agreements like these with capital-exporting countries, would certainly discourage withdrawals and, in corresponding measure, encourage reinvestment of such earnings in the country of their origin provided, of course, that other known impediments in the way have been effectively removed. It is also possible to devise a system of preferential taxation of such profits earned by non-resident companies as an inducement to their reinvestment. Such a preferential system of taxation, equitably and rationally devised, may be far less expensive to the public exchequer of the capital importing country than what the present system of tax holidays on earnings and perquisites and other concessions have been costing it.

In fact, even without the many concessions provided, India has lately been the *el dorado* of the investor, domestic or foreign, for the ultimate determinant of investment is profitability of the investment and this would seem to be, in effect, guaranteed in India today because the building up of the infra-structure of development, increased tempo of investments in the Plans and the continuation of a restrictive import policy, have together, been ensuring a rapidly expanding and profitable domestic market. That this is already the case can be proved by facts and figures. For instance, the earnings of U.S. investments in India in 1962 have been found to have been higher than 20 per cent,—corresponding rate of earnings in certain other Asian countries and in Latin America being much lower. A British Board of Trade study demonstrates that direct British investments in India had an earning rate of very nearly 9.5 per cent which was much higher than those on similar investments in Canada, U.S. and Australia.

Although the influence of taxation determining profitability is a factor which cannot be altogether ignored as an element in conditioning investment, domestic or foreign, its importance may well be over-emphasized as, it seems, it is presently being done in this country. It should be evident from the foregoing discussion that even without the tax concessions enumerated above, the high profitability of foreign investments in this

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

country during the period of current development planning has never been in question and which, on the face of it, should be ample inducement for attracting foreign investments here. The tardy growth of foreign private investment in this country, therefore, must flow from causes other than the supposedly high taxation incidence of the economy. As already seen, lowering the taxation level anent foreign investments here may, conceivably, operate as a distinct disincentive to reinvestment of the profits earned on investments undertaken in this country. But apart from that, there is no doubt that the eagerness of foreign private capital seeking investment in this country has not been very evident so far. Since the primary motivation for capital investment, the profitability of the invested funds is demonstrably taken care of by the apparently much higher profitability of investments of foreign capital in this country compared to the expectation of domestic yields in the capital-exporting countries, it is only natural to suppose that there must be other causes which may have been operating as disincentives.

Political Stability

Apart from the primary factor of profitability, the one factor which conditions investment of capital, especially of imported capital, is the political stability of the capital-importing country where investment is sought. India has had a measure of political stability during all these years since independence. There is no doubt, however, that this measure of political stability as reflected in the continuance of a stable government led and manned by the same political party in the country over all the seventeen years since independence, has not been correspondingly reinforced by a desired measure of administrative efficiency and rectitude in the conduct of public affairs as might have been expected. It is admitted on all hands that corruption, jobbery and nepotism of an extraordinarily extensive kind has been weakening the administrative structure of the country at its very foundations. The ruling party seems to be a dupe of, on the one hand, of its own party caucus and of a powerful administrative caucus on the other. There is all the build up, therefore, of the conditions which generally lead up to eventual political breakdowns and administrative chaos. Observors from abroad naturally take note of these disturbing factors and it is just [illegible] that the reluctance of foreign private [illegible] to seek investment in this country in [illegible] larger measures may flow, partly at [illegible] this cause.

Economic Instability and Fiscal Policies

Another equally important disince[illegible] foreign investments in India may presumab[illegible] from the apparent state of economic ins[illegible] through which the country has been p[illegible] especially during the last quinquennium co[illegible] ding with the period of the Third Five Ye[illegible] and the constantly changing fiscal and m[illegible] policies of the Government. Even in a dee[illegible] economy, a more or less stable price situ[illegible] the very essenc of confidence to the invest[illegible] cautious investor, domestic or foreign, es[illegible] cially a foreign investor, would naturally [illegible] cautious about investing his capital in a [illegible] where the price situation has been as unc[illegible] it has been in India over the past four [illegible] years. Increasing demand may, classically [illegible] garded as encouragement to fresh investm[illegible] so long, however, as the demand factor [illegible] over-reach supply by such large margins [illegible] raging and snow-balling inflationary sp[illegible] comes the inevitable result. This is exact[illegible] has been happening in the county and any [illegible] investor who has any regard for the saf[illegible] security of his investment would naturall[illegible] chary of risking his capital in a market [illegible] the general price index has been known to [illegible] as much as 25 per cent and more over a [illegible] month period. Examples of foreign inv[illegible] being completely wiped out by inflationary [illegible] ations in a capital importing country have [illegible] been wholly unknown nor quite absolutely [illegible] Even during recent times this has been [illegible] have happened. It is only natural that the [illegible] investor would not be attracted to in[illegible] capital despite very attractive tax and ot[illegible] cessions in an environment of steeply ris[illegible] apparently wholly intractable inflationary [illegible] such as we have been lately experiencing [illegible] country.

It is, therefore, on this front that [illegible] be concentrated if a suitable climate of in[illegible] is to be generated in the country, especially [illegible] foreign investors are concerned.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SOME INTERESTING LETTERS

Letters To And From Rajnarain Bose

Rajnarain Bose, who was for a long time Secretary of the Tattvabodhini Sabha and was one of the most intimate disciples of Maharshi Deabendranath Tagore, dominated the intellectual scene of Bengal of his times. The following are some letters from him to such personages as Miss S. D. Collett and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar; there are letters to Rajnarain Bose from his father. Nanda Kishore Bose, from Bhudeb Mukherjee and from Maharaja Jatindra Mohan Tagore.

Those were the days of India's renaissance covering every field of endeavour and marked by a brilliant galazy of intellectuals and social reformers among whom Rajnarain was an outstanding one. These letters will be interesting as they would present a picture of those most fruitful times in our history.

Editor, M. R.

LETTER FROM BHUDEB MUKHERJEE TO RAJNARAIN BOSE

Chinsurah,
6 Jan. 1889.

My dear Rajnarain,

A pamphlet entitled "Old Hindu Hope" has come to me by dak. The writer has given me his best and affectionate regards. Can this writer be any other than yourself!

I have read the lecture with exceeding pleasure. I rejoice that consmopolitinism of our educated men is not....

I would join with him heart and heart if I was told how could I do, it. A Hindu National Congress walking along with the Indian national will greatly strengthen the latter. It would prove more practical and infuse real life and unity into the people.

I trust you will not forget to let me know, if it has come to be a movement.

Trusting all quite well with you and yours,

I am
Ever affly yours
Bhudeb Mukherjee.

LETTER OF MAHARAJA JATINDRA MOHAN TAGORE TO RAJNARAIN BOSE.

The Prasad.
September 8—1894

My dear Rajnarain Babu,

I have to thank you very much for your kindness in sending me a copy of your work on the "Religion of Love" and shall as soon as I have a little leisure give myself the pleasure of reading it. Coming, as it does from your pen, it is sure to contain something original in thought and conception and I anticipate a treat in reading the book. Again thanking you.

Yours sincerely,
Jatindra Mohan Tagore

LETTER TO MISS S. D. COLLET FROM RAJNARAIN BOSE.

Deoghur,
1st May, 1885.

To Miss S. D. Collet

Dear Madam,

I have received your kind letter of the 10th ultimo. I shall try to get a copy of Babu D. N. Tagore's letter to Max Muller from his Secretary, Babu Preonath Sastri but I have some doubt whether the Babu will allow him to give me a copy for you.

I am glad Fanney Kemble's book has come to your use. I hope you will succeed in getting the autograph letter of R. M. Roy.

I return the draft of your letter to P. M. Roy. It will do very well. You wil get an answer from his grandson, though of that I have doubts but it will not meet your wishes, though I think he can do it in a certain degree if he tries. I once asked him on the subject of a life of Babu R. M. Roy, but he flatly told me that they have got no memorial at all of the Raja with them. I hope you will meet with better success. Anything good cannot come out of the two brothers, I am very sorry to say so.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I have heard that Pyari Mohan Roy got two wives only but know nothing about when he married them.

I am suffering very much from nervous debility. The other day I got a sudden fit of vertigo and fell down on the road while walking. I don't write anything now-a-days. You do, I expect I shall even be able to write anything more than what I have already published. I scarcely write a common letter, except when urgently required.

I am glad to hear that you have regained your former health in a great degree and are busy with the biography. It will no doubt prove a success in your hands.

I remain,
Madam.
With best respects,
Yours very truly
Rajnarain Bose

P.S. Will you kindly convey my affectionate regards to Mr. Mohini when he sees you next.

LETTER OF NANDA KISHORE BOSE—FATHER OF RAJNARAIN BOSE—TO HIS SON RAJNARAIN

To
Babu Rajnarain Bose,
Care of Babu Ram Gopal Ghose,
on board the Steamer, ,
"Lotus."
Maldah.

Calcutta,
7th Nov. 1844.

My dear Rajnarain,

I have received your letter dated—from Berhampur and your last letter from Malda, the latter reached me yesterday evening. In the morning I wrote to you a short letter and handed it to your friend Nobin, to be forwarded to you within his letter to his uncle.

I trembled when I read your last letter—"adventures," "troubles," "difficulties"—but as you say afterwards—that they were not 'disasters'—my mind was pacified.

* * * *

I have forwarded your letter and application to Mr. Kerr and if they refuse to grant leave there will be a pecuniary loss but can't help it are I presume detained in consequence detention of the steamer.

We have returned to town on the 1st It still continue to be very weak, but ally improving, I now take an English to cine and "Ekhnee" or soup of kids at

There are only 5 days remaining vacation, after which I must be co go to court, weak or strong—and und labours of office.

If you do not read newspapers—it piece of news to you that with reference solution of Government of the 10th O public notice had been issued invitin Governors, proprietors of Schools,—p private—to furnish details regarding the of the institution, the number of scholars instructions, a syllabus of their studies order that Government might prepare a candidates for public employment to be from among the students. I have kept the notice. I will show you when you co

* * *

I at first informed your mother at you had gone only up to Babu Ram Go try seat, and were taking excursion river thereabouts. I then gradually her, of your progress and of your Maldah. She . . .that you had acquired courage as to venture upon such a dis age. She is very anxious for your safe have not mentioned to her of the tro difficulties made mention of in your le would have been terrified out of her anxious to learn what they are: I the steamer must have been aground an was extricated without much injury to

I waited till 2 O'clock to tell you Mohan Chatterjee would say in regard ment of your scholarship but Keshab h turned so I am obliged to close this to by today's dawk.

Your very affectionate
Nanda Kishore

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी

LETTER OF RAJNARAIN BOSE TO ISWAR CHANDRA VIDYASAGAR.

Midnapore,
12th March.

My dear Vidyasagar Mahasaya,

I have received your letter informing me of the marriage of Madan (Rajnarain's brother) in the height of the S. (Social) R. (Reform) question. I cannot express to you the satisfaction I feel in feeling at the consummation of these widow marriages in my family. I now feel that I have at least done something which I may mention with great pleasure at the time of my death.

Babu Nlimadhab Mukherjee will tell you how in our college days we made some boyish attempts to bring on the consummation of a widow marriage, re-acting as Ghatak, and how late Prankrishna Vidyasagar, the then Editor of the *Chandrika* and a great friend of my father, patted me highly in the College Square, one evening, for those attempts,

My boyish fancies have been actually realized not in me but in my brother and cousin. The realization I owe to you. How grateful should I be to you!

The thought that alloys my satisfaction is that, I have drawn around my brothers the care of a family rather too soon. His early marriage may interfere with his education. As for mother, and uncle, they must be finally reconciled to me.

Two very ludicrous incidents have lately taken place. I have at last come to know the secret cause of my wife's not allowing me to go to Calcutta. She was telling me the other day that she was much against my going to Calcutta, because she fears that I would marry a widow lady —if I do!! How did this idea get into her head, I cannot account for. It is a very odd one indeed!

My friends here want to make fun by bringing that somehow or other to her ears, that you have secured a beautiful match for me aged about sixteen and that I would go to Calcutta without her knowledge to marry her.

The other incident is that while teaching in the class, the other day I was speaking something about widow women, when the expression "Hindu Widows" came out from my mouth, that caused a titter in the faces of the boys, which they with difficulty prevented from breaking out into a laugh, as the occasion was a very provoking one. These are the comic interludes of the great danger of widow marriage.

The females object to bring the bride in the month of Chaitra. Durganarain (Rajnarain Bose's cousin who married a widow) will go back again to Calcutta in the month of Baisakh, and he and Madan will bring their families together. By that time Madan will have passed his examination. There will be a delay of four or five days in reaching Calcutta. In the meantime Madan will, I think, not suffer inconvenience for want of a servant.

Yours very very sincerely,
Rajnarain Bose.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MESSAGE OF MAHATMA GANDHI

By Dr. PITAMBAR DATT KAUSHIK, M.A., Ph.D.

Mourning the death of Mahatma Gandhi—the father of Modern India—Albert Einstein said :

"Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this, ever in flesh and blood, walked upon the earth."[1]

And he was right, because Gandhiji was no ordinary mortal. He, like Christ and Mohammad, was a flame from God. He was a manifold genius and a world-shaking personality. He was a prophet who proved that non-violence was no empty ideal. He was a political leader who by liberating his country from foreign yoke earned the title of 'Bapu.' He was a thinker who by evolving a new concept of non-violent socialism put forward an effective substitute for communism. He was a social reformer who shook the foundations of the hoary curse of untouchability and released the Indian womanhood from the prison of 'purdah.' He was an educationist who through his scheme of Basic Education did the same service to education in India what Pestalozzi did for education in the West.

But above all Gandhiji was a 'Mahatma' or a religious man. Little wonder that he starts with a religious concept, namely,—'God.' To him, "Man's ultimate aim is the realization of God."[2] But his concept of God is neither ritualistic nor dogmatic. "There are innumerable definitions of God because His manifestations are innumerable." says Gandhiji, "....But I worship him as Truth only."[3] Gandhiji believes that the way to the realization of God and Truth lies in self realization. Therefore, what he wants to achieve ". . . . is self realization, to see God face to face, to 'Moksha'."[4] But Gandhiji also believes essential unity of man and for that matter that lives. Therefore I believe that if one spiritually, the whole world would gain . . . . to that extent. So our first concern be to realise God or Self within ourselves have His vision everywhere."[5] Thus Ga regarded two things to be essential for realization, or seeing God face to face or the Truth : First, to realize God or Self ourselves or self-purification and secondly, His vision everywhere or social-service.

Gandhiji maintains that the first essential for the realization of God purification which requires three things, purity of thought, purity of word and deed. "If we realized the presence of witness to all we say and do," says Ga ". . . . we would not think unclean before our Maker, much less speak "Always aim at purifying your thou everything will be well. There is nothing potent than thought. Deed follows word follows thought. The world is the result mighty thought, and where the thought is and pure, the result is always mighty and Thus a seeker of truth must be pure and in thought, word and deed. He must also violent because "Non-violence is embe truth and vice-versa. Hence has it been they are faces of the same coin. Either is rable from the other. Read the coin eith

1. Albert Einstein ; reproduced in M. S. Deshpande (Ed.) : *Light of India*, Message of Mahatma, p. 206.

2. M. S. Deshpande (Ed.) : *Light of India*, p. 7.

3. M. K. Gandhi : *An Autobiography*, p. xv.

4. *Ibid*, p. xiv.

5. M. S. Deshpande (Ed.) : *India*, p. 8.

6. *Young India*, December 22, 19

7. *Harijan*, April 24, 1937.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

e spelling of the words will be different. The lue is the same."[8]

Gandhiji was a great social reformer and an liring champion of the cause of the victims social evils and oppression. He believes that cial reform is a part of the process of self-rification. "Self-purification", he says, there-re must mean purification in all walks of life. d purification being highly infectious, purifi-tion of one-self necessarily leads to the purifi-tion of one's surroundings."[9] He believes that realization of God or Truth is impossible hout social service and self-sacrifice. "The y way to find God", he says, "is to see him in s creation and be one with it. God needs no per-al service. He serves His creatures without manding any service for Himself in return. erefore servants of God are to be known by service they render to His creatures. Service His creatures is service of God."[10] From these iefs flow Gandhiji's concepts of "Swaraj", rvodaya" and "Swadeshi".

Swaraj literally means self-rule or a state of edom. Gandhiji regarded it to be both an in-rd virtue and an outward condition. as an in-rd virtue it is a condition in which people n to rule themselves. "Swaraj", he says, ally means self-control. Only he is capable of trol who observes the rules of morality, does cheat or give up truth and does his duty to parents, wife and children, servants and nei-ours. Such a man is in enjoyment of Swaraj, matter where he lives. A State enjoys Swaraj can boast of a large number of such good ens."[11] As an outward condition Swaraj s on the one hand Political Independence on the other hand what Gandhiji calls "Sar-ya." Sarvodaya literally means "good of Hence as a part of Swaraj it signifies a order in which 'good of all' is regarded as asis and goal of society. Such a social order e free from political slavery, economic ex-ation and ensure social equality because its al principles will be :

1. That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.

2. That a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's in as much as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work.

3. That a life of labour, *i.e.*, the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth living."[12]

The principle of Swadeshi is designed to delimit the field in which the ideals of social service, Swaraj and Sarvodaya are to be applied. "Swadeshi," says Gandhiji, "is that spirit in us that restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of more remote."[13] It is based on the recognition of the fact that the human capacity being limited a man cannot serve all, hence he should give priority to the service of his immediate surroundings. This is why Gandhiji fought for the freedom of his own motherland and laboured for her socio-economic and cultural regeneration to the exclusion of other countries.

The ideals of Swaraj and Sarvodaya are noble ideals but Gandhiji's real contribution lies not in the enunciation of these ideals but in the prescription of the 'true path' of their realization. This path is based on his doctrine of ends and means, which constitutes the core of his message. "The means," says Gandhiji, "may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree, and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree."[14] He rejects the view that 'end justifies the means' and refuses to follow the way of brute force and falsehood which the world knew before him. Instead of it he advocates the path of Truth, Ahimsa and self-sacrifice. He invents "the matchless weapon of Satyagraha" which "purifies one who uses it and as one against whom it is used."[15] It is a "coin on whose one face is written Truth and on the other Non-violence in large letters."[16] It is a weapon which with its twin blades of Constructive Programme and Non-

8. *Ibid*, July 13, 1947.
9. M. K. Gandhi : *An Autobiography*, p. 221.
10. *Harijan*, August 22, 1939.
11. M. K. Gandhi : *A Paraphrase of Rus-kin Unto This Last*, p. 65.
12. M. K. Gandhi : *An Autobiography*, p. 221.
13. M. K. Gandhi : *Economic and Industrial Life and Relations*, Vol. II, p. 64.
14. M. K. Gandhi : *Hind Swaraj*, p. 68-69.
15. *Young India*, November 17, 1921.
16. *Harijan*, May 7, 1947.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

violent direct action constitutes on the one hand a positive method of socio-economic regeneration and on the other hand an effective means of attaining such goals as political independence. It may also serve as the "moral equivalent" and effective substitute of war.[17]

Thus the real contribution of Gandhiji and the heart of his message lies in his doctrine of Purity of Means and the emphasis he places on Truth and Non-violence. He was almost the first who unequivocally declared that Truth and Non-violence are no empty ideals but noble principles which can be and should be practised by all. He not only himself practised them but also led his country to Political Freedom and socio-cultural renaissance. As Edward Thompson has remarked, he "set the stamp of an 'idea' on an epoch. That idea is non-violence."[18] He is no-longer a creature of flesh and blood, but his constitutes a Light which "will illu country for many more years and a years later, that Light will still be see country and the world will see it and it solace to innumerable hearts. For th represented something more than the present. It represented the Living Truth eternal man was with us, with his Etern reminding us of the right path, drawing error, taking this ancient country to fre

17. J. L. Nehru : *Mahatma Gandhi*, p. 44.

18. Edward Thompson ; in S. Ra nan (Ed.) : *Mahatma Gandhi, Essays flections*, p. 229.

19. J. L. Nehru ; Radio-speech January, 1948.

—0—



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RADICALISM AS A POLITICAL CREED IN FRANCE

By Dr. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

Although the Radical Party[1] of France was founded on the 23rd of June, 1901, radicalism as a political creed is of far greater antiquity. It was responsible for some of the greatest convulsions in history, and although its method and technique were never free from violence and great destruction, it is not proper to say that radicalism has not made its contribution to historical progress. Rather, under certain circumstances, radicalism is very proper and even unavoidable. Where something like a gangrene sets in the society and usual remedies are useless, a surgical operation is not only necessary, but unavoidable. It is also desirable in some cases. This surgery is political radicalism.

At all ages and in all climates people had to take resort to radicalism. Even the most civilised nations and countries could not help it. Thus, Great Britain during the violent civil wars (1641-1649) showed a temperament that was radical. After the civil war a sort of republican government was sought to be established, but the plan miscarried, and the people found a political reaction instead, the military dictatorship of Cromwell. Thus, they once again restored monarchy. But the civil war had not failed completely, for the monarchy that was now restored was more conciliatory in spirit. But in spite of the civil war and the attempt to establish a Commonwealth it will be wrong to say that radicalism had ever any real hold on the British people. They have been evolutionary, and not revolutionary.

Political radicalism is really of French origin. It has always pretended to be something more than a mere movement, and tried to present itself as a form of thought, a plan of social organisation, a world vision and a matter concerning human spirit.[2] Some of the best brains have been associated with this creed, so that, it is not easy to dub it as a movement of a thoughtless rabble. Although so dear to young men it has in the list of its supporters some of the oldest, most thoughtful and respected men of all countries. Radicalism in modern time appeared in France with the French Revolution (1789), which is regarded by some as the "beginning of a strange adventure."[3] Its first manifestation was made with Condorcet's famous book, 'The Sketch of the History of the Progress of the Human Spirit.'[4] It sought to replace political reactions, superstitions and obscurantism by 'Reason'. When Germany was busy developing political idealism, France and some of her best thinkers were busy developing political radicalism. This radicalism had for its motto not the ideal state of Hegel, but the republican state which was the dream of the 'progressives.' The effort to set up a republic failed twice, once in 1793-94, and again in 1848-52. But it was never given up, and ultimately succeeded in 1870. The failure of the 1848 republic was a rude shock to M. de Lamartine, who stigmatised the government's activities of 1848 to 1851 as "Reactionary everywhere . . . French by no means."[5] Denis Poulot was constrained to pass the melancholy judgment on the same tragic event by saying that, "The people were by no means prepared : each theorist had his adepts. Discussion, passion, irritation,

1. 'Le Parti Radical.'

2. "Un etat d'esprit."

3. "le debut d'une etrange aventure."

4. l'Esquisse de l'histoire des progres de l'esprit humain by Condorcet.

5. "reactionnaire partout . . . . francaise nulle part."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and resignation, such were the consequences."[6] The pitiable situation of the masses of 1848 is best summed up by Lamennais when he wrote, "Today it is necessary to have enough of money, enough of money to enjoy the right to speak. We are not sufficiently rich. Silence to the poor."[7] In 1848 radicalism "succumbed to the triple coalition of Catholic reaction, conservative bourgeois and doctrinaire politicians, powerless to separate themselves from the past."[8]

After the republic and radicalism failed in 1848 in France and the rest of Europe there was a heart-searching and renewed effort by the radicals. Madame Roland had said long ago that they "wished to establish the republic through wisdom rather than through the shedding of blood."[9] But, unfortunately there had been much blood-shedding, but not much wisdom. So, now the error was sought to be corrected with great care. So, now St. Just stressed 'more progress' and Condorcet, "The moal and material progress of the poorest and most populous (numerous) class."[10] This was the 'wisest' way to capture the imagination of the people. Already in 1829 a radical journal[11] showed this wisdom when it defined republicanism as "the thirst for equality and justice, for that universally experienced hatred for the distinctions that are not based on personal merit, ... finally for that consciousness of the human dignity of man and citizen which makes him resist arbitrary power and feel offended at the idea of despotism." In 1832 a popular paper wrote that the people were divided in two camps, "People put in one camp the ministerial monarchists and in the other the republican radicals."[12]

Ledru-Rollin, the Minister of the Interior in 1848 tried to secure universal suff... Blanc in the Luxemburg Commis... twelve hours work day, and some pr... made in the direction of republican ... But as in 1794 the bourgeoise was o... with a "Great Fear"[13] and for another twenty years a military dictator... Bonapartists was set up (The Second ... and with Victor Hugo and Ledru-R... licanism and radicalism were exiled.

Soon, however, the intoxication o... glory passed and the myth of Bonap... exploded. A new generation brought a ... of intellectuals, such as, Gambetta, A... Eugene Pelletan, Clemenceau, C. ... Vacherot,[14] F. Buisson and others who ... re-introduce radicalism on stronger foo... Simon[15] said to the people who were ... know the programme of the Radicals ... "liberty total without restriction or ... And Vacherot was preaching that ... history was nothing but the history of ... In those days Jules Simon and Ledru-... great advocates of the co-operative mo... the abolition of the wage system which ... was "the last vestige of economic s... The inopportune enthusiasm and ideal... hope is clear when we find that even ... wage system holds its own.

In April 1869 the famous Be... gramme was chalked out by 1500 dele... they claimed to have been the ... democratic programme, the glorious ... the French Revolution." On behal... government, Gambetta accepted this ... and said on the occasion, "Like y...

---

6. "Le peuple n'etait nullement prepare : etc."

7. "Il faut aujoprd'hui de l'or, beaucoup d'or pour jouir du droit de parler. Nous ne sommes pas assez riches. Silence aux pauvres."

8. "impuissants a se degager du passe."

9. "Nous voulons fonder la Republique par sa sagesse plutot que par le sang" (Madame Roland in 1793).

10. "le progres moral et materiel de la classe la plus pauvre et la plus nombreuse."

11. La Jeune France.

12. Le Temps, le, 20 fevrier, 1832.

13. "La Grande Peur."

14. Vacherot, was the author of ... book La Democratie (1860) wanted ... trative decentralisation' and 'Direct ...

15. Jules Simon wrote the famous ... Politique Radicale.

16. "la liberte totale, sans re... reserve."

17. "l'histoire universelle n'est qu... de la liberte."

18. "dernier vestige de l... economique."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that there is no other sovereign than the people."[19] It remained the veritable programme of the Radicals in France till 1905. Within a year of the chalking out of the Belleville Programme the Second Bonapartist Empire met its tragic doom on the field of Sedan, and Thiers explained the object of the Republic as the great preserver of past traditions and law and order. He said, "The Republic shall be a preserver, or shall not be."[20] In 1876 Louis Blanc on the occasion of his election addressed the 13th District and said, "Primary education shall be free, compulsory and secular . . . . that the liberty of the Press, of conscience, suffrage, meeting and association shall be absolutely inviolable." To promote this programme Clemenceau in 1880 started his journal, La Justice, and created the Radical Socialist Group. Jaures in his book 'Socialism and Radicalism in 1885,'[21] pointed out the intimate connection between the two. But it will surely be wrong to jump to the conclusion (from these manifestations of radicalism) that the age of liberation and enlightenment had dawned, for the Pope was telling the people with sorrow, "Railways produce commerce, and commerce produces sin."[22] Truly, "In all superstitions wise men (the Pope included) follow Fools."[23] But C. Bougle, Sorbonne Professor and Director of L'Ecole Normale Superieure made a sound case for Radicalism, and justified 'democracy' "which is not only a political regime (i.e., form of government), but the form of organisation of the entire society."[24] E. Chartier, Professor of Philosophy, had a wise radical suggestion to test political power. "All power is absolute, all power is absolute, all power is military, all power (i.e. much power) is wicked which is unquestioned, and all (such) power is wise which is subject to judgement."[25] On the question of 'power' and its use the radicals gave much attention. The decentralisation of 'power,' its increasing subjection to more and more common men and women in society, and the taming of 'power' were their important consideration. It reminds us of what a famous politician and constitutionalist Althusius, said in the past, "Power is a trust, not a right."[26] Alain, the famous radical in the regime of the Second Empire said that the manner how 'power' has originated is of little importance. What matters is "the continuous and effective control that the ruled exercise on the government."[27] And to do it effectively he recommended both 'obedience and resistence.' "The citizens should at the same time obey and resist . . . . By obedience he assures order, by resistance he assures Liberty."[28] All this needed highly intelligent intellectuals. He worte, "Thinking is possible alone in free men, And thinking is revolutionary." Prophetically he demounced the "Great Depravity of the twentieth century,"[29] "the era of tyranny,"[30] in these mass-civilizations and totalitarian states. Significantly enough he was fighting the losing rearguard action in defence of radical republicanism when in 1935 he brought together the intellectuals of the 'Left' in his famous, "Committee of Vigilance of the Anti-Fascist Intellectuals."[31]

When all these highly intellectual thoughts and arguments were deeply stirring the soul of France and a sincere effort was made to save the twentieth century world from the dire consequences of militaristic insanity, Germany was posing the greatest threat to peace and security under a virile regime extolling a brutal and savage efficiency as almost a refined art. Race-hatred, persecution, concentration camps and mass massacres were reduced to a fine art. The world was led on to "barracks, prisons, immense misery

19. "Comme vous, je pense qu'il n'y a autre souverain que le peuple."
20. "La Republique sera conservatrice, ou ne sera pas."
21. Socialisme et Radicalisme en 1885.
22. Pope Pio Nono-II in 1851, (refusing permission to construct a railway line joining Venice and Leghorn). Senior, N. W., Italy 1848-52, Vol. II, p. 165.
23. Bacon, F.-Essayes. p. 71 Of Superstition.
24. In La Democratie devant la Science (25).
25. In La Depeche de Rouen.
26. Gooch, Prof. K. P., Studies in German History, p. 5. (quoted therein).
27. Alain, "C'est le controle continu et efficace que les gouvernes exercent sur les gouvernants."
28. Alain, "a la fois a obeir et a resister.... par l'obeissance il assure l'ordre, par la resistance il assure la liberte."
29. "la grande depravation du xxe siecle."
30. "l'ere des tyrannies."
31. "Comite de vigilance des intellectuels antifascistes."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and debacle of culture."[32] Yet, it was justified, and Rosenberg was saying, "The German Revolution proceeds differently from the French and the Russian. It is deeper and greater, more comprehensive and stronger."[33] He was immensely pleased that "For four years Hitler can do everything necessary for the security of Germany," and that "Germany has awakened, the Great Work has begun, the hour of the Third Reich has dawned".[34] So, it is plain that the Second World War was basically a clash between reactionary Germany and radical France. It was also patent that ultimately, the two radical countries—France and Russia must unite and fight against the reactionary country—Germany.

At the same time on the economic front the radicals were fighting against what Mr. Ernest Bevin so nicely called "the most unfortunate discipline of all, the economic whip", and tried to replace it by the 'Welfare State'. In this Welfare state there was to be far greater freedom than the 'economic whip' could ever guarantee. This new freedom was to be the "opportunity for creative activity,"[35] so that both material and moral development may be possible in society. It should be noted that reactionary Fascism denied both economic freedom and the opportunity for "creative activity." When the fascist cloud was darkening the political horizon of Europe and of the world, an event of great historical and political significance took place in France which was however not properly understood or noted in other countries. A popular Assembly[36] of progressive leaders and thinkers took place in which it was only natural that the Radical Party should join. This participation of the Radical Party in the 'Rassemblement Populaire' was a matter of the first rate political significance. It focussed attention on the need of the hour to join forces to fight Fascism. In the Radical Con... October, 1935 the Resolution of M. Jean ... the declaration of M. Campinchi was una... adopted favouring the constitution of a ... front, legitimate and salutary"[37] to pre... radical ideal and fight the fascist tendencies. Congress of Biarritz voiced the popular ... of expelling the Communists. The Rasse... Populaire favoured a policy of non-inte... in the domestic developments in Spa... Congress of Lille[38] endorsed the unity ... Radical Party with the Rassemblement P... But in the meantime the differences bet... Radicals and the Communists (who f... important section of the Rassemblemen... laire) had grown considerably. So, the ... of the Radical Party of Marseille to... decisive and unavoidable though unf... decision to break with the Rasse... Populaire. Pierre Maze, the Secretary ... of the Radical Party annoucing this de... the Rassemblement Populaire made th... very clear. Although it weakened the ... Party to some extent it still continued ... sufficient influence in politics. Between ... World Wars (1919-1939) of the forty-tw... ments that were formed in France thirt... presided by members of the Radic... Chautems four times, Herriot and Dala... times each, Albert Sarraut twice and Sa... In the Chamber of ,Deputies the Radical ... ship consisted of 87 in 1919, 139 in ... in 1928, 160 in 1932 and 110 in 193... obtained about 2100000 votes in 19... 00 in 1924, 1650000 in 1928, 180000... and 1400000 in 1936. Of the five ... between the two World Wars eleven De... never sent to the Chamber of Dep... Radical member at all. On the other hand ... Departments always returned to the ... Radical members. Thus, the influen... Radical Party has varied from time to ... from place to place.

On the 15th of July, 1940 the ... the Radical Party emphasised two ... —"fidelity to the English alliance" and

32. Dresch, J-De la Revolution Francaise a la Revolution Hitlerienne (Paris—1945). p. 102. "La revolution du nihilisme n'est arretee par aucune consideration. Le resultat final sera caser ne ou prison, misera immense, debacle de la culture".

33. In Volkischer Beobachter, 21 Marz, 1933.

34. In Volkischer Beobachter, 24 Marz, 1933 Rosenberg spoke with great pride, "der Tag des Dritten Reiches ist gekommen."

35. This was the idea of Berdyaev.

36. Le Rassemblement Populaire.

37. "front defensif, legitime et ...

38. October 27-31, 1937.

39. November, 10, 1938.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

against the invaders and their accomplices in the interior".[40]

Queuille and Mendes-France made the French Committee for National Liberation[41] and suffered as thoroughly as they worked sincerely during the War. After the Second World War the Radical Party came out more weakened than after the First World War in 1919. It wanted the renovation of the Third Republic and was opposed to the Fourth Republic. In 1945 it obtained only 6.8 per cent of the votes cast (1306000 votes) and only 35 seats in the Chamber of Deputies. But later the Radicals recovered somewhat, and in 1948 Henri Queille the President of the Council had to act as an arbitrator in a quarrel between the three main Parties in the legislature. Since 1953 there was a difference of opinion among the Radicals—some favouring a policy of turning to the Right—some to the Left. This indecision as to what should be the true policy—whether the bias should be toward the Right or Left or Centre, has to a great extent compromised the power and influence of the Radical Party. But still there is much truth in what Edgar Faure has said, "The Radical Party is the Party of Administration,"[42] and it has led and will lead many administrations and that no French Administration can neglect the Radical Party.

40. Maze, Pierre, Le Parti Radical-Socialiste dans la Guerre et dans la Resistance (Brochure editee par le Parti Radicale-Socialists, decembre 1944).

41. Comite Francais de Liberation Nationale.

42. "Le Parti Radicale est up parti de gestion."



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PRE-REQUISITES FOR DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

By Prof. PRAPHULLA CHAKRAVARTI

THE importance of planning for the economic development of the backward areas of the world can hardly be exaggerated. In every backward country economic planning is necessary in order to develop natural resources, remove the structural imbalance of the economy, and promote the economic well-being of the people. But while there is need for development planning in all under-developed countries, it may not be possible for every under-developed country to undertake the task of planned economic development. The success of economic planning depends on the existence of certain pre-conditions which may not obtain in all under-developed countries. In other words, there are some pre-requisites without the existence of which the formulation and implementation of development plans may not be possible. For developing its economy an under-developed country may, therefore, have to begin by creating conditions and a climate suitable for economic planning. It has, however, to be remembered that all the pre-conditions of economic development are not necessarily economic. While economic considerations are undoubtedly important, non-economic considerations are not less important. The political and social factors contributing to economic growth cannot be ignored if development plans are to be executed in the best possible manner. Before development activity is planned it is indeed necessary to ensure the existence of the economic as well as the social and political pre-conditions of planned development.

Capital Formation

Capital formation is by far the most important economic pre-requisite for development planning. Without capital formation economic development is not possible. For increasing real in... part of the national income has to be se... and used as capital for investment purpose... in a country where the population is gr... substantial part of the national income ... be saved if per capita income is to be in... fairly rapidly. The rate of saving or the ... capital formation is thus an important f... reckon with. The rate of capital formati... be sufficiently high so that per capita inco... increase at a desired rate even if the p... increases rapidly. An annual increase ... capita income at a certain rate has to be ... through investment activities made possib... fairly high rate of capital accumulation.

An estimate of the capital require... an under-developed country for dev... purposes is not difficult to make. If the p... grows at a rate of 2 per cent annually an... cent increase in per capita income is t... fixed, the rate of capital formation has ... per cent, taking the capital-output rati... 3 : 1. The capital-output ratio may, how... greater than 3 : 1, in which case the ... capital accumulation will have to be hig... 15 per cent if a 3 per cent increase in p... income is to be ensured.

In under-developed countries p... income being low, very little can be s... investment purposes and hence the rate ... formation is low. In many under-... countries with large populations the rate ... formation is much lower than 10 per c... thus apparent that economic development ... be possible in these countries unless th... capital formation is stepped up quite co... Development planning is not possible if t... requirements needed for economic de... are lacking.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Foreign Exchange

While capital accumulation is the crux of the problem of economic development, foreign exchange is not less important. For industrializing an under-developed country what is of primary importance is the establishment of some basic and heavy industries. And in a backward country basic and heavy industries cannot be set up without considerable amounts of foreign exchange. An under-developed country cannot but imitate techniques of production from the industrially advanced countries of the world and is, therefore, in need of foreign exchange for procuring its requirements of capital equipment and technical know-how. Foreign exchange has, therefore, to be earned through export. But under-developed countries have a small capacity for export because of the non-diversified structure of production in these countries. Production is confined mainly to foodgrains and raw materials including some minerals. A few industrial goods are produced in some under-developed countries, but the export of these goods is made difficult because of stiff competition in foreign markets. In the world market for goods an under-developed country can, therefore, occupy only a very unimportant position and as a consequence its export earnings are small and far from sufficient for meeting the requirements of a rapidly developing economy. To make matters worse, a shortage of food may make necessary for an under-developed country to import foodgrains and this may cause foreign exchange difficulties. What is more, an under-developed country cannot but import some industrial products like machinery, chemicals, pharmaceutical products, etc. A certain amount of foreign exchange is thus always necessary not for development activities but for meeting some basic requirements of the economy. For development activity very large amounts of foreign exchange will be required for purchasing capital equipment as well as for acquiring technical knowledge. An under-developed country will, therefore, have to undergo sacrifices by reducing its imports to a minimum and increasing its volume of exports as much as possible. Failure to earn foreign exchange may mean that the process of industrialization cannot be initiated. And during the early stages of economic development the pace of industrialization in an under-developed country will depend very much on the capacity of that country to earn foreign exchange for development activity. When foreign exchange difficulties prove to be an obstacle to industrialization, the flow of foreign capital can ease the situation to a large extent. Foreign capital adds to the capital stock of the country and is also of use for skill-formation, for the investment of foreign capital may create opportunities for learning new techniques of production. But foreign capital can only supplement the foreign exchange earnings of a backward country. For setting up basic and heavy industries foreign exchange has to be earned or borrowed from foreign governments or international agencies. In the formulation of development plans the availability of foreign exchange resources is thus an important factor to reckon with.

Administrative Framework

In a planned economy the Government has to play an important role. It is the Government that provides the leadership necessary for initiating and sustaining development work. It is, therefore, of utmost importance that the Government should be equal to the task of drawing up plans for economic development and implementing them. Planned economic development is possible only within a suitable administrative framework.

One very important function of the Government is to maintain law and order. The maintenance of peace is also important. An under-developed country planning for economic development has to maintain good relations with foreign countries so that no external danger may shatter its economy.

Again, the Government must provide overhead capital for economic development. Schools and Colleges must be established. Hospitals have to be set up and public health facilities provided. Railways, roads, and bridges are to be constructed and power stations built. Development work will be hampered if the transport and power bottlenecks are not removed.

While the maintenance of law and order and the provision of overhead capital are important, what is of primary importance for economic

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

development is the proper implementation of development plans.

The formulaton of plans does not present much of a problem. To prepare a scheme for economic development is not a very difficult job. It is the execution of the scheme that presents difficulties of all sorts. Development plans will be badly implemented if the administrators who are entrusted with the task are inefficient or corrupt. Lack of administrative drive may impede development work and administrative inefficiency may lead to a considerable waste of resources. It has also to be borne in mind that those who are given the responsibility of executing development schemes must have a special kind of training. For developing the agricultural sector a large number of devoted and trained workers will be required. For the efficient working of public undertakings trained managerial personnel will be indispensable.

Furthermore, planned economic development will be possible only if the Government is in a position to regulate and control the economy. In a country where the public sector has to function side by side with a large private sector which is strong vis-a-vis the public sector, the Government may find that the task of regulation and control of the economy is a difficult one, for the public and the private sectors may work at cross purposes. In such a case, the Government must occupy some strategic positions in the economy so that the private sector may not be able to hinder the process of economic development in any way by making the economic measures of the Government ineffective.

Education and a Change of Attitudes

In any discussion on the pre-conditions of economic growth it has to be emphasized that popular participation is an important factor contributing to economic development. Without the support and active participation of the people economic planning cannot be successful. But in under-developed countries where most people are illiterate, the attitudes and outlook of the people are often not helpful for a process of economic development. In a backward country the people have to welcome economic change, work for it, and adapt themselves to changing ways of life.

A materialistic outlook on life has a distinct bearing on economic development. In many developed countries most people take very interest in the material things of life; the necessities of life are the only things that them. In such countries the attitude of of the population is one of indifference development planning is concerned and process of economic development can be in these countries only with great difficul outlook of the people has to change and be brought about only through education.

Again, a strong individualistic outl be an obstacle to development activity. under-developed countries with large po the need for co-operative efforts, partic the agricultural sector, is imperative. farmer in many backward countries strong sense of individualism will not agree to take part in co-operative wor without co-operative efforts agricultural ment may not be possible. What is need willing participation of the people in co- ventures. And the need for co-operative prise will be realized by the people only is possible to change their individualistic through education.

Moreover, economic development a large extent on the initiative of the tackling economic problems. The supply preneurship needed for development activ be forthcoming. But in a backward where the masses are illiterate and rather ent to material advancement, entrepreneu lacking. What is more, the people always the Government for help and guidance matters of little importance. And it is impossible for the State to go ahead w lopment plans unless the people lend a hand instead of depending on the Gover solving all their economic problems. It fore, necessary to educate the people so may be able to co-operate with the Gover economic ventures.

Education is thus an important fac buting to economic development. Educ broaden the narrow outlook of the peo them aware of the problems facing the arouse in them an urge to improve the make them responsive and adaptable to that economic development involves.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Political Stability

Political stability is an important requirement for planned economic development. Political considerations are, however, not important in a totalitarian country where political stability is achieved by ruthless means. But in a democracy political considerations assume great importance. In a country where different political parties vie with each other for popular support, development planning may be a difficult task unless more or less stable political conditions obtain in the country and political stability is not jeopardized from time to time. Political turmoil slows down the pace of economic development and may even prevent development schemes from being taken in hand.

A certain measure of understanding between the different political parties of a country with regard to development activity is, therefore, an important pre-requisite for development planning and may be necessary for the successful execution of schemes for economic development. But political parties do not generally see eye to eye with each other on important economic issues. While there may be no disagreement on the broad objectives of economic planning, there may be sharp differences with regard to planning methods. The different political parties of a democratic country may thus find it difficult to co-operate with each other for promoting the economic well-being of the people through development planning. It is thus abundantly clear that it is not always easy to achieve unity among political parties even for economic development.

In the absence of stable political conditions an under-developed country may face difficulties in undertaking plans for economic development and executing them properly. A ruling party which is not securely entrenched in power may not devote itself wholeheartedly to the task of economic development. Moreover, a change of Government will almost always mean a change in planning methods. And frequent changes in planning methods may impede development activity to a large extent and may also lead to a considerable waste of resources—both natural and human.

Many under-developed countries lack the pre-requisites indispensable for development planning. Such countries have, therefore, to undertake the task of economic development by creating conditions conducive to economic growth. Economic planning can be successful only when the basic requirements for economic development are not lacking and there is a suitable economic and socio-political climate for development work. Economic planning without the necessary groundwork may lead to difficulties which cannot always be overcome.

First of all, haphazard planning may prevent the best utilization of resources. Failure to draw up a proper scheme of priorities may result in an improper use of resources. And an improper use of resources cannot lead to the maximization of economic welfare which is the goal of economic policy and planning. Moreover, development plans cannot be executed or are badly executed when the task is entrusted to those who lack the requisite training. The result may be a colossal waste of natural resources and manpower.

Secondly, the economy may be beset with insurmountable difficulties as a result of improper planning. Development expenditure is sure to lead to a price rise and deficit financing for development activities increases the chances of a price rise. Funds for economic development must be spent judiciously if a sharp rise in prices is to be prevented. When investment expenditure is not planned in the right manner, the result may be an inflationary rise in prices which causes hardship to large numbers of people with low incomes by increasing their cost of living. And when prices rise to a large extent a change in relative prices is very likely to occur and as a result the allocation of resources is distorted. Price increases must, therefore, be checked and failure in this respect may throw the economy out of gear.

Lastly, it must not be forgotten that the success of planning depends to a large extent on popular support and participation and if the hopes and aspirations that economic planning arouses are frustrated as a result of tardy economic progress, popular support for planning will be alienated. Development expenditure involves a certain amount of sacrifice on the part of the people by way of additional tax burdens and price increases and so if economic planning leads to little or no improvement in living standards, the result may be popular unrest. And in a demo-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cratic country where there are several political parties, some parties will undoubtedly try to make political capital out of the situation. Political stability may be endangered and dev plans may founder on the rock of popu

—0—

HINDI

A. K. MOITRA

The time has come for some clear thinking on the language issue. So far it was the domain of the politicians and the ideological idiosyncracies which have characterised their outlook since independence have led them into a morass of confusion.

The question must be considered dispassionately and logical conclusions are to be accepted without bias or fear. If there are more than one logical conclusion, the one that serves the widest purpose is to be accepted.

The strongest argument so far adduced in favour of Hindi is that it is embodied in the Constitution. This is actually the weakest point. It is observed, particularly in mediaeval India, that when a thing cannot be justified by a logical test, it has been customary to invoke the aid of the Shastras, claiming to have divine sanction. Nobody would, at the present moment, claim divine origin for the Constitution, but if things drift and India becomes completely isolated this claim may be sponsored by some brilliant dialectician in the distant future. Further our Constitution has been amended not less than 17 times in 17 years exposing any possible myth about its infallibility. The Constitution was adopted in the first flush of independence and disillusionment, both for the people and Government have since been many and far-reaching. Thus if undue prominence was thrust upon Hindi, based on certain theories which have to be discounted in the light of subsequent developments, it will neither be wro ill-conceived to make a further am relegating Hindi to its proper place other spoken languages of India. I done not merely in deference to feelings but to redeem a wrong done strengthen the solidarity of India causing irreparable damage to it. argument that Hindi must be enfo exorably because it is stated in the tution, has no substance or val simple amendment will solve the As a proof of parity between word tention it is of the utmost imp that this is carried out.

The Constitution that was fra not grow out of the inherent genius people. It is a theoretical con based on the constitutions of other of the world and on the standards under the British rule in India. to the British system is the greatest ther we pull down Lord Irwin's st put up Gandhiji's statue, the main remains the same. The main legal underling the stowing away of the behind the bars without trial re same as it was in the British reg Constitution is now passing thr throes of vital development and will become a dead letter or will be into having a character of its own the future to unfold and would dep large extent, on how the success gatherers deal with the issues in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

n emancipated outlook, knowledge, sense
justice and toleration and a deep respect
r truth are brought to bear on the matter,
strong constitution, the result of natural
rowth will take shape. The other alter-
ative is gradual fossilization.

The issues emanating from the constitu-
on, whether as an Act of Parliament or
her Governmental measures, are further
be judged by their impact on the adminis-
ative machinery. The orgy of unrest that
seething throughout a large part of the
untry because of the antagonism against
ndi as the lingua franca has thrown a
avy burden on the law and order main-
ining machinery which is already creak-
g under a heavy weight. The question
ay be legitimately asked why measures
ading to such results must needs be
opted? How is it that the majority party
ould be so uncertain about the heart-
eats of the people? Of late, situations
plosive in their nature, are developing
hich call for violent intervention on the
rt of the Government. How far have we
rayed from the path of non-violence on
hich so much stress was laid in the
uggle for independence? Someone should
me out with reliable statistics comparing
e occasions on which the police were
loose upon mobs during 20 years before
ependence and during the 17 years after
ependence. The impression is that the
sent Government has to depend more on
police (and army) to keep public law and
er than its predecessor. This is a sad
mentary on administrative policies. If
ushering in of Hindi as the national
guage is confronted with the danger of
ting the nation, its day-to-day continu-
n will create problems so numerous
the already slow pace of administration
be still more slowed-down, frequently
ng to a grinding halt. Thus no argu-
t could be advanced that introduction
indi will facilitate law and order main-
nce or is conducive to stepping up effi-
y in administration.

What place is to be ascribed to Hindi
its own merits? Its advocates observe
lence that is eloquent on behalf of its
adversaries. There are at least two other languages, Tamil and Bengali, which are far more developed than Hindi. Therefore on this count these have superior claims. Whether Hindi is the spoken language of the majority has also not been firmly and clearly established. During the adjustment of State boundaries on language basis, a large section of people speaking Bengali have been included in Hindi-speaking areas and probably their spoken language was shown in official returns as Hindi. In fixing boundaries of the States, how little regard was shown to the cardinal principles is borne out by the fact that the new States of Andhra, Maharashtra and Gujarat had to be accepted by the Government after violence ruled rampant and law and order were torn out of their roots, so long as the public demand was not acceeded to. Bengal, the mother of political agitation, however, remained dormant though great injustice was done to her. Thus it is far from clear whether the Hindi-speaking section has a thumping majority. During alien domination, Bengali and Tamil were undergoing amazing progress, but Hindi lagged behind. During this period Hindi could have enriched itself and after independence the tempo of enrichment with all the encouragement that it was officially receiving, should have considerably increased so that non-Hindi-speaking people would have felt pride in making acquaintance with a language so flourishing. This has not taken place. Even Urdu has greater wealth in its stores. We are glad to learn French, German, Russian; the reluctance to learn Hindi voluntarily has deeprooted grounds and its exponents should do well to examine these and should strive to overcome these. It will require patience, genius and hard work.

If Hindi is to be accepted, then place of equal honour is to be given to all the major Indian languages, including Urdu. There is no reason to invest Hindi with special privilege. I also submit that English is also to be regarded as one of the major Indian languages. A cursory study of the history of India will reveal that no such concept as the original inhabitants of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

India and the original religion of India can be preserved. The myth of Aryan India is a figment of imagination. Wave after wave of invaders have come, most of them have settled down and there was extensive intermarriage not only between the sons and daughters of these various races, but there was interchange of manners, customs, religious rites and philosophy of life. Historically we cannot say that the descendants of Pathans and Moguls, Sakas and Huns, living in India now are not essentially Indians and that their religion is not part of the Indian religion. How much Hindu intolerance and segregation of the middle ages is responsible for swelling the ranks of Indian Muslims and what part is due to direct proselytisation is a matter of an interesting academic discussion. The Muslims held sway for nearly 700 years. Their rule never covered the whole of India. Large areas were under the control of Hindus. Yet both are Indians alike.

Then came the Europeans with their superior weapons of war, superior seamanship and a well organised religion and society. India might well have come under Portuguese control. The tussle between the French and the English was full of vicissitudes. However, it was the English who began to preside over the destiny of India. Their rule lasted for 200 years approximately. The duration, compared to other invaders, was small. But these 200 years were packed with events which, perhaps, were not encompassed by any previous section of 500 years. In point of achievements, it was equivalent to more than 500 years. The Indian people had a prolonged period of continuous and uniform Government; the legal system was the same throughout British India; various sections of the people were not discriminated against; there was a common language by which educated people from one part could communicate with people from a distant part; there were vast improvements in the law and order position; travelling was facilitated and, above all, the thick curtain of isolation of India from the rest of the world was torn to shreds and a storm of new ideas rushed in. The unification of India was forged link by link and in this the English language played a role. One of the greatest achievements of British rule is the galaxy of illustrious men and women who were born in India during this period and who contributed in various ways to the solidarity of India. The English did not settle down in India—so much the worse for both. But some of them rendered such conspicuous service to India during their short stay in the country as was very rarely equalled in the past. Englishmen are as much a part of humanity as members of any other race who do not settle down in India. It is a pity that British policy on India underwent a sea change shift with the beginning of the twentieth century and the spirit of liberalism and idealism that actuated the administrators of the preceding period, the sympathy that was felt for the poor ignorant clumsy masses of India, were blunted and were replaced by a dry and thankless bureaucracy interlarded with mischievous political machinations. Probably the policy-makers thought that these were the methods by which the Indian empire could be perpetuated. The British east of Aden could have no heart of India; instead dating from the beginning of this century their insular exploitation of their superior political position in the country of nations, their arrogance (there were noble exceptions) indifference to the joys and sorrows of the people completely cut them off from the people and they fell an easy prey to misrepresentation.

But the English language, apart from the English race, worked on unconsciously leavening the mind of India and pointing the path to freedom. It is difficult to say whether at that point in the history of India any other language could have moved the people the cause of freedom. The voice of freedom in bondage in the English language found an echo in many distant lands. The English language is a different entity and should not be confused with the English race. The United States fought a bitter war against England. It was a country where many languages were spoken. But [illegible] decision was taken (without [illegible] adopt English as the National language it cannot be said that its progress

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

etarded. It may be said that other countries like Japan, Egypt etc. have not adopted English as their national language. There were two obvious reasons. They had quite developed language other than English which was widely spoken in those countries and the problem of multi-lingualism did not exist. Secondly, their history was completely different from that of India. To the English language, history has given a special place in India and this cannot be disputed. The English language has come to stay in India and it has the greatest claim, by virtue of its performance so far, to be the Official national language of India. It will be fanatically suicidal, it will be bigotry unlimited, it will be an act of vandalism to do anything otherwise.

I would recall the letter Raja Ram Mohon Roy addressed to Lord Amherst in 1821. He urged that dissemination of scientific knowledge in India is more important than the endless continuation of arguments about the niceties and subtleties of metaphysics. These words are as true today as these were a hundred and fifty years ago. By retaining English we will be able to keep our minds receptive and on the motion. We must guard ourselves against the danger of inducing a situation leading to a diversion of our national life from the main stream of world thought and progress. By retaining English we would maintain a vital link with the outside world. In the realm of ideas, fresh developments will be brought to our doors instantaneously, new discoveries and inventions in science will be readily accessible to us. In the world of commerce, industry and politics, our touch with the world trends will not be lost. Our outlook will ever remain flung forward into the future, pace will be kept with the world movements which are making rapid strides. By discontinuing English we run the risk of losing not only all this but we may have to jettison internal solidarity into the bargain.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

APPLIED ART IN SCULPTURE & PAINTING

By Dr. ALOK GHOSH

Art & literature like all other human activities are the products of the interaction among a number of forces, ambiguously termed as the intellect and the imagination, which are again the functions of the human brain, physiologically heart has nothing to do in these spheres. Again, at the root of the evolution of the human brain, in the general and particular senses of the term, we find the influence of a number of genes.

The environmental influences in some cases cause a change in the protein molecules of the germ cells and then the influence reaches the nucleus through the cytoplasm. Then a mutation occurs in some of the genes of the nucleus. This is perhaps the possible explanation of the hereditary change in some of the grains of a particular species. But if the influence is limited only upto the cytoplasm in a particular case and does not reach the genes of the nucleus of the germ-cells to cause a mutation, then what will happen. There will be no hereditary change of the species or a certain hereditary abnormality within the species but the particular individual issued from the particular germ-cell will be abnormal. This individual abnormality may be either physical or psychological and moreover there may be either efficiency or defficiency. We take up the case of psychologically efficient abnormality which may be termed as 'the genius'.

Again nerve impulses from the sense organs travel to the selected portions of the cortex to give us the impression of the physical world. But these nerve impulses do not follow shortest routes. They are more or less deviated from their original paths to the thalamus according to the degree of their emotionalization and the pathways are not the shortest routes. Now, in the case of the highly emotionalized artistic sensations the nerve impulses probably at first reach some point deep at the base of the brainstem and then move upwards towards the point of the cortex before bend... again to reach the destination. ... probable that these abrupt turns ... pattern of the pathways of the nerv... ses of the artists are responsible f... tain kind of crosstalks which are ... the root of the artistic works. T... aim of a work of art is to give one ... of intense generalized emotional ... in which one seems to be detac... one's material self. As the artis... impulse sharply rises upwards from ... of the brainstem towards the high... of the cortex, it gives one this ver... detachment accompanied by intens... lized pleasure. Again, incidenta... highest point of the cortex, which ... the sense of the detachment fr... material self seems to be also th... point in the system of symbol... (Sapasrara-Padma) of the Indian ... ture, which represents the seat of ... highest self.

Time and matter together with ... cepts of colour, shape or size etc. ... the constituents of the universe ... divorced from consciousness. Th... of a particular man's universe is ... his self. This is also true for all ... living beings. Human universes ... ly different from one another ... except in the case of a genius li... or a lunatic but they are ordinar... different from those of other ... already seen. Thus we are le... deduce that the particular univer... tive to the state of consciousness ... ticular place and at a particular ...

The materialistic analysis ... not always yield fruitful result... sphere. But we fear that the pro... that human virtues are the pro... evolution cannot be effective...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

though there are some strong points in its favour.

The relation of a concept to a recept is, as Dr. Bucke explains, somewhat similar to the relation of algebra to arithmetic. A recept is a composite image of many hundreds of percepts : a concept is that same composite image ticketed and, as it were, dismissed. It is the algebraic sign that stands henceforth for the thing itself, that is, for the multiple recepts.

The ability to form concepts increases the efficiency of the brain enormously, as much as the introduction of machinery increases the capacity of the race to work, or as much as the use of algebra increases the power of the mind to make mathematical calculations. To replace cumbersome recept by a simple sign is almost like replacing actual goods, such as wheat, fabrics, and hardware, by entries in a ledger, The ability to form concepts implies the possession of a language. It also implies the existence of some degree of self-consciousness. An animal does not possess self-consciousness because it cannot stand outside itself and see that it perceives ; it is conscious only of the object that it sees. The faculties of language and of potential self-consciousness are the prerogatives of the human race, as is also the capacity to form concepts. It is on this rung of the ladder that we now stand. We are capable of a certain degree of self-consciousness, and of communicating with each other by language, and we are able to form concepts.

There is every reason to suppose that if there are rungs in the ladder of consciousness below us, there are also rungs above us. The mind becomes overcrowded, as it were, with concepts, and these are constantly becoming larger, more numerous, and more and more complex. Some day (the conditions being all favourable) the fusion, or what might be called the chemical union of several of them, and of certain moral elements in addition, takes place ; the result is an intuition, and the establishment of the institutional mind.

What is undoubtedly an error on Dr. Bucke's part is to suppose that the attainment of higher consciousness can possibly form part of an evolutionary process, and that the individuals who have experienced it can be looked upon as 'sports', that in time are to become so numerous that they will be the rule rather than the exception.

The relation between the physical expression and the psychological expression is like that between the body and the mind. But if we analyse the term 'mind' minutely, its entity is oneness. In psychology we have different terms like the conscious mind, the sub-conscious mind and the unconscious mind. The region of the unconscious mind is vast compared to that of the conscious mind. The unconscious mind is not some inanimate state of mind devoid of consciousness, but it is only a division of the mind which is not normally conscious in the ordinary sense of the term. Thus, in some rare cases it may be supernormally conscious and may be termed as superconscious. Again, in the Indian philosophy this superconscious mind is termed as 'Buddhi', 'Atma' etc. The term 'Budhi' here does not mean only itellect but the power of perception which ends in abstract thought and intuition. At the end of intuition is 'Atma'. So taking some entity at the root of everything we can express Universe as the measurement in matter-energy-space-time so that the physical and the psychological experiences both fit into this frame and both body and mind come into the fold of this definition. But there is one fallacy in this definition. This measurement or expression is conceived in the mind and then how the mind can come into its fold. Here we must conceive mind as finite but unlimited just like the Einsteinian space-time continuum, or more properly the whole conception of the matter-energy-space-time expression may be termed as finite but unlimited like God : it supports itself.

Now, our point is this. This single matter-energy-space-time expression may be partitioned in another way. According to this system of division we can have three different expressions instead of one —the real, the imaginary (the unreal) and the impossible. We can imagine the existence of something in space and time though it may not exist in the material world.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

But the imagination exists and so the imaginary thing exists in the immaterial world. So both the material world and the imaginary world are linked with the entity or the matter-energy-space-time expression. The impossible is only nothing but self-contradictory and so it is the negative division. Again the imaginary world must be based on the material world, otherwise it becomes impossible. Thus we find that the so-called real matter-energy-space-time expression is linked to the so-called imaginary matter-energy-space-time expression, of the material world gradually changes into the imaginary world. Thus also the personality of a man depends on the dimension of the entity or self. In the broader sense of the term the personality includes the body in its centre and then the animality, the mind, the perception, the education, the art and the intuition like the different crusts of the Earth we live on. Thus the personality of a man is a particular fraction of the matter-energy-space-time expression.

In imagination perhaps we perceive the universe from the point of view of the superconscious mind or the higherconsciousness and then record it in our conscious mind by the help of the sensitive memory. Art means a particular kind of pleasure which can be communicated to other minds through some intentionally created forms by a man. We may take the example of a gramophone record to explain the process. Some definite sounds like music may be recorded in form of waves through gramophone records by the help of a machine and another machine can free that music from the recorded waves so that it can be heard by others again. In the same way some particular kind of pleasure may be recorded as art by an artist by giving definite forms to raw materials or unfinalized artistic forms. Another appreciating critic may free that pleasure from the prison of definite forms and enjoy it. But this simile has one great drawback. Recorded music can be heard by almost everybody but the artistic pleasure can be enjoyed by only a certain class of people. If one has to free it from recorded artistic forms and communicate it to other appre... minds, one has to take the help of art ...

But, how to define this particular ... of artistic pleasure? The artistic pl... is the result of the extension of one's ... self through the appreciation of art ... creative imagination to feel oneness ... many other people or objects, so that ... can realize ones kinship with the uni... ing entity of a part of the universe g... than the part which one's little self ... The practice of other different good ... ties of heart like charity, nursing, edu... etc., may also make this realization ... greater self possible and art is only ... the many methods. But the artist is ... independent of his creation and the ... tion of a work of art is never a wo... art itself by only the virtue of its ... copied. The scientific thought and im... tion are objective. If the scientific ... covery and the scientific theory intro... by one can be imitated by others agai... again, it is only then that they are acc... as the scientific truths. The scientist is ... cally independent of his scientific dis...

The artistic creation can be ana... scientifically by three standards of ... time and matter, i.e., geography, histor... culture though practically all these ... different standards are interrelated wi... another. We can analyse the artistic ... tion or the change of form of the ent... other three definite standards of whi... are now to discuss more fully.

The first standard or the primary ... of the entity is the form which ... directly perceived through the ... Though these perceptions are general ... degree they are also particular, that is ... differ from man to man and every man ... ceive the universe differently even ... physical sense of the term.

The second standard or the seco... state of the entity is the form which ... absence of definite physical objec... events is created by the amalgama... the past memories of some physical ... or events. The perception of p... objects and events are definitely ... but these amalgamations of past m... definitely carry in them a much ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

portion of the personality of the amalgamators through selections and modifications.

The third standard or the tertiary state of entity is more wonderful than the two others. Memory can be divided into two categories—the subjective memory and the objective memory. Generally by the term 'memory' we mean the subjective memory. The objective memory is generally recorded in heredity, physical growth, habit, etc., and its impression is retained more in the subconscious and the unconscious minds than in the conscious mind. The family tradition, the racial characteristics, the tradition of the country and the age which cluster around the personality of a man may be grouped in this tertiary state of the entity.

Thus the entity has two major divisions —the direct and the indirect. The indirect entity can be again divided into two parts, in the first part of which the feeling of the little self is retained, though indirectly, but in the second part it is totally lost in the universal self. Thus we have altogether three divisions of the entity which are approximately and generally termed as the conscious self, the subconscious self and the unconscious self (including the superconscious self though the terms may seem to be contradictory at first sight.

Regarding the theory of the formations of art we may say that this also follows more or less the same scheme as the theory regarding the formation of literature. In painting, modelling and sculpture the subject of the picture or the material form that can be seen or touched is in the same position as the outward manifestations of the root-emotions in literature and may be included in the primary standard of the entity.

The thoughts and emotions which result from the vision or the touch of the subject are in the same position as the after-effects of the root-emotions in literature and may be included in the secondary standard of the entity.

The racial characteristics and their modifications which are at the centre of the particular point of view regarding the subject are in the same position as the abstract ideas and the root-emotions in literature and may be included in the tertiary standard of the entity.

In this theory the three different standards are not clear-cut divisions but are more or less only variations in the attitude towards the subject or changes in the point of view of the artist or the writer.

Before we come into the actual application of the theory in the fields of painting & sculpture let us try to have some clear notions about the subject-matter, model and the technique of art.

The artist may think at first of a subject-matter and then choose a model, but this subject-matter is at that time only the humblest raw idea which undergoes continuous changes under the influence of the model and the technique. As if a suitable cast is to be taken from the model and the molten subject-matter is to be poured into it which then takes the final shape. Again, sometimes, only the vague outline of a subject-matter is present in the mind and it becomes recognizable at the contact of a model. Again, sometimes though rarely, the artist wants to express himself only through the technique, he does not care very much for the subject-matter or the model.

Art is the sum-total of the subject-matter, the model and the technique as a whole, it is the complete equilibrium among these factors, though the individual factors must vary in every individual case. So, when we divide the work of art into three entities, saying that the raw materials, the models and the tools are in the primary standard of the entity, the subject-matter, the technique and the artist's nature are in the secondary standard of the entity and the racial characteristics reaching down to the secrets of life and matter themselves, are in the tertiary standard of the entity, we do not mean to isolate these factors completely. We can only assume these divisions for the purpose of our analysis. Practically, in the object of art the materials, the artist's mind and the racial characteristics of the unconscious mind are present simultaneously from the very beginning and they work together for the final finished product. Only for our theoretical analysis we assume that the pri-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mary standard gradually passes into the secondary standard, and then to the tertiary standard of the entity. After this the tertiary standard returns to the secondary standard and then finally to the primary standard. The object of art undergoes this transformation in the matter-mind entity of the artist and gradually only one standard after another comes into focus and then passes into the darkness.

Again practically the artistic sense of the artist cannot be totally isolated from the personal sense of the artist and the Man and the Artist always leave their imprints in the work of Art. Sense of utility and artistic satisfaction must be present together, though in various proportions, in any work of Art.

"In the earlier stages of culture, I must remind you again, the symbolic interest usually dominated the technical one. In pottery, for example, the breasts or the trunk of a woman might suggest the rondures of the jug or the vase, so, too, as Vitruvius tells us in his treatise on architecture, the column might be turned into the figure of a woman to form a caryatid, in order to symbolize the humiliation that had befallen the inhabitants of a certain conquered city—their women were condemned to serve as supports of the entablature. Sometimes, instead of resorting to these more obvious symbolisms, the craftsman, adhering strictly to functional needs in the development of his form, would finish it off by more playful modes of decoration. Having given good form to his oil jug or his bowl he would add to it some 'leaf-fringed shape' of men and maidens, in Tempe or in Arcady, to remind the user, as one man speaking to another, that life was more than a matter of shaping utensils or storing food in them."[1]

In the case of human figures Artists generally take the help of models. There are many fascinating stories about these artist's models and we are warned by critics that history should be isolated from legends in these cases. But we must not forget that these models are not simply Mr. X, Miss Y or Mrs. Z; they are pra... some particular Artist's Mr. X, Mis... Mrs. Z. The artist's taste, fascinatio... feelings create a halo surrounding ... models transform and recreate the... and blood, expressions, living and bec... If such is the case, the personal his... Mr. X, Miss Y or Mrs. Z must be ... through that particular artist's pers... and supplemented by these legends ... careful selections—the standard of se... here is the percentage of authentic... accordance with the artist's pers... energing out of the work of art.

Now, let us discuss a little abo... creative unconscious.[2] It cannot be d... that there are some basic ideas, more o... biological in nature, in the culture o... kind. These have been modified loc... particular periods of time by the ... characteristics. One of such basic i... Freud's Phallic Breast which is ag... amalgamation of two apparently s... basic ideas—the Phallus—Father a... Breast—Mother. Between Man and W... sexually, the Man is the giver a... Woman is the receiver of the flow o... but this relationship is reversed wh... mother suckles her young son. I... condition, she actually gives her m... the son takes it—the mother plays t... of Man and the son that of Woman... symbolically the mother's breast b... the phallus. Here is the duel ro... origin of the idea of the phallic bre... emblem of Creation. In ancient Eg... emblem of vulture stood for this ... breast or the Mother-Goddess, as ... later on. The influence of this be... can be traced perhaps even in th... works of Art, and Leonardo Da ... famous picture "St. Anne with Vir... Christ Child" conceals a vulture, th... whose tail (symbolically the mi... placed within the lips of Christ-Chil... bolically the Artist himself). Th... cannot be proved or disproved wh... Artist has put the vulture in his ... consciously or unconsciously, it ...

1. "Art and Technics" by Lewis Mumford.

2. "Art and the Creative Uncons...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

denied that the strange resemblance of the bird is there, and it is most probably due to some basic fundamental concept in the unconscious human nature.

Together with the actual application of this theory in the fields of sculpture and painting an attempt for the analysis of these two subjects may also be made for the preparation of the ground for that purpose. At first the art of sculpture may be taken up.

At first comes the sculptural idea, which takes shape in the sculptural form, which is materialized through the technical means. The sculptural idea may be analysed according to three standards—the primary, the secondary and the tertiary. In the primary state of the entity the vision and the touch of the object are present. The vision and touch of the object may either be actual or imaginary (though the strong feeling of actuality is present). In the secondary state of the entity various ideas and memories swarm into the sculptor's mind followed by the vision and touch of the object. These ideas and memories put life-breath into the material idea which begins its new existence and life in the sculptor's mind. In the tertiary state of the entity the relation of the living sculptural idea with the universe around it is established and thus it becomes universal, though embodied in a particular form. Few illustrations be given with the help of the famous pieces of sculpture.

Aphrodite and Apollo are the two most distinguished figures in the Hellenistic sculpture and may be taken up for discussion in the light of this theory. The 'Birth of Aphrodite' is a relief of fifth century B.C. preserved in National Museum, Rome. The central figure of the celebrated panel known as the Ludovisi Throne. In the relief the goddess of love is rising from the waves into the outstretched arms of her two maidens."[3]

The upper portion of Aphrodite is that of a very young maiden while the lower half seems to be still in a half-formed state covered by a sheet of drapery held by the two hands of two different maidens. The impression here is of a birth of a young maiden out of a nebulous form and the contrast of the half-formed lower portion of Aphrodite with the details of the drapery and the holding hands is remarkable. Again the semicircular drapery has the resemblance of a broken egg-shell.

Thus here in the primary state of the entity are the conceptions of the nude half-formed body of a young bird coming out of a broken egg. In the secondary state of the entity there two conceptions amalgamate against the background of the Greek legend of the goddess of love rising from the sea. This amalgamation is in the subconscious mind of the sculptor. In the tertiary state of the entity the inner significance of the legend itself and the true nature of the amalgamation of the two conceptions are revealed—goddess of love with half-formed lower portion coming gradually up out of the sea-water resembles the formation of the human embryo in the fluid of the womb as a result of the physical love between man and woman and this revelation of the universal truth is only in the unconscious mind of the sculptor.

The "Aphrodite of Cnidus" is of the fourth century B.C. and preserved in Vatican, Rome.

"Copy of the most famous statue executed by Praxitales. The lower part of the figure wears a metal drapery, the prudery of Roman censors. The statue was carved from clay models fashioned from the body of the celebrated courtesan, Phryne, mistress of the sculptor."[4]

"In the final years of the fifth century, Athens was captured and humiliated in the Peloponnesian War, but her intellectual sovereignty lingered on during most of the succeeding century, and was carried far and wide into colonial outposts and the bivouacs of the Roman barbarians...

In this transitional world sculpture

3. The pocket book of Great Art by Thomas Uncon.

4. 'The Creation of Sculpture' by Jules Struppeck.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

continued to be the predominant art, but with less ethereal ideals. Not Zeus, Apollo and Athen, were the favoured crew, but Hermes, Aphrodite, Dionysus, Pan, the satyrs and all the lower, erotic members of the hierarchy. For the first time, the raptures and seductions of the flesh came into sculpture; and the goddesses, heretofore draped, now appeared in the state of nature—for while with a flow of garments below the navel, soon with a hand shielding the pudends, and finally in complete and undulant nakedness. Notwithstanding the tendency of today to rave over archaic sculpture, and to take Praxiteles down a peg, the art of carying in fourth century Hellas cannot be said to have declined precipitately.....

Other statues by Praxiteles, copies made by Roman slaves, have survived the vandals; a mirthful satyr, a couple of erotic figures, and the nude Aphrodite about to take a dip in the blue Ionian waters. The copy of the Aphrodite in the Vatican is only fair, and the stewards of that great museum have blushingly covered the lower part of the goddess of love with ugly metal drapery supplied by local tinsmiths. The Praxitelean Aphrodite, unlike the earlier types with their round faces and stately thighs has an oval face, a liquid come-hither expression, and a middle section swelling to the golden mean between the reproductive background of the matron and the fertile lines of the maiden. According to the stories—which are credible enough—Praxites carved the statues from clay models adopted from the body of the celebrated courtesan, Phryne, his mistress. In earlier times, such an impious act would have forced the sculptor to a long draught of hemlock."

Thus here the physical charm of Phryne, a young woman with a slim but well-formed sensuous body, as apparent in the statue is in the primary state of the entity in the sculptor's mind. In the secondary state of the entity in the sculptor's mind is his fond acquaintance with the woman idealized in the legendary glamour of the goddess of love. In the tertiary state of the entity in the sculptor's mind is the long hist... love itself, both physical psycholo...

"Aphrodite of Melos is appro... of the third century B.C. and pres... Louvre, Paris.

"As the Venus of Milo, the large... goddess remains the most beloved ... statuary in the world. A later Gre... but sculptured in the tradition of the ... attainments, the Venus symbolizes th... lity, the serenity, and the purity of ... hood."

"The Venus of Milo, or Aphrodi... Melos in the Greek, has not been d... as the most famous single piece of ... in existence. A vast amount of im... tommyrot has been written about the ... arms of the large-bodied woman, and ... as much archaeological rot about the ... her birth. The Venus most probab... carved in the later days of Greek ar... third or second century B.C., but ... tradition of the supreme achieve... and possibly because she was bro... being on an island where sculptors ... executing sleek pretty-boys, she is ... breathtaking as Rodin said she was ... inspiring as the Greeks intended h... If the women of the world are to b... lized in a single figure, serene but ... refined and ample and noble, lofty ... being overbearing, and pure with... fice of femininity, then the Venus ... fills all the requirements. It is ... see her in the Louvre, but even ... photographs she justifies the supr...

Thus here in the primary sta... entity of the sculptor's mind is re... vision and touch of some la... woman but her flesh is idealize... pure form of womanhood, imm... divine by the fire of the sculptor's ... the secondary state of the entity ... the tertiary state of the entity in ... tor's mind is the fact and history ... conceived by the mankind.

One thing is to be noted. T... bodied woman whose figure is ca... Venus of Milo is invariably Greek ... appearance—her dreamy large ... steep nose, curved fleshy lips, ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

long slender neck, broad shoulders well-formed yet not-too-heavy bosom and broad pelvis from a not-too-narrow waist.

The proportions and poses of the human bodies in sculpture and painting vary according to the secondary standard of the entity and thus modify the primary standard or the actual proportions and poses of the model's body.

"Although she (Venus of Cnidos) is so much taller, the proportions of her torso still conform to the first simple scheme established in the Esquiline girl. And, beyond this geometrical harmony, there is, in her whole bearing, a harmonius calm, a gentleness even, much at variance with the amatory epigrams which she inspired..... The classic nude, which Praxiteles invented became, in less sensitive hands, the conventional nude, and as we try to look at his Cnidian Aphrodite we seem to see a forest of marble females, filling a vast conservatory with their chaste, monotomous forms..In fact these figures do not usually derive from the Cnidian, but from two Hellenistic statues of great celebrity, the Venus of the Capitol and the Venus of the Medici. Fundamentally these are versions of the Praxitelean idea, but they involve an imporant difference. The Cnidian is thinking only of the ritual bath which she is about to enter. The Capitoline posing. Herself self-conscious, she is the product of self-conscious art. Her pose, whenever it was evolved, is the most complete solution in antique art of certain formal problems presented by the naked female body; and it is worth trying to see how this has been achieved. The variations of the Cnidian are subtle, but decisive. The weight has been transferred from one leg to the other, but is more evenly distributed, so that the axes of the body are nearly parallel. The action of the Cnidian's right arm has been given to the Capitoline's left, but both hands look in the same direction. Finally, the most obvious change, the arm of her left side, instead of holding her drapery, is thrown over her body, just below her breasts. All these changes are designed to produce greater compactness and stability. At no point is there a plane or an outline where the eye may wander undirected. The arms surround the body like a sheath, and by their movement help to emphasise its basic rhythm. The head, left arm and weight-bearing leg form a line as firm as the shaft of a temple. Approach the Cnidian from the direction to which her gaze is directed, and her body is open and defenceless; approach the Capitoline and it is formidably enclosed. This is the pose which is known to history as the Venus Pudica, the Venus of Modesty, and although the Capitoline is more carnally realistic than the Cnidian and the action of her right hand does nothing to conceal her magnificent breasts, a formal analysis shows that the title has some justification. We can see why in later replicas this attitude was adopted when the more candid nudity of Praxiteles would have given offence. We can also understand why, through all the misfortunes and mutations which Venus was to suffer during two thousand years, this impregnable design was the chief survivor."

In the case of the Venus of Milo another variation may be observed. "Her author has not only used the inventions of his own time, but has consciously attempted to give the effect of a 5th-century work. Her proportions alone demonstrate this. Whereas in the Venuses of Arles and Capua the distance between the breasts is considerably less than from breast to navel, in the Venus of Milo the old equality is restored. The planes of her body are so large and calm that at first we do not realise the number of angles through which they pass. In architectural terms, she is a baroque composition with classic effect.....The genesis of the Venus of Milo exemplifies how the later Hellenistic artists approached the problems of creation. Not being blessed with great powers of invention, they used all their skill in combination and development. In the history of art this is neither unusual nor discreditable. In China and Egypt, for example, it was the rule, and the extreme restlessness of European art since the Renaissance has not been an unmixed advantage. But it is remarkable that in the female nude there is hardly a single formal idea of lasting value which was not originally discover-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ed in the 4th century. An example is the beautiful motive of the crouching Venus, from which Rubens and French artists of the 18th century were to derive so much profit. On the evidence of epigraphy this is usually attributed to a late Hellenistic sculptor from Bithynia, named Doidalsus, and no doubt he did Execute a statue in this pose. But the motive occurs on a 4th century amphora decorated by the painter Camiros, whose figures seem to have been inspired by the sculpture of Scopas; so that the splendid wholeness of the crouching Venus must also go back to the great age of plastic energy."

If the statue of dancing 'Surasundari' of the temple of Belurh is compared with her the distinction between the two is obvious. Not only the models from whom these statues are carved belong to different races and cultures but the sculptors are also different here with different trainings and backgrounds.

After the discussion about the art of sculpture the art of drawing and painting may be now taken up for analysis according to this theory.

Thus it is evident from the analysis of the artist's point of view that at first there is a subject—a particular human body in the case of a model, but the exact reproduction as in the case of a photographic copy is not encouraged. This particular human body body has its own expressions—outward and inward—arrangement of clothes etc., or sometimes nudity, mascular action, pose and posture are the outward expression of the body, reflections of the mind, thoughts and emotions resulting in facial expressions, modulations and variations in outward expressions of the body are the inward expressions. All these elements may be grouped under the primary state of the entity. In the case of landscape paintings the outward expressions of the physical objects come under the primary standard.

The artist's own feelings about the subject, filtered through his complex viewpoint together with his particular technique may be grouped under the secondary state of the entity. This particular standard is more or less responsible for the speciality of the master-artist, even though the same is threated by a large number of ar

In the tertiary state of the en be grouped those materials which ex selves at the root of the artist's pe form of the complex viewpoint and together with his individual te These are racial characteristics natio ditions, social influences, the physi racteristics and the historical events country and the time.

"How the painter uses his matter, ...depends wholly upon his nality. Without personality, he wo no better than a machine, and with integrated personality, he would be man. His peculiar talents must be lined and conditional by the hard of training and by the range of his ences. If he is a Van Gogh, poorly and emotionally unbalanced, his ar a molten eruption; if he is bound to tine of the academies, his pictures hard and tight, like those of D Ingres; if he is capable of preser massive personality after years of trated study, he may develop into who could bend his brush to alm thing. And Rubens, as Aldous pointed out, was no maker of patt abstractions. He loved the nude a it the symbol of the opulence and he demanded of life. He has the s not of the abstract hemisphere, t breast and the buttock."

Thus one thing is evident here case of this class of artists like R concrete sexual impulse as of Rub vulger and common man, was tra by the higher consciousness into th love for a beautiful woman's body, to be used, above all as the materi artistic creations.

But, from another point of human body, with all its youth a tiveness becomes an expression of depths of the soul. Such is the cas Lisa, the most controversial pictu Western World. Here the female fully clothed, but the soul which expressed through the apparent

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

smile is at once make and alluring with the depths of the mystery of the womanhood—with the glance though divinely ironical, promises endless voluptuousness".[5]

"The Moan Lisa is probably the most perfect picture of the western world, the face, despite the fading of the flesh tones, being the subtlest piece of modelling ever done, and the hands beyond dispute, the most beautiful in art. The sitter was Madame Lisa, third wife of Francesco del Gio-condo, and according to all accounts, exceedingly alluring. The husband was an expert on Swiss cattle and raw sheepskins, and the wife, a sensitive soul came alone to the studio of Leonardo to be painted.

The figure of the woman is as solid and permanently established as the rocks behind it, for the artist believed that solidity is one of the cardinal prerequisites of the art of painting. Yet the figure is free to bend and breathe and move, and is brought into the highest relief by the purposely strange background of dwindling rivers and shadowy peaks—by a landscape wrought out with as much affection as the smiling face.

The face of the woman, I need hardly say, is the most discussed face in the world's great portrait gallery, and the smile has been the subject of endless speculations, some mysterious and uncanny, some meaningless and Freudian. Technically, the smile was achieved by imperceptible variations in the lines of the eyes and mouth, and by modelling of the utmost delicacy.

The smile is not peculiar to Mona Lisa, nor was it original with Leonardo. You will find a similar baffling expression on the faces of the archaic goddesses of Greece, and on the sculptures of his master Verrocchio, and in other paintings of the time. Every artist, especially where the human face is concerned, seems unconsciously to favour a certain expressive mood, and to create his own type of face to embody that mood, or state of the soul, as Michelangelo put it. Leonardo, for his own private reasons, loved to portray the smile and used it to give life and reality and illusion of spiritual depth to his characters. The mysteries attached to Mons Lisa arose from the romantic gossip surrounding the model and to the misconceptions of the artist's purpose. According to the old fables, the model was a strange and uncanny charmer, a sphinx whose smile entrapped the soul of a great artist and impelled him to build up, bit by bit, an imageof impenetrable mystery. The truth is, I fear, that he had no romantic interest in the model and he found her smile artistically useful.

The artist worked at the portrait intermittently for three years, and in order to induce the proper mood in Mona Lisa, posed her only in the twilight hours in a background of irises and lilies, her favourite flowers, with fountains playing and musicians performing to exalt her spirit."[6]

So in the analysis of this painting it is found that the exceedingly alluring and sensitive wife of an expert on cattle came alone to the studio of Leonardo to be painted. A work of art without passion is a dead thing and we assume that in these circumstances Leonardo's passions were roused. But he was a master over his passions, otherwise he could not have executed this masterpiece. The female figure is clothed and is not voluptuous, and the background is serene—the naked and alluring female charm is revealed only through the glance and the smile even though the figure is extremely beautiful. This was exactly the state of things in Leonardo's mind when he painted her—there was the fire of passion, but it was controlled and subdued by the artistic sensitiveness. Together with this state of artistic consciousness should be linked the artist's various activities as a technical, a scientist and an architect.

"The precocious Leonardo displayed his capacities in many directors—in mathematics, music and every branch of design—improvising words and harmonies for the lute, modelling figures in relief, and drawing animals at play, human faces and flowers".

5. 'Famous Artists and their Models' by Thomas Craven.

6. 'Famous Artists and their Models' by Thomas Craven.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"During his apprenticeship and his first years as an independent artist, Leonardo's mind was incessantly active. Continually experimenting, not only with the phenomena of the arts but also in every subdivision of science, he acquired a fabulous and somewhat sinister reputation. In painting, he employed his intellect profoundly, resolving the various problems, both spiritual and technical; and as the first modern man of science, he observed organic life minutely and tested his theories by the laboratory method. He strove to bring about the conjunction of art and science, hoping ultimately to create spontaneously like God himself."

All these things indicate the trends of Leonardo's imagination and intellect. As for his apprenticeship it may also be mentioned—"In anatomy, he had no peer except perhaps his irascible junior and compatriot Michelangelo. He dissected some thirty cadavers, and was the first to draw the human embryo in the uterus; and his studies of skulls, nerves and muscles are the last word in precision draftsmanship. But no matter how accurate his observation, the artist in him inevitably triumphed; and his design of the interior of a woman's torso, or of the structure of the beating heart, each graced and modelled into soft, smoky organizations, are as he asserted, as beautiful in their own way as his drawings of Madonas, or innocent children frolicking with kittens.

Besides his studies of the nude, for which he utilized the corpses of the morgue and by solicitation, the nakedness of courtesans, he executed, at twenty-one, the first independent landscape in Occidental art, a drawing of the valley of the Arno, which was followed, in after years, by turbulent cloud formations as abstract as the patterns of a twentieth-century cubist. His floral pictures are little masterpieces, and apart from his renderings of nature, he constructed plans for buildings and entire cities with sanitation facilities, as well as instruments of warfare nearly five hundred years before his time—airplanes propelled by spring motors, tanks of modern design and military engines of effectual and devillish contrivance." These training and mode... his personality, according to this the... be grouped under the secondary stat... entity, and these also explain how he... ed such a masterly control over his... ments and materials as an artist.

In the third state of the entity h... the historical and cultural backgro... the Renaissance in Italy, the physical... tions of the country, and the racial ch... ristics of the Mediterranean people.

Now, let this theory be appl... Rubens' works. "To name the gre... all artists would be no more than an e... sion of individual preferences, but w... comes to the greatest of painters, there... much room for speculation. The m... Peter Paul Rubens, whose comma... the visual medium—his ability to p... the human figure in every conc... posture and to relate figures one to a... in surging, intricate compositions—... phenomenal as to invite compari... with the members of his own profes... with the greatest master of words th... has seen, William Shakespeare."

Here an account of his achievem... be given. "Unexcelled in port... Rubens attracted hundreds of mod... cluding kings and dukes, queens and... his wives and his nine children, ... in-laws. One of his great portraits—... is a beauty—presents himself and his... Isabella Brandt, in all their healt... finery: Rubens with a trim beard, a... moustache, and gorgeous attire—a ... of yellow-green, black velvet tr... orange stockings and a Henry Qua... Isabella wears a black jacket, a blu... bodice embroidered in gold, a viol... and yellow petticoat—and the two ... hands.

Time and again he painted his c... painted and drew them from inf... adolescence and made them model... youth and art. There is something ... wives in all his women, whether th... posed as Christian saints or myth... goddesses. His first wife may be id... as the Magdalene in The Descent f... Cross, and Helen, his second, is the c... his most wonderful nudes. "She ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

blush when I took up my brush", he said; and she was exposed to the world in unabashed, naked womanhood—a northern goddess, large and meaty, but stately in her strength and health. You may see her in **The Fur Coat at Vienna**, a semi-nude portrait; as Venus in **The judgment of Paris**, in London; and as the lady on the left in **The Three Graces of Madrid**, perhaps the best nudes of their kind ever composed. She has blue eyes, golden hair, a straight nose and small voluptuous mouth—and a figure which painters love but which modern women would starve and constrict and girdle to death.

Rubens loved the nude as a organic fact and accepted its challenge without trepidation, undue excitement or any thought of exhibitionism. His undraped women are as healthy and chaste as his wives were; in truth, most of them were modelled, as I have said, from his wives; and his sexual appetites being amply satisfied in real life, he had no occasion to resort to the imaginary compensations of art. All his nudity is clean and pure and undisguised. He could not have said what he had to say with thin women; for his is a lush and burgeoning world with no room for the thin and the stunted."[7]

In the analysis of Rubens' pictures numerous men and women from different classes of the society who were his subjects may be grouped under the primary state of the entity. In the secondary state of the entity his particular attitude towards life may be viewed. He enjoyed life with full satiety and was well-established in life. He was not vulgar, but he relished artistically what was vulgarism in other objects and was proud of this. He was not at all ashamed of his appetite and the pictures of his nude women with their abundant fleshes have the appearance of well-prepared dishes of mutton, which are pleasant even to look at. His nobles, kings and queens are happy, fully-satisfied creatures, who reflect his own view of life. In the tertiary state of the entity are the tradition of the middle ages in France and the medieval ecclesiastical history as the background.

---

7. "Famous Artists and their Models" by Thomas Craven.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

THE Asiatic Society of Bengal and Afro-Asian Art and Culture, established in 1784, but founded by Sir William Jones (1746-1790) worthily celebrated its bi-centenary (1746-1946) by publishing a Book with valuable notes and documents by the then Secretary General Dr. Kalidas Nag and his friends and colleagues like Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Prof. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, Dr. Buttokrishna Ghosh and others.

The financial resources of the Society may be limited, but judicial distribution of the funds —official and non-official—may lead yet to wider public interest and financial support. An old member and well-wisher of the Society, the noted historian of Oriental Art like Prof. O. C. Gangoly provoked the present President of the Society Dr. K. N. Bagchi (a renowned Medical Researcher) who has admitted that '*lapses* on the part of the Society should be remedied by the appointment of an expert committee to suggest appropriate steps to implement the promotion of the study of the *Visual Arts* and *Folk-Arts*' of Asia and Africa and their neighbouring countries ; payment of allowances and royalties, etc., to research-workers and editor-publisher working in the *Bibliothica Indika*, the Journals and other Publications of the Society should now remember the much neglected fields of studies of the *Visual Arts* of Asia and Africa—the first and the second biggest Continents of the world.

In the new multistoreyed building of the Society ample provision could be made for the housing and display, for the benefit of the common people, the exhibits to help understanding of the Arts and Crafts of Asia and Africa.

Thus the available funds (actual and potential) from the members and the donors of the Society should be proportionately divided for (i) Literatures and languages, (ii) Science and (iii) Fine Arts of the so far neglected regions ; for we must remember that the founder Sir W. Jones was befriended, when he came first to by no less an authority than Sir Joshua Re (1723-1792). Reynolds was a celebrated a the eighteenth century England and he was friend of Dr. Johnson, Goldsmith, Burke Actor-dramatist Garrick. As early as 1 Reynolds painted his famous picture "Gar tween Tragedy and Comedy" which he ex at the Society of Artists (1762), the precur the Royal Academy of Arts founded in 176

Sir Joshua enriched his paintings by h journey to the Art Centres of Belgium, H Italy and other Art-centres of the Continen

England as a colonial power enriche Home-Museums with selected specimens of African and other arts. So, Belgium in and Holland in 'Indonesia also built u colonial museums. In the age of Sir S Rafles the Asiatic Society in Calcutta also collecting Stone-figures and Inscriptions as manuscripts from different parts of In which I personally visited ; but the work continued. If one or more special rooms c assigned to the vast Continents of As Africa, the Society can now begin its new and Afro-Asian collections to enlarge called Asiatic Museum of Calcutta so close Society.

Plaques have been issued on the Ce of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore who was not only as a writer and poet but also as long champion of the neglected folks o Asia and Africa ; and one of the Tagore was presented to the renowned French Lauriet Arthur Schwitzer of French Afric

We hope that the Publication Board Financial Committee of the Society immediate steps to implement our suggestions.

—0—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEPAL—A STUDY

By Prof. SATYABRATA RAI CHOWDHURI

Hemmed in by India and Chinese occupied Tibet and amid the snow-capped turrets of the Himalayas, Nepal covers an area of 54,345 sq. miles on the barren hills and jungles of which the struggle for a desperate existence engrosses the energies of her eight and half million sturdy, illiterate and indigent people. Her common frontier with India on the south and Tibet on the north runs along over a thousand miles. Though cut off from her neighbours by stark mountains and steaming jungles, Nepal's destiny traditionally depended upon India rather than her northern neighbour. The history of Nepal is rooted in shrouded antiquity and for centuries she survived the impact of imperialism, industrialism and democratic ideas. Naturally, therefore, until very recently the outer world knew little of this Himalayan kingdom because in spite of her strategic position she was never a stake of diplomacy between the imperialist powers. Now, when one of history's most decisive struggles are rapidly gathering momentum on India's northern frontier, Nepal, which serves as a buffer between India and China, is making her entrance upon the stage of international politics.

Rana Autocracy

Since 1846 all political powers in Nepal were held by the hereditary Rana Prime Ministers. Before the Ranas established themselves at the pinnacle of power, the king was the keystone of fettered authority. King Tribhuvana's great-great grand father was the last such king before the Ranas took over the reins of the state. The establishment of Rana regime in 1846 by Prime Minister Sir Jung Bahadur ushered in a century of stagnation and decay. It may be recalled that during the Sepoy Mutiny Sir Jung Bahadur rendered valuable services to the British Government to arrest the spread of the revolt. On March 1858, he joined Sir Colin Campbell at the head of a powerful Gurkha contingent and helped to bring Lucknow under British control. Shortly afterwards, the office of the Prime Minister was declared hereditary and all legislative, executive and judicial powers became his close prerogatives. The king was reduced to a titular position and found himself a pawn in the hands of his Prime Minister.

The office of the Prime Minister was an El Dorado for the Ranas for it promised incredible fortunes. Being the sole custodian of state revenue the Ranas spent millions for personal benefit without any regard for the people's welfare. Moreover, under the odious Birta system, i.e., tax free land assignment, this fabulously rich landed aristocracy monopolising 80 per cent of landed estates, was also exempt from all taxes. With immense wealth at their disposal their power was vast and no one could predict where their ambition might stop. Every year they took about Rs. 15 millions out of the state revenue, while the king was allowed nearly one million; the rest of the revenue—never more than a quarter of a million—was spent in public interest. The Nepalese people writhed under the ruthless and oppressive rule of these overlords who bound Nepal hand and foot to the reactionary chariot of medieval autocracy.

Prachand Gorkha

Curiously, the first blow upon the corrupt Rana regime came from their own rank. At various times disillusioned and dissident Ranas having failed in their princely ambitions, lived in exile in India and dreamed of reformation at home. Perhaps the most illustrious of these exiles was Rana Chandra Singh, a deposed Prime Minister, who convened in Dehra Dun in 1927 a Congress of Nepali Liberals under the banner of an organisation called the Prachand Gorkha. In the Congress the delegates expressed their determination to establish democratic government in Nepal. But before any real progress to that end could be made, the party had to be disbanded because of rivalry among the leaders. It, never-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

theless, was an open testimony of Nepal's growing political consciousness.

Nepali Praja Parishad

Although the Prachand Gorkha failed to inaugurate democracy in Nepal, it left an exciting legacy to the movement against the Rana regime. It exposed the evils to the Rana rule and let loose the growing forces of national awakening. Close upon its heels another political party named Nepali Praja Parishad was organised in 1935 under the leadership of T. P. Upadhyaya. The enlightened elements of the people welcomed the emergence of this new party and saw in it the vanguard of a democratic movement in Nepal. Even the king decided to lend himself to this organisation because he believed that therein lay the best interest of the monarchy already defeated and impoverished by the Ranas. He, therefore, chose to ride with the popular tide., The programme of the Parishad was reduced to the simple formula that all evils in Nepal stemmed from the Ranas. Remove them, restore the powers of the king and all would be well. But they could not be removed. A series of arrests nipped in the bud the Parishad's *coup d'etat* planned for the early forties and wily Ranas shattered the movement. Charged with treason Mr. Upadhayaya was tried, found guilty and was imprisoned. The king too was not spared. When the Ranas decided to dethrone him and banish him from the country, public indignation went into such fits that the Ranas were compelled to allow the king to retain his throne. But his personal liberty was so drastically curtailed that he became a virtual prisoner in his own palace.

Search for Reforms

When it seemed as if all hopes of the liberals were about to disappear, Mr. Padam Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana became the Prime Minister in 1946. Nepal found in him a Prime Minister whose progressive outlook broke the conservative and reactionary grip held by the interested groups in the government and society. He realised that the nation was stagnating and unless political and social reforms were immediately undertaken the future of the country was doomed. He also realised that no reform could be initiated with any [illegible] of success unless supported by the people. He, however, lost no time to carry forward reform plan of his government. A [illegible] Committee was set up and Sri Prakash of [illegible] was invited to help the Committee in drawing the draft constitution of a liberal government Nepal. The Committee, after considerable [illegible] ation, announced the programme for a liberal in accordance with which the Government Nepal Act (1948) was passed. Although the provided for a separate executive, legislature judiciary, it failed to win popular acclaim because it did not touch the supreme authority of Prime Minister. The liberals believed that had been duped. Any hope that the people for a democratic rule was now completely pelled. Public opinion became so indignant the Prime Minister was forced to resign and the country. Mohan Shamsher Jung Bah succeeded him as Prime Minister.

The Nepali Congress

Events now began to take shape with rising crescendo. In 1947 at a conference Calcutta a group of dissidents led by Mr. B Koirala organized a party called Nepali Con Pledged to overthrow the Rana regime establish a democratic government, this drew to its ranks the intellectuals, the disg Ranas and the protagonists of the king. sooner was a non-violent campaign start Biratnagar than the government took re against the party by arresting the leaders ing Mr. Koirala.

Meanwhile, a welter of parties sprang being not only among the liberals at home among those who had their headquarters in One of these parties was Nepali Dem Congress established in 1948 by Mr. M Vikram Shah, a man of royal descent. leaders soon realised that the common could not be fulfilled unless the leading were united under a single banner. parties, therefore, amalgamated in 19 rechristened as Napali Congress. Mr. Koirala was elected president of this party became the most widespread and effecti among the people to escort their country

democratic go
Congress held
Bairagnia on
unanimously de
the Rana rule
captivity.

But the d
time table of
stage at home
coup de grace,
upon the Rana
entered upon a

Although fo
agents were unc
agents dogged
blue moon he w
four walls of his
ance such auspici
royal party drove
hut before the g
the royal carriag
and made its way
something the ki
and now he play
Ranas angrily s
with troops. But
deliver him up t
with internationa
ing. Five da
own to New D
stem the tid
rime Minister
ent,' an assem
chmen and m
king and to
r old grandso
s decision wa
ions by the
ntry went int
ister Mohan
n to New D
d offices for
king and th
and the Ran
controversy
ement. It wa
restored to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

democratic government. In a secret session of the Congress held on Sept., 26-27 of that year at Bairagnia on the Indo-Nepal border, the leaders unanimously decided to strike the final blow upon the Rana rule and to liberate the king from captivity.

Coup de Grace

But the die was cast before the scheduled time table of the Nepali Congress. When the stage at home and abroad was well set for a coup de grace, the king struck the final blow upon the Rana regime. And Nepali politics now entered upon a new phase.

Although for a long time the king's movements were under strict surveillance and secret agents dogged his every foot step, once in a blue moon he was allowed to move outside the four walls of his palace. November 6, 1950 was one such auspicious day for royal excursion. The royal party drove through the roads of Katmandu, but before the guards knew what was happening, the royal carriage suddenly took an abrupt turn and made its way into the Indian embassy. It was something the king had in mind for a long time and now he played his cards extremely well. The Ranas angrily surrounded the Indian embassy with troops. But the Indian ambassador refused to deliver him up to the Ranas and in accordance with international law granted asylum to the king. Five days later the royal family was flown to New Delhi in a special I.A.F. plane. To stem the tide of these dramatic events, the Prime Minister hurriedly summoned the 'Parliament,' an assembly composed of self-seeking lackmen and minions, which resolved to depose the king and to proclaim Gyanendra, a three year old grandson of the king, as his successor. This decision was received with angry demonstrations by the people. In protest the whole country went into mourning. Thereupon, Prime Minister Mohan Shamsher was forced to come down to New Delhi to seek India Government's good offices for an amicable compromise between the king and the Nepali Congress on the one hand and the Ranas on the other. After considerable controversy the parties agreed upon a settlement. It was decided that the king was to be restored to the throne and a Constituent Assembly was to be formed by the end of 1952. During the interim period the king would rule the country on the advice of a Rana-Congress coalition ministry.

The Coalition Ministry

After one hundred and six days of exile King Tribhuvana returned to Kathmandu to head the coalition government. But the anomalous coalition with Mohan Shamsher as the Prime Minister did not work. The ministry was formed on the promise that reforms on the earlier commitments of the Nepali Congress would be immediatly implemented. But the coalition ministry could not bring about reforms largely because of rivalry among the ministers. The people also realised that democracy was still a far cry. At this juncture a crisis of an entirely different order was caused by the communist influenced United Democratic Party led by Mr. K. I. Singh. He denounced the Rana-Congress coalition and began to incite armed insurrection on the Indo-Nepal border, terrorized peasants and kept them in a state of siege. Although with the assistance of the Indian army he, along with his 300 followers, were put under irons, affairs of the government stood stock-still until Prime Minister Mohan Shamsher resigned on November 13, 1951 and with him collapsed the last vestige of the Rana regime in Nepal. Thereupon, King Tribhuvana invited Mr. M. P. Koirala to form an all-commoner cabinet.

Koirala Cabinet

Although the Koirala cabinet was formed with great expectation, it was destined to be short lived. The numerous problems pressing for solution afforded the radical wing of the Nepali Congress an opportunity for criticism against the ministry. Deprived of immediate reforms which they believed had been long overdue to them the people also grew restive. In such a situation a considerable flurry arose when Mr. K. I. Singh escaped to China *via* Tibet. The government was discredited and Mr. Koirala had to resign on Aug. 10, 1952. As no other leader was capable of forming a stable ministry at that point, the king decided to take over the reins of adminis-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tration with the help of a five-member advisory council. Amid worsening conditions the king's rule continued hesitantly for a year until Mr. Koirala again got himself summoned to the premiership. But his second term of office also failed to bring about stability in the government in the face of rift in the party, social crises and above all the subversive activities of the communists. On March 2, 1955, Mr. Koirala was forced out of office only to be followed by the king's direct rule. Although the parties were in serious disagreement regarding possible alternatives to the king's rule, they were all agreed that it was most unwelcome. The king prudently grasped the situation and invited one Mr. Tanka Prasad to form a new ministry. The king's advisory council was dissolved on June 10, 1956 and general election was promised to be held sometime next year.

King Mahendra

On March 13, 1955, King Tribhuvana died in a Zurich hospital and was succeeded by his eldest son Prince Mahendra. Mr. K. I. Singh thought the moment propitious for coming back to Kathmandu and it was not long before the new king invited him to form the ministry. But in the affairs of Nepal, instability now became one of the constant factors of government. The new administration was immediately confronted with a series of quandaries for which Mr. K. I. Singh was unable to produce any solution. He was not only unable to enlist the cooperation of the people but also disappointed them to such an extent that soon they brought about the downfall of his ministry. The king's direct rule was once again thrust upon the reluctant nation.

Democratic Election

In the history of Nepal the year 1959 may be looked upon as an annus mirabilis which marked a difinite stage in her search for democracy. Early that year for the first time the nation went to polls on the basis of adult franchise. Although only 46 per cent of the electorate cast their votes, they suddenly realised that for the first time since time immemorial Nepalese nationality ceased to be a badge of servitude. In the election contested by 4 and 2 factions the Nepali Congress won some majority, polling 38 per cent of the vote and secured 78 seats in a parliament members. The Gorkha Parishad secured seats, the Communists got 4 and the Democratic Party of Mr. K. I. Singh to bag only 5 seats. The faction of Mr. B. Mishra secured one seat while that of Minister Tanka Prashad failed to get any sentation in the Parliament. Success in the brought Nepali Congress to power with P. Koirala as the Prime Minster.

Thus the election of 1959 brought leadership, new hopes and promises of a government in Nepal which, however, proved be ephemeral. During his short term of Mr. Koirala earnestly set about to accelerate reform movement and made appreciable progress in overcoming the evils of deep-rooted malaise standing in the way of Nepal's Among the achievements of the Koirala were the abolition of the Birta system holding and organisation of national on a widespread and integrated basis. government also devised a modest five with the objective of raising agricultural duction, developing power projects and transportation and irregation facilities. the long standing Sino-Nepal boundary Mr. Koirala journeyed to Peking and fully removed the point of friction between two neighbouring countries. But at such a when the nation's energies were being mobilised for realising its potentialities growth, parliamentary democracy collapsed the return of royal absolutism. On Dec. King Mahendra issued a proclamation the popularly elected Parliament of Nepal

The New Constitution

After two years of direct rule King in exercise of his sovereign authority, a new constitution on Dec. 16, 1962 ciating the "partyless panchayat democ royal proclamation declared that democracy "could not prove suitable country due to lack of education consciousness to a desired extent and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of its being out of step with history and tradition of the country."

The new constitution envisaged a four tier panchayat hierarcy with the National Panchayat consisting of 90 members elected by the zonal organisations, 4 members elected by the organisations, 4 members elected by the graduates, while the numbers of members nominated by the king would not exceed 15 per cent of the elected members. The executive powers of the government were vested in the king who would appoint the Council of Ministers from the unicameral legislature, the National Panchayat. A motion of no confidence passed by it by two-thirds majority of members present and voting may affect the tenure of a minister concerned." The constitution also granted a number of fundamental rights to the people including freedom of speech and publication, peaceful assembly without arms, freedom of movement and settlement in any part of the country, freedom of religion, right to property and equality before law.

Although the king hoped that this system of government would entrust the people with the responsibility of national reconstruction, they cannot forget that the late king Tribhuvana promised the people a constituent assembly to enable them to draw up their own constitution.

Economic Development

It has already been observed that for over century the people of Nepal groped in the arkness of extreme penury and all round stagation. It was only after 1951 that serious ttention was given to the problem of raising this ubmerged humanity to a civilised standard of iving. But no significant results could be achieved ntil Sept., 1956 when the First Five Year Plan as launched. Although the development budget nvisaged an orginal outlay of Rs. 579 millions, he actual expenditure during the whole plan eriod was only Rs. 204.07 millions. During the rst three years the annual rate of expenditure was s. 10-20 millions while in the last two years it ent up to Rs. 70-80 millions. Top priority was iven to transport and communication (Rs. 80.10 millions), village development (Rs. 22.62 millions), and education (Rs. 19.09 millions).

It may be recalled in this connection that before the commencement of the Five Year Plan India and Nepal signed an agreement on the Gandak irrigation and power project envisaging the construction of a barrage at Bhaisalotan with one end in Nepal and the other in India, which was to confer benefits on the peoples of both countries. The total area irrigated by the project was 37 lakh acres having two power houses, one on Nepalese and the other on the Indian side. The project was expected to provide additional employment opportunities and better trade facilities to both the countries. The cost of the entire project estimated at Rs. 50.5 crores was borne by India, the apportionment being Rs. 39.5 crores to Bihar and Rs. 11 crores to U.P.

Thus although substantial aid was received from the friendly countries like India who alone gave about Rs. 20 crores, they could not bring about an all round development of the economy. The reasons for the shortfall were the imbalance between financial outlays and physical resources, failure to mobilise internal resources, absence of reliable statisctics, antiquated administrative apparatus and above all the centralised structure of the planning organisation. Bearing these lacunae in mind His Majesty's Government released in June 1960 the draft outline of the Second Five Year Plan with an estimated investment of Rs. 1960 millions which was to achieve an increase of 30 per cent in the national income, 16 per cent in the agricultural production and 130 per cent in the field of non-agricultural production. Hardly had the draft plan bagan to attract public attention when parliamentary democracy was abolished with damaging repercussions on the country's economy. On January 5, 1961 the King in a Royal Message declared: "A new and different approach to planning was required and in recent months we have been at work setting up both a new approach and establishing new development objectives, and priorities more consistant with the recent needs of the country." Accordingly, "a three-point programme" was formulated with the object of providing the conditions of a self-sustained growth. After an interim period of one year, on March 5, 1962, His Majesty's Government released the outline of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

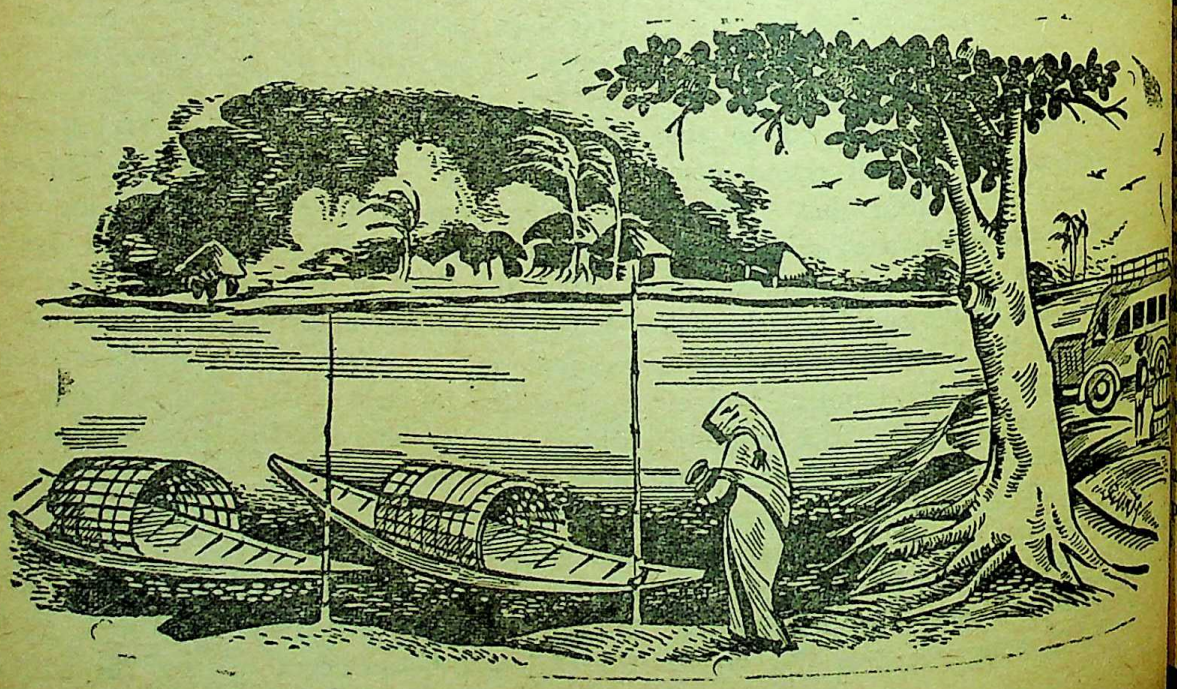
a Three Year Plan for public comments and suggestions. With a total outlay of Rs. 586 millions of which Rs. 360 millions were expected to be available from foreign sources, the plan-frame aimed at encouraging private enterprise, improving the administrative apparatus and mobilising domestic savings to the extent of Rs. 50 millions.

These plans notwithstanding, the teeming millions of Nepal eked out a precarious existence amid squalor and backwardness and remain poor even by the Indian standard.

Indo-Nepalese Relation and the Yellow Peril

In the face of China's acts of aggression against India nothing can be more desirable than a perfact amity and concord between India and Nepal, wedged as she is between the two mighty countries of Asia. It is, therefore, disquieting that China is trying to churn up anti-Indian activities in Nepal so as to drive a wedge between these two countries bound by age-old ties of common heritage and tradition. It fact, China's neo-imperialistic designs in Nepal are being operated by a triple line of action consisting of a political [illegible] communist indoctrination and infiltra[illegible] military line aiming at securing com[illegible] srtategic boundaries and a diplomatic lin[illegible] aims at discretiding and isolating India. [illegible] of Nepal shows that the yelow peril thre[illegible] the independence of this country had a[illegible] the past. According to Sir Charles Bell, [illegible] known authority on Tibetan affairs, a st[illegible] in Lasha bears witness to the defeat of the C[illegible] by the Chinese in 1792. Sir Charles also r[illegible] another conflict between Nepal and Tibet c[illegible] ing in a Nepal-Tibet Treaty in 1856 whi[illegible] subsequently abrogated in 1956 by China.

In the light of this it can be readily see[illegible] the unabashed hunger of the fire breathing [illegible] is the real danger facing Nepal against [illegible] stands guard India's determined policy to m[illegible] her independence and integrity. The m[illegible] interest of India is the security and w[illegible] Nepal. India must be the natural enemy [illegible] country that threatens her sovereign[illegible] neutrality.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NATIONALISATION OF BANKS IN INDIA

By Prof. D. V. SAWHNEY

In order to reach nearer the objectives of Socialism and a 'socialist society,' there has been a demand in the parliament, of late, for the nationalisation of banks in the country. This demand has come not only from the Opposition but from some of the members from the Congress benches. A draft resolution was also put forward by a member, but, the Government has rightly rejected for the present. At the 68th All-India Congress Committee Session at Gopabandhunagar, the consensus of opinion was similar, with a promise however, that "if need be, we may nationalise the banking industry." So, by these realistic approaches by the Government and the Congress party, the private commercial banks have once again been re-assured to work resolutely for building a strong and effective banking structure in the country. Let us however, examine the implications of nationalisation of banks.

Present Structure of Indian Banking

The present structure of Indian banks is one of "mixed effort"—about one-third of the commercial banks are owned and managed directly by the state, the rest, are the banks in the private sector. In the public sector, the State Bank of India and its associate banks and their branches are included. Like all other units in the private sector, there is strict control and regulation of the Government over the private joint stock commercial banks through the Reserve Bank of India, our central banking institution, which also is owned by the Government. Needless to mention that the Reserve Bank of India holds such regulatory powers over the commercial banks in India that the private banks cannot mind their own way, but, are progressively working for the welfare of the society and according to the wishes of the Government.

The private joint stock commercial banks in India have proved their worth as they have been the pioneers of commercial banking in India and have very successfully brought it up to such an attractive stage. They not only mobilise the savings of the masses, but, by employing their money in industry, trade, commerce and government securities, have been helping to form an organised money market in the country. Their services and progress can be judged from the following account.

Increase in Bank Deposits

The comparative increase in deposits as an indicator of banks' efforts in mobilising the savings of the people, will show how usefully they have served the nation. While there has been a 47 per cent increase in the national income within the served the nation. While there has been a 47 per cent increase in the national income within the decade, 1951-61, a 65 per cent increase in the money supply, the banks' deposits increased by 134 per cent from Rs. 822 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 1,921 crores in 1961-62.[1] As percentage of the national income, the bank deposits increased from 8 per cent in 1951-52 to 13 per cent in 1961-62 and as percentage of the money-supply, the deposits increased from 44 per cent in 1951-52 to 63 per cent in 1961-62. The number of deposit accounts more than doubled from about 32 lakhs in 1951-52 to about 65 lakhs in 1961-62. In this data, the figures of the State Bank of India and its associate banks have been included.

Compared to the State Bank of India whose deposits increased by 86 per cent from Rs. 205 crores in 1955-56 to Rs. 382 crores in 1961-62 and in case of the banks associated to the State Bank whose deposits increased by 38 per cent from Rs. 104 crores to Rs. 143 crores in 1961-62, the deposits of the private commercial banks increased by 88 per cent, *i.e.*, from Rs. 823 crores in 1955-56 to Rs. 1,546 crores in 1961-62. That the private joint stock commercial banks have compared favourably well with the State Bank of India in spite of the fact that the State Bank

1. Indian Banks Association's pamphlet on "State Monopoly of Banks in India," p. 5.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

commands the patronage of the government and enjoys special privileges. This is testimony of the fact that the private banks excell in their decent behaviour and efficient and prompt services to their customers.

The fear about the safety of depositors' money with the commercial banks has since been mitigated as the Reserve Bank of India has already started a Deposits Insurance Corporation since 1st January 1962 under which all licensed commercial banks have to get themselves compulsorily insured so that in case of the failure of any insured bank its depositors will get a stipulated amount from the Corporation. The Corporation has, to start with, undertaken an insurance cover upto a maximum of Rs. 1,500 per depositor per bank, with the provision in the Act that the Corporation may "raise the limit of insurance cover from time to time." It has been estimated that out of every five depositors, four are fully protected under this insurance cover of Rs. 1,500 agreed upon. In times to come, the Corporation is likely to raise the limit of insurance cover and thus from the point of view of the safety of depositors' money, there are no grounds for fear.

Expansion of Branches

By the end of 1962, there were 4,611 branches of the scheduled banks, composed of 997 branches of the State Bank of India and the rest 3,614 branches of other banks. From 1st July 1955 to December, 1962, the State Bank opened 554 new branches whereas the other banks opened 1,198 new branches in the same period. This should be considered in the light of the fact that the State Bank was given a sum of Rs. 81 lakhs from the Development and Integration Fund to finance the unproductiveness of the new branches in the beginning. Hence, on this account also the private banks have remained quite active.

The argument that the private commercial banks scarcely open any branches in the rural areas, but, rather concentrate only in the busy centres and thus add to the unhealthy competition, is untenable because under Section 23 of the Banking Companies Act, 1949, no bank can open a new branch unless with the prior permission of the Reserve Bank of India and under the same section, the Reserve Bank is empowered to refuse such a permission if the proposed ... is not in the interest of the public. Regar... need to open branches in rural areas ... private banks, it is suggested that if they ... given financial assistance and other con... in the initial stage of their running new ... by the Government as is done by it in the ... State Bank of India, they may have no ... to do so.

Liquid Assets

In order to ensure that the com... banks are able to pay back their dep... immediately on demand, every banking co... is required under Section 24 of the B... Companies Act "to maintain in India in ... gold or unencumbered approved securi... amount which shall not at the close of ... on any day be less than 28 per cent of th... of its time and demand liabilities. In ... per cent the amount of cash reserve @ 3 p... of its total of time and demand liabili... by the banks with the Reserve Bank ... under section 18 of the Banking Compa... is included. Thus we notice that the int... depositors are always secured both as regar... cash on demand and also in case of the liq... of a banking company.

Employment of Funds

Every banker has to employ the available with him profitably, but he forego the liquidity preference at the profits, lest he might fail in his oblig... readily repay the amount to the depositors. the commercial bank employs most of its on short and medium term investment ... ing. Indian banks employ a major portion 60 per cent) of such employable funds in loans or in discounting the bills of industrialists and the business men, the re... 35.25 per cent)[2] is invested in central ... government securities and the balance ... cellaneous securities.

2. As on 27 September 1963—Ex... the Journal of *Indian Institute of Bankers* (October 1963 issue).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indian bankers are thus well aware of their responsibility towards the nation when they employ about one-third of their funds in government securities according to the policy of the government. Likewise, for instance, recently when the country is engaged in industrialising itself, our commercial banks are prefering industries to trade in giving loans. In 1961, out of the total funds lent by them, they gave 54 per cent to industry and 34 per cent to business whereas in 1951, it was 34 per cent to industry and 53 per cent to business.[3] Loans to speculators were discouraged.

Credit Policy

Not only that, under Section 21 of the Banking Companies Act, the Reserve Bank of India has the power to determine "the policy in relation to advances to be followed by banking companies generally or by any banking company in particular," such policy has to be strictly followed by the banking companies. Under section 21(2),[4] the Reserve Bank has the power to give directions as to the "purpose for which advances may or may not be made, the margins to be maintained in respect of secured advances and the rates of interest to be charged." Thus, it is clear that the Reserve Bank has already been armed with sufficient powers of regulating the credit policy of the commercial banks and the notion that the nationalised banks will be able to follow a more congenial credit policy in the interest of the general public is merely a superfluity.

Directors

The above account suggests that the private joint stock commercial banks are working sufficiently in accordance with the State policy. This is possibly due to the experienced directors and the men of high calibre and business expertise, elected by the shareholders for their boards of directors. The advocates of nationalisation allege that directors often misuse their powers to the disadvantage of the shareholders, take a lion's shares from the banks' profits and mismanage the affairs of the companies. They forget, however, that under section 10 of the Banking Companies Act, 1949, the appointment, eligibility, remuneration and tenure of office of the directors is subject to the prior approval of the Reserve Bank of India.

There are restrictions about the holding of shares in such concerns "in the management of which any managing director or manager of the banking company is in any manner concerned or interested" under section 19 and under section 20,[5] "no banking company can make any loans or advances to any of its directors or to firms or private companies in which any of its directors is interested." Under the same section, no company can advance money to even such individuals, firms or private companies in cases where any of the directors is a guarantor.

A person cannot become director of more than one bank (except in case of a subsidiary bank) and hence the concentration of power and inter-locking of funds can hardly materialise.

Socialist Control

So as to enable the commercial banks to work for the advantage of the shareholders, the depositors and the public, the Central Government and the Reserve Bank of India enjoy numerous powers. No bank, for instance, can start functioning without previously getting a license from the Reserve Bank under section 22 of the Banking Companies Act and likewise, it cannot open a new branch without getting a prior permission from the Reserve Bank. The appointment of directors as already stated is subject to the approval of the Reserve Bank. With the latest amendment to the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934, the Reserve Bank can appoint its own officers as directors upto a maximum of five in number in the board of directors of any bank.

The Reserve Bank enjoys powers to inspect any bank even without previous notice. It can require a banking company to call a meeting of its directors for the purpose of considering any matter relating to the affairs of the bank and can "depute one or more of its officers to watch the

3. 'Trends and Progress of Banking in India' by the Reserve Bank of India.
4. Banking Companies Act, 1949.
5. Banking Companies Act, 1949.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

proceedings" at such meeting under section 36(d).[6]

The Reserve Bank can call for any information from any banking company at any time. Already, the banks are required to submit statements giving information about their day-to-day working to the Reserve Bank. For instance, under section 27(1) every bank is required to submit a monthly statement of its assets and liabilities and under section 27(2), they submit half-yearly statements regarding their investments and classified information about their advances in respect of industry, commerce and agriculture. Under Section 26, every bank submits, annually, a return of all accounts in India which have not been operated upon for the past ten years, along with the amount standing to the credit of each such account. Under Section 31, the banks are required to submit their annual audited accounts and balance sheet.

To keep only the healthy banking units in the service of the public, no bank can be started unless with a minimum paid up capital of Rs. 5 lakhs as per section 11 of the Banking Companies Act. Under section 17 of the Act, every bank has to transfer 20 per cent of its gross profits to form Reserve Fund, such a fund is required to be invested in government or any trust securities. Likewise under section 35A, the Reserve Bank can recommend a compulsory amalgamation of small nonviable banks and under section 38(4), the Reserve Bank can recommend to the Central government to pass orders for the compulsory winding up of a bank.

In order to prevent shareholders from acquiring undue control and using a bank to subserve their own purposes, section 12(2) of the Banking Companies Act restricts a 5 per cent ceiling on voting rights of any one individual shareholder.

From the above account it is clear that the argument that nationalisation will enable government to have stricter control on the commercial banks is again a mere frivolity.

6. Banking Companies Act, 1949 as amended up-to-date.

Concerntration of Economic Po

It is argued by the supporters of lisation that presenly there is concentr economic power in the hands of a few who use it according to their wishes and the interest of the country at large. T powers with which the government and the various restrictions on the direc other officers of the banks, leaves very chance for them to misuse their power. rather use their expertise and calibre more priately. The manager, the superintend even a clerk has some liberty in the co his business. On the contrary, it may be out that with the nationalised banks th be concentration of power within the h a few secretaries who would frame rig whereunder the manager and the other s not be able to use their discretion and customer will be neglected and inconve

Profits to the Government

The strongest attraction to the adv nationalisation is that of profits to the g from the working of the nationalised ba 1961, all the banks in India (inclu foreign, the Indian, the scheduled and scheduled banks) made a gross p Rs. 28.80 crores,[7] out of which a s Rs. 14.45 crores went to the Governm the form to taxes, Rs. 3.59 crores wa ferred to the Reserve Funds, Rs. 3.3 was given as bonus to the employees. crores was used towards the employees fund and other miscellaneous contribu only Rs. 4.61 crores was distribute shareholders as dividend.

If the banks are nationalised, the g can further gain by Rs. 4.61 crores (the now being paid to the shareholders) bu this amount, the government may be re pay a sum of Rs. 3 crores as guaranteed to the shareholders. Thus the net gai

7. Source : Reserve Bank of India tical Tables relating to Banks in India year 1961.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

overnment is only to the extent of Rs. 1.61 ores which is very negligible.

Compensation

Then, there will be the problem of compenation to the present shareholders for their capi- estimated, at Rs. 76.36 crores, which the untry can ill-afford now when it is already sing loans in Indian and foreign money mards to foot the cost of the development plans.

Extension of Banking

It is advocated with some fervour that tionalisation will help to spread banking nits and the expansion in rural, co-operative other sectors. For this, the State Bank of dia and other finance corporations are alady engaged for such expansion. If the vate commercial banks are nationalised to dertake such work, it may only create duplition and unhealthy competition amongst these ts. On the other hand, what is needed is the elopment of these corporations and not nationation and a fresh consideration to ensure that ent personnel are in charge of management banks to perform the investment and other king functions which the civil servants may be able to do so efficiently.

'Black' Money

Shri K. D. Malviya, the Ex-minister alleged presently there is 'black' money to the exof crores of rupees now being manipulated e banks in credit creation and to help the capitalists to evade income tax. This possibly requires the tightening of government taxation and anti-corruption machinery and not nationalisation.

Community

From the point of view of the community it is far less important whether the banks are nationalised or privately owned than to build a healthy and rapidly growing banking structure. Indeed, if all the banks were state-owned, the freedom of choice open to a citizen now to choose a bank which renders him better service will disappear. According to Dr. A. Krishnaswami, "To be sure there would be equality. But this will be only an equality of hardship."[8]

From the above analysis it can be concluded that the commercial banks in India are working satisfactorily and in consonance with the directions and regulations of the State economic policy. There is strict control over their working by the Reserve Bank of India and if whimsically, they are nationalised, we shall lose "the only source of incentive for higher efficiency and better services"[9] which presently is the objective of every commercial bank. There is the need for a constructive and pragmatic approach to the problem so as to evolve a healthier and more effective banking structure in the country and for that, if necessary, the control of the Reserve Bank can be further tightened.

---

8. "Bank Nationalisation : Some Practical Aspects," from the *H. Times*, dated 11 Jan. 1963.

9. Journal of Indian Institute of Banks. October 1963 issue, p. 403.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MINA BAZAR OF THE MUGHAL DAYS

S. N. QANUNGO

THE very word, Mina Bazar, creates a fairy-tale atmosphera of the golden prime of the Great Mughals—a bazar riotous with colours of many-hued flowers, gleaming silk, the beauty queens and sybaritic splendour. It is delicately hinted that in the Mina Bazar, the Mughal emperors used to indulge in monstrous lewdness and bestial sensuality. The Mughal emperors were not monogamous and they were not without moral blemishes ; but they were certainly not worthless specimens of humanity as they are made out to be in the pages of contemporary European travellers' accounts. It is necessary to expose the pervasive error about it and infuse a little historical fact into the welter of a historical fiction.

There was a flavour of boredom in the cosy world of the Mughal harem where nothing could go far wrong. In the captivity of marriage, women were bereft of free intercourse with the outside world. Abul Fazl explicitly states the purpose of the Mina Bazar. He writes : "the seclusion to which women were generally condemned then was lessened by the setting apart of a time for women to visit the exhibition of trades and industries in the Mina Bazar held once a month." (Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 276). Evidently in the Mina Bazar, there were more of elegant entertainment and gaiety than business, and in it the fair sex, especially the women of the Imperial harem and the Mughal aristocracy, played the most important part.

Maulvi Muhammad Husain Azad, the author of Darbar-i-Akbari, holds that the origin of the Mina Bazar is to be traced in Turkistan. There such bazars were held once or twice in a week in every village and town and were attended by women as well as men for buying and selling merchandise. Such a picture of the Mina Bazar, without the presence of a king and his women is not different from the village markets in India. It is disappointing in the sense that it does not convey the attraction of a female society of well-mannered elegance and taste, and a bazar that was gay in daytime and glamorous at night. India, before the advent of the Mughals, no attempted to introduce anything like the Bazar though most of them were Turks certainly puritanical in taste. The Mugh nounced the advent of a more luxurious new social possiabilities of composure, cence and delight.

To be precise, it was Humayun who was principally responsible for the tion of the Mina Bazar. In Humayun's ideas and flashes of philosophy chase other, though he concealed beneath all ancient granite of his warrior race. His Gulbadan Begam, writes : "In short, was astonished and amazed who beheld gift of invention the great God had bes the blessed mind of His Majesty." (His nama, p. 45). Humayun erected a mov of three storeys (Qasar-i-rawan), a bridge made of wood and iron, a g boats and four square houses on large river Yamuna.

According to Khwandamir, the Qanun-i-Humayuni, a woman's bazar, to the Mina Bazar of later times, was set which were profusely and gaily decora bazar was held after the two magnificent feasts' in the royal palace or Imarat which were attended by beautiful maid "numerous ladies of exalted descent." understood the needs of women who in seclusion and whose life was bare With the elder women as widowed aunts and grandaunts he used to spend and Tuesday evenings. His wives felt rather ignored by the Emperor and them was bold enough to voice the "How long will you think it right to show disfavours to us, helpless ones? We hearts. Three times you have honoured with visits and you have run day into one in amusement and (Gulbadan Begum—Humayun-nama, p.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Humayun pleaded that as he was an opium-eater, they should not be very exacting with him. He set up a large number of pavilions on the banks of the Yamuna, and would get all the wives and sisters together to spend the evenings in music, dance and other entertainments. The Mina Bazar was not merely a fantastic invention of Humayun but it brings into clear relief the human side of Humayun's character and his tender solicitude for the welfare of the women of the royal family.

Akbar made the Mina Bazar a part of the spring, rather the new year festival. In 1580, he revived the 'nawroz' festival and celebrated the vernal new year feast. Gaiety and merriment, banquets and illuminations, music and dance filled up the glamorous festival which was held for full nineteen days. On the third day of the festival a fancy bazar for women was held. A door close to the chambers of Mina Masjid in Agra Fort opens on a beautiful balcony with a courtyard lined with apartments of redsandstone. This was the site of the Mina Bazar. Abul Fazl writes: "The people of His Majesty's harem come and the women of other men also are invited, and buying and selling are quite general." Only married women were allowed to visit the bazar, and the only male member was the Emperor himself. Everything was done to make the festive occasion as gorgeous and brilliant as possible. On such occasions the women of the royal family not only enjoyed the bright flavour of festivities but voiced their complaints to the Emperor. Marriage negotiations and contracts of boys and girls were also arranged at such meetings (Bernier, P. 274). The Mina Bazar attracted merchants from distant comers of the Empire, and industry received a stimulus owing to the patronage of the Emperor and the aristocracy. The Emperor himself would move from stall to stall, inquire about prices and make a purchase if something would attract his fancy. After the fancy bazar for women, bazars for the courtiers were held. The merchants made huge profits on such occasions and had the advantage of laying their grievances before His Majesty without being prevented by the mace-bearers. It was brought to the notice in the Mina Bazar that there was a good deal of corruption in buying and selling and in July, 1582, Akbar took steps to control the market and formed an official agency to regulate the price and sale of articles. As regards the utility of the Mina Bazar, Abul Fazl remarks: "The secrets of the Empire, the character of the people, the good and bad qualities of each office with then appear." (Ain-i-Akbar, Vol. I. P. 287).

The vernal Mina Bazar was so successful that Akbar decided to hold such bazars on the "third day of every month." It served the purpose of an annual exhibition of trades and industries with "many wonderful things found in the world," and the display of the best products of the Empire. To the orthodox section of the Muslim community, the Mina Bazar was not only something that led to the ending of privacy but was "another blow at the honour of religion," as the historian Badayunī writes.

During the reign of Jahangir various rumours were floated about the Mina Bazar which reflecte'd on the moral character of the Emperor. The contemporary French travellers thought that the Mina Bazars were venues of little concealed debauchery. Thomas Coryat, who came to India in 1612, writes: "One day in the year for the solace of the King's women, all the tradesmen's wives enter the mohale with somewhat to sell in manner of a faire." He adds: "By this meanes hee attain to the sight of all the prettie wenches of the towne. At such a kind of faire he got his beloved Normohal (Early Travels in India, P. 279). It is true that it was at the Mina Bazar of 1611 that Jehangir saw Mehr-un-Nissa (later on known as Nurjehan) fell in love with her and sought her hand through her step-mother, Salima Begum. Had he got his opportunity to satisfy his lust, he would not have waited for another four months. After the marriage with Jahangir, Nurjehan, as the first lady of the realm, became the main attraction of the Mina Bazar. She revolutionized dresses and decorations and designed new varities of brocade which were exhibited in the Mina Bazar.

Shahjehan was hailed by the orthodox Muslims as the restorer of the waning fortunes of Islam in India, and in his time, the Mina Bazar soared to a climax of munificence and splendour. It invariably followed the 'nauroz' festival and was held for eight days (Manucci—Storia de Mogor—Vol. I., p. 195). Shahjehan who revelled in grandeur, arranged such a bazar after every festival. The stalls which were stocked

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with beautiful brocades, rich embroideries, turbans, elegantly worked on cloth of gold and fine muslins, were arranged by the wives and daughters of nobles and mansabdars. The Emperor with the princesses and ladies of royal seraglio used to visit the Mina Bazar. He used to move from stall to stall and exchange jocular expressions with the lady at the counter. The conversation would sparkle with witty jests and good humour. If the Emperor would make his bargain disputing to the value of a dam (copper coin) he was called a miser or 'a trader ignorant of price of merchandise.' No doubt the Emperor would ultimately yield to the lady at the counter. The Mina Bazar, however, gave rise to all "it-could-easily-have-happened" stories during the reign of Shahjehan. Manucci writes: "It would seem as if the only thing Sh... cared for was the search for women to ... pleasure." He adds that the mendicants ... cry out to the wives of Jafar Khan and ... bullah Khan, respectively as "breakfast of ... jehan" and "luncheon of Shahjehan" (M... Vol. I, p. 193-194). Manrique writing ... same strain accuses Shahjehan of violati... honour of Shayista Khan's wife with the ... tance of his daughter (Vol. II, Pp. 140-14...

Such references in the pages of co... rary European travellers' accounts are ap... a tissue of absurdities. The Mina Bazar wa... yond their personal observation and it is ... cult to find confirmatory evidence for the ... dalous gossips and unchartable suggestions ... by them.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PURDAH & MODERN WOMEN

By MANINDRA NATH DAS

The doctor had to press his stethescope on the stolid screen to examine the heart beat of his patient who was sitting behind the curtain because she was a purdahnashin lady and her illness even could not compel her to come out of it. It is difficult to say whether medical treatment cured her or she just rallied upon nature's bounty. The Sub-Registrar had to register the document when the purdhanashin executrix from her veiled seat in a cart kept under the roadside tree nodded her head admitting execution and a thumb which popped out of her heavy clothes was helped to put one or two impressions on the document and the thumb impression register. A disinterested onlooker unworriedly dared to warn false personation but the majority pointed to the civil court to iron it out if litigation followed. There is no statutory definition of a purdahnashin lady but a plethora of decided cases has described what is meant by purdahnashin and has also thrown round her a thick blanket of protection and her right to remain behind the purdah was recognised so as not to be violated. Execution of a document was held good where the lady was sitting behind the screen but her voice was known to the witnesses who recognised it[1] and when one witness to the will was within the sight of the executant and the other was placed behind a curtain, both witnesses were held to be sufficiently present to make their attestation valid.[2] But when any question is raised in court as to the genuineness or otherwise of documents executed by women the first point to be considered is whether she was a purdahnashin lady and whether she received any independent advice and the opponent must establish that the transaction was one which she thoroughly comprehended and that deliberately and of her own free will she carried it out.[3] The protection thus afforded is of so sweeping a character that these rules were even extended to poor, ignorant and illiterate women[4] who are either indifferent to purdah or cannot afford to stay behind it. But the Privy Council also said that the legal protection which the law gives to a purdahnashin lady cannot be transmuted into a legal disability. Section 132 of the Code of Civil Procedure exempts a purdahnashin woman from personal appearance in court though the Code of Criminal Procedure does not provide any such specific restriction but places certain discretions in the Magistrates. In Calcutta very recently the complainant in a breach of trust case entered **nolle prosequi** as the ladies of the family to which the complainant and the accused belonged declined to appear in court and depose even in camera claiming purdahnashin character and the complainant ultimately decided to file civil suit in the prospect presumably of availing of section 132 of the Civil Procedure Code.

It is worthwhile in this connection to recall a few interesting cases which came up before courts quite a long time ago. Where there were allegations that the lady had been in the habit of appearing in public and had no regard to the customs of her country and her religion and those allegations were denied in general terms, Trebelyn J. of the Calcutta High Court held that the court should not force into public gaze a woman who may have gone outside the purdah and a commission was ordered

1. 19 C.W.N. 991.
2. I.L.R. 16 Cal. 19.
3. 32 C.W.N. 929. 35 C.W.N. 265.
4. 51 C.L.J. 465.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to issue.[5] Even if a purdahnashin lady offends against the rules of her class that does not deprive her of her right to be examined under commission. I quote from the judgment of Sale J: "The question is, is this lady to be examined on commission? On one occasion she did appear in court in a **pulkee**. On that occasion the penalty was that she was excommunicated. There is evidence that on another occasion mentioned in the affidavits she appeared in public. Undoubtedly on that occasion she did not observe the rules of the purdah, but the statement she appeared in the public is exaggerated. Whether she took her seat beside Mr. Rose is not very clear; she was concealed with a chaddar which shows that she was not really defying the rules and customs so strictly observed by Hindu ladies." His Lordship issued the commission as already stated.[6] The same Judge said in another case: I do not think I ought to let the alleged appearance to interfere with the issue of the commission for examination (7). In Rajaranee Dasee Vs. Debendra Nath Saw, the lady was the plaintiff in her suit in the original side of the High Court. One Kedar Nath Sanyal wanted to be impleaded in that suit and the application was heard in chambers by Sale J. Mr. Sinha (later the first Lord Sinha) appeared for the plaintiff and asked for an adjournment to complete change of attorney. That prayer being refused Mr. Sinha wanted to be heard amicus curies.

"The court—If I were to do that, the protection of the attorney on the record would be gone.

Mr. Sinha—In that case I will only say that the plaintiff is here in person and desires to be heard on her objections to the application.

Thereupon the plaintiff from her **pulkee** stated that she objected to the application. Kedar Nath Sanyal the applicant had got her to sign a document without explaining its contents and she did not understand its nature before signing it. She asked time to put in her objection. Hobhouse, delivering judgment of the Council said that a quasi-purdah woman, i.e., a woman who not being purdahnashin class is yet close to the kinship and habits and secluded from nary social intercourse, is not entitled the same amount of protection which law gives to the purdahnashins. On the latter class it must depend in each on the character and position of the dual woman whether those who deal her are or are not bound to take precaution that her action shall be gent and voluntary and to prove that so in case of dispute.

Studied in the new set up of this these seem to have passed into It was in the autumn of 1926 that Margaret E. Cousins as Secretary Women's Indian Association, Adyar, addressed an appeal to women all over country to form local committees and constituent conference in each of the vinces of India for declaring their views problems of education. For this mov Cousins got stimulus from an appeal by the then D.P.I. of Bengal at the giving function of the Bethune C Calcutta in which he called on women[6] to tell us with one voice they want and keep on telling us till get it'. Mrs. A.L. Huidekoper, an ex cipal of the college made use of this as the basis of the two articles which published in **Stri Dharma**, the magazine of the Women's Indian Ass and it was after this that Mrs. Cousins up the matter. The first All-India W Conference was held at Poona in De 1926 under the presidentship of her ness the Maharani Cheminabai Sahe kwad of Baroda and though its de tions were confined to educational it lost no time to condemn child m and thus gave support to Sir Har Gour's Age of Consent Bill. At its conference in 1928 at Delhi it suppo

5. 3 C.W.N. 750.
6. C.W.N. 751.
7. 3 C.W.N. 753.
8. 3 C.W.N. 755.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bill tabled by Harbilas Sarda. In the 1930 conference, presided over by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, female labour came under its review and it came in contact directly with the Berlin International Congress of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship. Thus the strides went on and the 7th conference at Lucknow under the presidentship of Lady Ramanbai Neelkanth reflected a strong movement in India in favour of providing divorce in Hindu society and its equalisation for men and women among Muslims. On 8th January, 1935, while rejecting the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (London) representatives of different women's organisations in India at a meeting at New Delhi under the presidentship of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said, inter alia, that in its opinion "Far too much weight has, from the outset, been laid on administrative difficulties, where women are concerned. This opinion is practically strengthened by the number of purdah women who went to the polls in the recent Assembly elections. We protest strongly against the invidious differentiation that has been made between the provinces in regard to the literacy and property qualifications, the 'application' conditions and other details including the omission of wives and widows of those holding educational qualifications, and 'wifehood qualification' is unreasonably persisted in." In April 1935 the Government of India Act was put into operation. Shortly thereafter we found Shrimati Vijayalakshmi functioning as a minister in the U.P. Cabinet. Thereafter a spate of legislations followed giving statutory right and privilege to women of our country in matters of marriage, divorce, succession etc. The Constitution removed all distinctions between the sexes so far as their rights and protections under the law are concerned. Today we find women doing their share of work equally with men in every walk of life throughout the country.

Giving an idea of the progressive changes in the Rights of Women in England Lord Denning says at page 97 of his book, **The Changing Law** (1954 Ed) : "Gathering the threads together, let us see how the law women have gained equality with men. A wife's right to be regarded as a partner and not as a subordinate of her husband was achieved by a series of judicial decisions from 1891 to 1952. Her right to own her own property, earn her own money, make her own contracts, and to sue and be sued alone was gained by a series of Acts of Parliament from 1870 to 1949. Her right to vote, to occupy public positions, to enter the professions to serve on juries, and so forth, dates only from 1919. Her right to divorce on equal rights and grounds with her husband was given in 1923. Her right to an equal voice in matters concerning the children was attained in 1925. Later Acts tidied up the position in several respects. It can now be said of the English woman that her situation, whether married or unmarried, has become one of great personal and proprietary independence.

"As against all this independence, however, it must be remembered that the husband still remains in law under great obligations. He is in law to maintain his wife. He must go out to work to support her, but she is not bound to work to support him. She can still pledge his credit for necessaries, but he cannot pledge hers, no matter how rich she is and how much she earns. She can sue him in courts for the protection of her property, but he cannot sue her except in an indirect way.

"If it comes to a separation or divorce, the courts will enforce his obligation to maintain her, unless she has sufficient means of her own or she has forfeited her right by her own conduct, and he is, as a rule, compelled to pay the costs. If she is the 'spoilt darling' of the law, he is the patient pack-horse. But putting these obligations on the husband, however, the law recognises the natural state of affairs whereby the man's proper function is to work to provide for his wife and family, and the woman's proper place is to look after the home and bring up the children. If a wife is to do these things properly, she has usually to withdraw from the money market and find her reward in the home—a reward which is much more worthwhile."

World War II has brought about tre-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mendous changes in women's attitude to life and the world in which she lives and desires to live. Writing on his impressions of America in the **Illustrated Weekly of India** (Aug. 19, 1958) a journalist said: "More than 60% of America's wealth is, it is said, owned by her daughters. No wonder that women there speak in clearer and firmer accents than their husbands. Among the wives of the world, the U.S. species is the most feared. No American, however busy or important he may be, can stay away from home even for a few minutes, if his wife wills it otherwise. He may break his appointment in the White House, but not the one at his own. Asked about the domineering nature of American women, one of my hostesses in Chicago, answered: Women are the same everywhere and they have only one pastime: domination over their husbands. We perhaps succeed in this country, while wives in the rest of the world fail. But we are much misunderstood abroad, even maligned. Our movies have done us a great dis-service. They are responsible for our high divorce rate; by distorting their vision and values, they have been causing incalculable harm to the younger generation.

"The social or economic compulsions which are at the back of the evil of prostitution in less fortunate countries do not exist in the U.S.A. 'In our country' said one of my hostesses, a journalist in Chicago, 'there are no brothels. But foreigners seem to think every house here is one; I may assure you there is less of promiscuity or perversion in Sex in America than in the more **civilised communities.** And Americans call it fun, not sin. They discuss it openly. In fact their papers dramatise it. The so-called moral lapses of American women have thus no economic motives behind them. Emotionally Americans are unstable. They themselves confess they live in a spiritual vacuum. Hence their craze for cults. In no other do mystics and intellectuals (American expression "Eggheads") draw as much attention from the public as in the U.S.A."

Again Groves in his book on **The American Woman says:** "The Second World War was fundamentally an a... collision of opposing cultures. Th... understood not only by the people ... United Nations but also by those in ... rity on the other side. The irrecon... differences covered a vast territory of ... interests. At no point was the clash ... the two philosophies of life more ap... than in the unlike conceptions of the ... function and social status of woman. ... German point of view repudiated the ... gress woman had made even in ... Europe in expanding her opportunity ... individual and reassigned her to the ... of the traditional female in which p... sex, reproduction and family tasks ... the limit of her usefulness. This in... tation of woman was even more re... in Japan. There the conventions th... trolled the life of woman had ad... almost not at all, even though the Ja... had abstracted considerably from W... culture. If we compare the sta... women in the United States, C... Australia and New Zealand with ... existing in Japan, we see in most ... contrast the significance of one of the ... contributions of the American evol... society. We with our closest ... cultural sympathy are committed ... latest and thoroughly modern atte... determine the relationship of the tw... In essence it is an endeavour to re... the mutual rights of men and wo... individuals; each sex achieving the g... personal fulfilment and contributi... to the general welfare. Nothing ... American way of life is more chara... or more revealing of the trends o... evolution of the American people t... lessening of the one-time masculine ... nance of culture. Whatever conse... this departure from European and ... traditions may bring with the pas... time, it is clearly a goal toward w... in this country have been moving f... birth of our nation. It is an achie... of both men and women working ... but it can be secured only by the ... they make good use of their unprec... opportunity."

The provocative dogmatism—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

do not think with their heads, they think with their matrix. They are too damned emotional. They are the sexual sex and putting an idea in their heads, is like placing a razor in the hands of a child"—does not appear to hold good any longer. With the discovery of the ovary as an organ of internal secretion and the subsequent extensive research in the field of endocrinology we now know that instead of there being any sharp separation between maleness and femaleness, each individual has blending of both traits, the proportion deciding its sex only. Further progress in endocrinology will, it is expected, be able increasingly to take away from most women any periodic impediment in their work or career due to menstruation. Sanitory towels cannot be said to be the last words. Hormones enter the blood stream and therefore reach the cells of the brain. On such basis, therefore, the individual personality cannot be interpreted as an expression of instinctive activities—masculine or faminine. The possibility of a woman's social career will have to be found in the world of experience where she can be judged by her accomplishments and not on the basis of an 'anatomical predestination.'

The following conversation between an American mother and her daughter reflects and I think correctly the progressive march of our women as well :

Mother : What's going to happen when you get married ? Who's going to cut your hair then ? And make your dresses ?

Daughter : "I'll buy the dress."

"Your husband better make a lot of money."

"He will."

Cathy dropped her hand to her sides and shook her head.

"Is sewing so awful ?"

"Nobody young sews any more."

"Nobody young does anything any more. It's all gimme."

"Ma, you're just behind the times."

"The Lord help you if I ever catch up."

"You love to sew for me, Ma. Admit it."

Cathy caught the unconscious "for me" and could not help thinking of Sheila. The worried, distracted look returned to her face. Peg was safe now, but would she with ideas be safe in the future ?

"What about when you have children ?" she said.

"Nursery School."

"Nothing is that easy, Peg. Don't you know it ?"

"Ma, you're a pessimist."

"Look around you. How many children ever go to nursery school ?"

"What an example : You think I'd live in this neighbourhood ?"

"Where would you live ?"

"On Riverside Drive, may be. Yes. With a bedroom as big as these dining and living rooms put together." She saw that her mother was looking down, shaking her head, and it made her mad. Like a child covetous of a certain toy, she refused to have her hop taken from her. "Ma, didn't you ever want—you know —'things' ?"

"Your father and I were too busy buying pots and pans."

"Oh, I shouldn't even talk to you. All your ideas are a hundred years old."

"Peg, that's why they're good ideas. Listen, before it's too late, get rid of most of yours. They're not ideas. They're dreams. Life isn't so much fun as you think."

"What a way to talk", Peg said. "Ma, what's the matter ? What are you worried about ?"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"I'm worried about you."
"Then stop it. Do you hear? I'm.....not even out of high school yet."*

* * * *

Self-choice in marriage is gradually gaining gound in our country and therefore self-choice in spouses must be preceded by their falling in love. No other basis for marriage would there exist in the society, which is every moment being replenished with western education and culture, growing industry and air-link between different societies of the world. Men, it ... incline to romance more than wom... marry not alone a man but a way of li... therefore cannot afford to let ... sentiment affect their choice of hu... A non-domestic frame of mind on th... of a wife will ruin the entire home a... multiply the **teddies** and beatnicks ... country. Women's appointed dest... marriage, home and children and ... excursion into gainful employment ... always be peripheral to these major ...

In a recent conference of the C... Women of India, its Secretary very ... observed that in India women ha... more than enough of their rights and ... will lose nothing if no further dem... pressed for the present.

---

* *The Gathering Darkness* by Thomas Gallagher, New York, 1953.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

EDUCATION FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Prof. G. L. CHATTERJEE

It has been said in the Mahabharata, hat there is nothing like education, which ives us an unfailing insight ; in the spiri- ual sphere, it leads to salvation, in the undane sphere it leads to all-round pro- ress and prosperity.[1] It has been acknow- dged by almost all the authorities n Economic Development that the first pre- quisite for Economic Growth is education. he very basic idea that the country is nder-developed and it must make econo- ic development, can be inculcated in the inds of the people of an under-developed ountry only after they have received a ertain standard of general education. It as been stated by Prof. Huxley, that the eople of the under-developed regions, who ave no future before them, live in abject overty and cannot think out the reasons or their poverty, easily fall a prey to the heory of wantlessness. It has been said y Mr. U. Thant, Secretary General U.N.O., hat no country can make economic deve- opment, unless its people are aware of the ct that they must economically develop. o nation could be made to develop if it as not seized by an inner urge for velopment."[2]

The problem of imparting general edu- ion to the illiterate people of the under- veloped countries of the world has been st baffling. It has been estimated by the esco that, two-thirds of the world's adult pulation is illiterate, and in the less- eloped regions nearly half of the children chool-going age never go to school and many more leave it before achieving literacy.

Prof. Marshall was perfectly convinced that education can bring better economic gains to those who receive it and to the society at large. He had divided edu- cation, into two parts,—General and Techni- cal education. We also fall in line with Prof. Marshall and proceed with our analysis. Prof. Marshall pleading for general educa- tion wrote, "Little need be said of general education ; though the influence of that on industrial efficiency is greater than it appears. It is true that the children of the working classes must very often leave school, when they have but learnt the elements of reading, writing, arithmetic and drawing ; and it is sometimes argued that part of the little time spent on these subjects would bet- ter given to practical work. But the advance made at school is important not so much on its own account, as for the power of future advance which a school education gives. For a truly liberal general education adapts the mind to use its best faculties in business."[3] Those persons who speak against the idea of imparting education to the working people, think that, this would mean the consumption of the scanty capital, which the under-deve- loped regions possess. To them the building of roads, construction of railway lines and bridges and investments of such type are real investments for economic development. As it has been difficult for economists to deter- mine what is purely consumption and what is productive consumption, similarly in the sphere of Economic Development it is very difficult to say, what part of the educational expenditure would mean purely the con- sumption of wealth and that which is pro- ductive consumption. If we presume that

1. Dr. A. S. Altekar : Education in Ancent a : The conception and idealsa of Education, .

2. U. N. Weekly News letter Vol. II, No. ated 12. 4. 63. Mr. U. Thant's addressa to Society for International Development.

3. Prof. Alfred Marshall : *Principles of Economics*, p. 208.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the investments on the teaching of metaphysics, para-psychology or classics are consumption of wealth, it would be found that in most of the developing countries very meagre amount is spent on them. Education in a developing country is both productive and also a form of productive consumption. Very minor part of educational expenses may be treated as purely consumption of wealth.

It has been stated by Prof. Galbraith "The fact is that education is of high importance both as an object of immediate consumption and as a form of investment for future production. It is neither consumption nor investment but both. To look at education as a form of consumption, given the importance that the developing country attaches to investment, is to risk assigning it an unduly low priority. Some new countries have almost certainly done so. They have regarded their steel mills, dams and fertilizer factories the tangible manifestation of such development. Aswan, Volta or Bhakra Nangal are development. They get the discussion, the money, the visitors, the glow of pride. Well-trained teachers may provide a greater promise of increased production. But they are not such tangible monuments to progress."[4]

A country which allows the talents of its young people to languish due to the dearth of educational facilities, cause the greatest waste of its most valued resources. "There is no extravagance more prejudicial to the growth of national wealth than that wasteful negligence which allows genius that happens to be born of lowly parentage to expend itself in lowly work."[5]

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development Mission in Turkey had concluded that, probably no other type of investment public or private, will produce a greater return per unit of outlay than investment in health and ed... A generally literate, vigorous and ... people are not so spectacular or ta... symbol of progress as a hydro-electric... or steel mill, but their value is in... greater.[6]

There exists a direct relationship be... educational progress and economic d... ment of a nation. The Swiss people... have attained a high degree of technic... general education have a much higher... dard of living than many of the un... veloped countries, though they have... limited natural resources. The Ja... are the most prosperous people of... Asia. The Japanese have a higher p... age of literacy compared to the rest... people in this region. The experts wh... studied the impact of education on ec... development, have marked that a wi... cated people manages to make the m... what it has in the way of natural r... and sometimes turns potential poverty... actual well-being. The Asstt. Comm... for International Education, of the... Department of Health, Education and... fare, has explained the correlation of t... of education and poverty in the fo... words. "Other peoples surrounded b... tural wealth live miserably restricted... I remember travelling through a v... Central Asia where there were large... of coal beside the road, yet the fe... inhabitants were shivering in their... cooking their inadequate meals ov... of grass and brush gathered on t... sides."[7]

For our study we have divided... tion into two parts; General and Te... education. We have been so far s... the impact of general education on e... development. General education s... the foundation for technical ed... After the Second World War, West...

4. Prof. J. K. Galbriath: Economic Development in Perspective: Education and Economic Development, p. 38.

5. Marshall: *Principles of Economics*, p. 212.

6. The Economy of Turkey: An... and Recommendation for Development P... IBRD. Report with Government of Turk...

7. Oliver J: Caldwell; Asstt. Co... for International Education: 1957 Yo... Education Around the World, p. X.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

had to start from the ruins. "The people existed on a starvation diet that amounted to only 40% of the minimum recommended by nutritional experts, fuel and clothing were hardly to be found, and what was produced in 1946-47 would have provided, at the same rate, only one suit for each inhabitant every forty years and one shirt every ten years."[8] But today West Germany has a very different tale to tell. In the period between 1950 and mid-1962 the Federal Republic made available no less than 19,220,000,000 Marks for projects in the developing countries. Though it cannot be denied that the present economic prosperity of West Germany has been much due to Prof. Erhard's tactful handling of economic factors at the end of the War, but it is equally true that West Germany has been able to achieve such a high standard of economic prosperity within such a short time, because war could not deprive its people of the technical skill they had once acquired.

There are three types of technical education, essential for an under-developed country. These are: Agricultural, Industrial and Managerial education. Most of the under-developed countries are primary goods producing countries. They are therefore dependent on the export earnings of such products for their imports. The value of primary goods in the world market is gradually falling. Therefore the under-developed countries, who are badly in need of capital goods for economic development, have to export more and more of their products for the same amount of capital. Moreover the people of these countries have a very low standard of food. It can therefore be summarised that the under-developed regions should increase their agricultural products for obtaining more of capital goods and also for properly feeding their teeming population. It is therefore most essential for the under-developed countries that they must make arrangements for more and more people to be given agricultural education. It has been stated by Prof. Colin Clark that the people of the under-developed regions who are mostly dependent on agriculture can improve their standard of living, while their country's economy remains basically agricultural if they improve the method of cultivation. He has cited the Danish example. The people of Denmark who are primarily dependent on agriculture and live in a no less thickly populated country, have a far higher standard of living than most of the people of S.E. Asia. The Danes are prosperous because their method of cultivation is superior to those living in S.E. Asia.

No country in the world can solely depend on agriculture. Even for a better agriculture certain industrial products are needed. It is therefore necessary for the under-developed countries to establish the basic industries. Sometime back there was a suggestion that instead of each of the under-developed countries establishing all the basic industries, they must establish certain selected industries, with the promise from others to establish the rest. That is each country in the region would establish some of the basic industries, according to a regional plan. It is therefore necessary for the under-developed regions to impart industrial training to its people. Many of them have sent their men for advanced industrial training in Europe or U.S.A. Within the under-developed regions there is also mutual co-operation for industrial training. As for instance, India has been giving technical education to many people of Nepal. These Napalese have been receiving education in many of the Engineering, Medical and Technological colleges of India.

Foreign aid, economic planning, general and technical education and all such things can be of less benefit to an under-developed country if it has a dearth of managerial skill in its country. Industries with best raw materials, engineers, market, can fail to make any headway if they have nobody to organise it properly. In Indian with the

---

8. *Facts about Germany*, p. 1 : Published by Press and Information office of the Federal German Government.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

rapid growth of industries under the Five Years Plans, such scarcity of managerial skill was felt much. In order to overcome the same the Government of India in collaboration with the Harvard Institute of Business Administration has set up an Institutes for Training in Industrial Management at Ahmedabad and Calcutta.

What should be the standard of professional education in a poor country ? "If the professional standard is to be as high in the poor as in the rich countries, professional courses should be a year or so longer in the poor ones, to allow for an inferior background in the high schools, the need for more practical work, an increase in the syllabus because of the local materials, and the need for a greater emphasis on social studies. But should the professional standard be as high in poor as in rich countries ? There are several arguments for a lower standard. Even in rich countries most professionals are overtrained for the work they have to do. University syllabuses tend to be framed with an eye on the student who will become university teacher or research worker, whereas the great majority go into jobs they could do just as well with a year of less academic training. The poor countries need proportionately even fewer research workers and seperate provision can be made for their training. To maintain equal standards requires a longer and correspondingly more expensive training in the poor countries, which they cannot afford. Many such nations have abandoned the attempt to maintain an equal professional standard, even if once they tried to do so. Given the great shortage of professionals, especially in rural areas such a nation is better off with four three-quarters trained professionals, than with three fully trained."[9]

The preceding lines quoted from the writings of Prof. Lewis does not give a complete picture, about the controversy [illegible] standard of professional education [illegible] under-developed country. There are [illegible] ber of poor countries who have [illegible] give their people as high a standard [illegible] fessional education, as it is given [illegible] European countries, out of a [illegible] national pride. It has been marked [illegible] that people who get professional ed[illegible] at home are treated inferior to thos[illegible] get it abroad. Their universities are [illegible] down upon. For such reasons they [illegible] abandon the scheme for imparting [illegible] professional education and have repl[illegible] by superior educational schemes wh[illegible] as good as those found in Europe or [illegible] As for example, Nigeria has dropped [illegible] period inferior training course in m[illegible] and Trinidad in agriculture.

Should there be consumers' sover[illegible] in the field of education ? That is a[illegible] can get the type of education he wi[illegible] have. Or there should be educationa[illegible] ning by the state. As education in any [illegible] developed country is principally a[illegible] helping the country to make econom[illegible] gress easy, it is quite likely that the[illegible] be state intervention in the field. The[illegible] tion would be planned by the State [illegible] student would get education accor[illegible] the plan. The education is always p[illegible] according to the future and present [illegible] the country. Suppose the state [illegible] that in the future it would requi[illegible] doctors, than High School teachers, [illegible] try to divert the students from a[illegible] science colleges to medical colle[illegible] education is a form of investme[illegible] planning of educational output [illegible] desirable and even imperative. A[illegible] must be accorded to the distri[illegible] talent between engineering, scienc[illegible] cine, agriculture and other needed [illegible] ties."[10]

We now come to the most vital [illegible] and that is what should be the [illegible]

9. W. Arthur Lewis : Education for Scientific Professions in the Poor Countries : *The American Review*, April 1963, p. 74 and 75.

10. Prof. J. K. Galbriath : Development in Perepective : Economic Development, p. 39.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

teachers in an under-developed country. As a considerable portion of the scarce resources of any under-developed country is utilised for education, while the pressing needs of many other sectors remained unattended to, it would rather be a moral duty of the teachers to work as trustees of the national wealth invested in education. They should also be the guide of the students on whom the country's future depends. The teachers cannot work as professional bread-earners whose duty finishes after the task is over. He must mentally rise from the status of an ordinary bread-earner to that of a nation-builder.

Whatsoever, may be the ideal of the teaching profession, it is most painful to note that the students in India are not so very keen to gain the maximum advantage that society has given them. In Ancient India, the students had to beg for their living from the houses of family men. It was not at all humiliating for them to do so. As it has been explained by Dr. Altekar, it made them feel that they were getting education due to the help they received from society. And thus they always tried to utilise it best and feel indebted to the society. Education in the present day India is more or less treated as a subsidised commodity. At least the college students in the urban areas do not realise that they are getting education at the cost of many other pressing needs of society and as such they are not so serious in their studies. In this connection we quote few lines from Yojana, "One frustrated teacher was always complaining, 'The young rascals attend classes all right but it is doubtful if they attend to what you say."[11]

The UNESCO has undertaken four big regional development programmes for education. A Latin American 'major project', operating since 1957, seeks compulsory primary education for about 40 million children of whom only a little more than half are receiving any education at all. At a conference in Karachi, Asian countries set themselves the goal of providing primary education for all children by 1980. As essential first steps, administrators and planners are being trained, and a regional education office and regional school building research centre has been established.

Arab member states meeting in Beirut in early 1960 worked out with UNESCO a programme to develop and adapt education at every level to their requirements of economic and social development.

In Tropical Africa educational needs are perhaps even more pressing. Declaring a state of emergency, UNESCO has launched on financial aid to build schools, hire overseas teachers and provide fellowships for African teachers.

World demand for agricultural, industrial and commercial development far outstrips the supply of scientists, technicians and skilled workers. UNESCO is assisting vocational and technical education at all levels, and is also helping countries to establish and operate technical colleges and institutions for advanced technological education and research.[12]

Prof. M. S. Thacker, speaking at the U.N. Conference on Science and Technology at Geneva has given a noble idea of "World Brain Trust." He has suggested that there should be a pool of scientists and technologist selected from all corners of the world, whose work would be to find out solutions to the various problems of the underdeveloped world. If the suggestion is made effective it is quite possible that the under-developed countries may get the services of many experienced educationalists to establish their educational plans on a sound footing.[13]

---

11. Durgesh: University teaching *'Yojana'* . 16, 1962, p. 11.

12. Source : *UNESCO* : What it is ; what it does ; how it works. A UNESCO publication.

13. Source : *Yojana*, April 14, 1963, p. 7 to 9.

—0—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indian Periodicals

Vote, but No Vindication

The Economic Weekly, commenting editorially on the recent performances of Government's spokesmen speaking on the recent motion of no-confidence in the Lok Sabha underlines that although the Government have won the vote simply by reason of their "overbearing majority in the House" they have utterly failed to vindicate the Government's bona fides in respect of the measures taken by them on allegations of corruption against former Orissa Chief Ministers, Bijou Patnaik and Biren Mitra ; a view of the matter which is shared by the largest majority of "non-aligned" educated observors in the country :

On Monday morning the leader of the PSP group in the Lok Sabha moved his motion calling upon the House to "express want of confidence in the Council of Ministers for failing to uphold the highest standards of public conduct by a deliberate suppression of truth and by abuse of power by persons in authority in the State of Orissa and other States and having brought into contempt the concept of constitutional government by putting party interest over national interest and attempting to shield and exonerate those who were guilty of abuse of power by the refusal to institute an enquiry against those who were responsible for such abuse of power and corruption." On Tuesday afternoon, after two days of agitated debate, the House rejected the motion by 315 votes against 44. This overwhelming affirmation of confidence in the Government reflected the Congress Party's overbearing majority in the House ; it did not vindicate the Government's actions in regard to the allegations of corruption against the Orissa Congress leaders, Bijoyananda Patnaik and Biren Mitra.

Such vindication was virtually impossible after the disclosure of the report of the Central Bureau of Investigation on the allegations against the Orissa ex-Chief Ministers and the findings of the Cabinet s... mittee on it. These documents, w... Government had refused to make ... were placed before the Lok Sabha ... Kamath, another PSP member, a f... ago. The Government refused ... congnisance of the documents, b... appeared to be no doubt at all th... were genuine. Indeed, while Gov... spokesmen were incensed that they ... have been made public, none cate... questioned their authenticity.

The CBI investigated, at the ... of the Home Ministry, the charges ... Patnaik and Mitra and submitted ... in November last year. These ch... lated principally to certain transa... the Government of Orissa with ... Industries, a Patnaik concern wi... Patnaik as chairman, and Orissa A... proprietory firm owned by Mrs. Bira... These transactions, in the consum... which Patnaik and Mitra were ... have taken much personal interes... their terms of office, resulted in th... of substantial Government busines... companies and also in large over-... at the expense of the State exchequ... ther, on November 17, 1961 the Stat... Ministry had issued a directive ... Government departments to make ... chases only through local dealers ... Ostensibly the purpose of the direc... to prevent loss of State sales ta... effect it gave a virtual monopoly ... Agents for the products of Kalinga ... tries and Kalinga Tubes, another ... in which Patnaik is a director. O... gations which the CBI investigated ... to Government transactions with ... Mines and Orissa Textile Mills, ... concerns in which Patnaik is inte...

Some of the charges the CBI ... able to judge since all the evidence ... made available to it, but on the ... findings appear to be unequivocal...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...o H. V. Kamath's enterprise, lengthy sum-...aries of the CBI report have appeared in ...the press; to anyone who reads them it ...should be clear that the CBI's investigation ...as more than made out a **prima facie** case. ...ndeed, the Cabinet sub-committee appoint-...d to examine the CBI's findings was forced ...o admit as much. It agreed that the man-...er in which Patnaik and Mitra "conduct-...d Government transactions in which were ...lso involved the interests of private con-...erns, owned or controlled by them or their ...lations was definitely not in keeping with ...e normal standards of public conduct" and ...corded its "profound concern at the pic-...re, emerging as a whole from the series of ...ch individual transactions in many fields ...activity of the State Government, of ...proper use of authority by leaders of the ...overnment." On a number of specific ...harges, it appeared to concur with the CBI. ...bout the official directive restricting Gov-...rnment purchases to local dealers, for in-...tance, it agreed that it was "improper, ...wise and indiscreet" since it resulted in ...reference being shown to Orissa Agents. ...found the orders placed by the Govern-...nt with Patnaik's and Mitra's concerns ...mproper and irregular". About the alle-...dly questionable appointment of a chief ...gineer for the Paradip port which was ...llowed within days by large orders from ...e project for tubular trusses manufactur-...by Kalinga Industries, the sub-committee ...s "not satisfied that those orders were ...tated by urgency as claimed."

What would appear to be most deplorable ...is connection is that in trying vainly to mini-...e the implications of the C.B.I. report, two ...r members of the Cabinet, both eminent ...s and legal luminaries, Messrs. M. C. Chagla ...A. K. Sen, went all out to bring one of the ...rtant Agencies of their own Government into ...pute and public contempt, so that the ex-...Ministers concerned could be shielded. ...they have actually succeeded in doing in the ...ss—for their rhetorical broadsides would ...even impress a babe in arms—has merely ...to tear into tattered shreds their own robes ...eputation for unbiassed and impartial and ...ss judgment. The Prime Minister himself ...loes not do his own reputation for either ...de or effective leadership any good when ...t merely refuses to concede a public inquiry ...also hints—none too subtly—that what has been done in respect of the Orissa allegations is now going to be made the standard procedure in such matters in the future. Obviously the "Little AICC" appears to be far more powerful than public appreciation would concede to it! Government, it would appear, are mere puppets of its desires and designs!

And yet, in the Lok Sabha debate, the two principal Government spokesmen, A. K. Sen and M. C. Chagla, both of whom were members of the Cabinet sub-committee, played a different tune. As the CBI report had become common knowledge and since its findings were so obviously damaging, their concern was with minimising its significance. Chagla's attempt, in the process, to denigrate the CBI left a particularly bad taste in the mouth. He described the CBI's report as "a one-sided exparte statement"; worse, it was a "contaminated document"; something on the strength of which he would not "hang a dog"; something he wouldn't even "touch with a barge pole." The CBI's role in investigating the charges against the Orissa ex-Ministers had already come in for criticism by Congressmen—particularly at the "little AICC" meeting organised at Ranchi in October last year—but Chagla's attempt to lower an important Government agency in the public eye was almost unbelievable, coming as it did from a responsible Minister of the Central Government and an ex-Chief Justice of a High Court.

Both Sen and Chagla admitted, however, that the Orissa leaders had acted "unworthily" and were unfit to hold office. Yet they rejected the demand for further enquiry, and wanted the issue to be closed with the resignation of Patnaik and Mitra. Naturally, with the evidence of the CBI report before them, the Opposition, like a large number of people outside Parliament, cannot be expected to stomach this. The suspicion remains that in the matter of suitable action against Patnaik and Mitra the course of justice has been deliberately blocked and that this has happened because of the influence the two wield in the Congress Party. Such suspicion is the inevitable consequence of the procedure adopted by the Government to investigate the charges and the decision to close the case just when the public came in possession of authoritative confirmation of the charges. This should have been clear

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to the Prime Minister. Yet he obstinately maintained that "whatever action the Government has taken is right and proper" and that "the Government is not prepared to go any further." Indeed, he seemed to hint at making this the standard procedure for enquiring into allegations of corruption against Congress Ministers. Recalling an earlier statement of his, he said that whenever a **prima facie** case was established against a Minister he would ask him to resign or face an enquiry. And who would judge if there was a **prima facie** case ? The Cabinet, presumably ; or perhaps, as was suggested at the 'little AICC', the Congress Parliamentary Board !

This procedure, one would have thought, had been discredited enough by the suspicions, innuendoes and general dissatisfaction generated by the Orissa case. Where allegations of corruption against Ministers and other highly-placed persons are concerned, it is not enough that justice should be done ; it must appear to be done. Under the procedure adopted in the Orissa case, and which Shastri would follow in other similar cases, there is very real danger that justice may not be done at all. Since the tasks of judging whether there is or is not a **prima facie** case of corruption against a Congress Minister is left to his colleagues in the party, it is puerile to argue that political pressures will be kept out. This danger becomes the greater as the leadership of the Congress passes, as it is now passing, to a group of men whose survival in power is closely bound up with the faction politics within the party. With these men, political expediency must count above everything else ; in the Orissa case, we already have evidence of the working of their influence. And even assuming that Congressmen could judge one of their peers objectively, the secrecy in which the whole operation is expected to be conducted will inevitably create suspicion and dissatisfaction.

Obviously the Shastri Government has travelled a long way away from the principles that the leader had publicly enunciated during his regime as Home Minister. Gone also are the extravagant claims of the present Home Minister Nanda that he would weed out corruption within two years, nearly one and a half years of which have since already elapsed. If Nanda and people of his ilk were not wholly lost to all sense of shame, he would long since have admitted [illegible] and resigned. That, of course, would [illegible] the normally decent thing to do. [illegible] he appears to have been lending [illegible] weight alongside of his new Chief towards [illegible] ing separate standards for Ministers and [illegible] powerful members of the permanent ser[illegible] most dangerous trend. Corruption and [illegible] among Ministers inevitably radiate out to [illegible] vices and infest the entire administration [illegible] levels. Publicly hanging a few poor scr[illegible] while the main sources of infection con[illegible] flourish in protected environments is a [illegible] game of make believe which decieves no on[illegible]

The Committee on Prevention of [illegible] ruption, appointed by Shastri himself [illegible] he was Home Minister under Nehru [illegible] suggested that if specific allegations [illegible] ruption on the part of a Central or [illegible] Minister were made by 10 members [illegible] Parliament or a State Legislature, the [illegible] Minister should consider himself obl[illegible] convention to refer them to a com[illegible] for immediate investigation. This [illegible] mittee would be selected by the Pre[illegible] out of a national panel constituted by [illegible] it would consist of three persons, [illegible] whom at least should have held a [illegible] judicial office. This committee wo[illegible] certain whether there was a prima [illegible] case and on the basis of its conc[illegible] advise the Government about further [illegible] If it found a **prima facie** case, it may [illegible] the Government to prosecute the [illegible] concerned or appoint a commission [illegible] quiry under the Commissions of Enq[illegible] 1952. Significantly, it was recom[illegible] that the findings of the committee [illegible] be placed before Parliament as a m[illegible] course.

The Government has made much [illegible] Santhanam Committee's report as [illegible] of its anti-corruption drive. Yet [illegible] the Prime Minister nor the Home [illegible] has cared to explain why the Cha[illegible] recommendations on corruption [illegible] Ministers have been found unac[illegible] The Committee itself attached the [illegible] importance to these recommendations [illegible] it was convinced that "ensuring [illegible] integrity on the part of the Ministers [illegible] Centre and the States is an indispe[illegible] condition for the establishment of [illegible] tion of purity in public service[illegible]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Government apparently views the priorities totally differently. While it periodically publicises copious statistics of the number of civil servants, at various levels, dismissed, prosecuted or otherwise punished for misdemeanour, when it comes to corruption among Ministers it is content with the most imperfect and ineffective arrangements.

The implications of this for what Nanda likes to call "the war on corruption" are obvious. **If the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?**

—0—

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

HELMUTH VON GLASENAPP—INTERPRETER OF INDIAN THOUGHT : *By Dr. Wilfried Noelle, Max Muller Bhavan, New Delhi, pp. 107, price not mentioned.*

Prof. Helmuth Von Glasenapp, a great German scholar passed away on 23rd June, 1963. He was highly respected at home and abroad for his contributions and works which covered all fields of Indology and History of Religions which were translated into English and French. Born in 1891, Helmuth Von Glasenapp read the *Bhagvad Gita* when he was only 16 years of age. His love for India of his early boyhood developed into scholarly devotion to India's culture. He learnt Sanskrit, Pali, Hindusthani and Persian and travelled through India several times. He was interested in Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism and was equally at home whether discussing the Vedas, Sankara's philosophy of *Advaitabad*, Buddhist canons or the Jaina teachings. He was, however, not a blind admirer of the past. Although somewhat conservative, he was a modern with an open mind. Everything Indian came forth and assumed a new appearance through him.

The author of this book, himself an Indologist, describes with keen insight and wide scholarship Prof. Von Glasenapp's life-long studies in various subjects. He points out "Helmuth Von Glasenapp, as Max Muller before him, belongs not merely to Indology but far beyond it to the ideas of our times. If Indology can no longer be removed from the concept of German learning, it was owing to Helmuth Von Glasenapp." Indeed, Prof. Von Glasenapp was a *guru* to many German and Indian students and proved to be one of the most efficient interpreters of Indian thought to the modern world.

The study includes, besides a selected bibliography of the late Professor, books and essays, some of the widely known articles, *viz. Parallels and Contrasts in Indian and Western Metaphysics, The Life of Great Indian*, which is a tribute to India's President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, and *Poet and Friend of Mankind*, an appreciation of Rabindranth Tagore. An exhaustive index enhances the reference value of the publication. Dr. Zakir Hussain, Vice-President of India, has written a preface to the book.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

We congratulate the Max Muller Bhavan for bringing out this publication, the first of a series of South Asian studies. A publication of this nature strengthens understanding and better relations between the East and the West and prepares mankind for world peace.

A. B. DUTTA

THE HERITAGE OF INDIAN ART : *A Pictorial Presentation by Dr. V. S. Agarwala, Text 38 Pages, 243 Illustrations and 10 Colour Plates, Publication Division, New Delhi, 1964. Price Rs. 25/-.*

This profusely illustrated panorama of the rich heritage of Indian Art, represents in a chosen garland of masterpieces,—covering all phases,—Architecture, Stone Sculpture, Bronzes Paintings, Textiles and Terracottas. It is a creditable presentation of the whole [illegible] Indian Art and reflects credit not [illegible] Dr. Agarwala, our best scholar and [illegible] many of its phases, but also on the Publ[illegible] Division. It will certainly win many new [illegible] to the study and worship of Indian Cont[illegible] to the Visual Arts. In this new era of [illegible] independence—this beautiful book must be [illegible] as "Bible" by all our nationals. Artists who study this Volume—will easily realize this heritage and is sure to be inspired to [illegible] this great heritage—in our new environment make the Art of Tomorrow richer than the Yesterday. The letter-press and the Descr[illegible] Notes on the Illustrations are admirable, and not at all deserve the unkind comment—of "[illegible]ing non-sense" made by local Reviewer.

O.C.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Foreign Periodicals

Six Feet. Six Hours, One World

William D. Patterson, writing editorially in the Saturday Review gives a vivid picture of the implications of the rapid advance both vertically and horizontally, of scientific knowledge and the manner in which it has been affecting the course of living and outlook in both the West and the East.

As statesmen and military leaders on both sides of the cold war struggle to keep that sprawling, bitter conflict within manageable limits, the scientific, social, and political revolutions that will finally decide the issue go forward with unabated speed.

The challenge with which these revolutions confront American society—and indeed every society, East and West—is one of adjustment to a pace and magnitude of change unprecedented in human history. If that society which best adjusts to the scale and speed of change is also most likely to prevail, then it is eminently desirable to get some grasp of the forces powering this change.

Scientists in industry, government, and our universities today are estimated to be doubling our body of scientific knowledge every decade. More scientists and engineers are at work today than the cumulative toal over the previous 6,000 years of recorded history. Developments that once would have required decades are now compressed into a few years.

This massive effort obviously has vast technological and economic implications. The impact on business, for example, is enormous. One major electronics company has reported that almost 85 per cent of its business today is in items that did not exist fifteen years ago. Moreover, U.S. business is internationalizing at a rate undreamed of only a few years ago. The speed of communications and transportation—a direct despondant of the knowledge explosion—is one major reason. Consider a few signs of this increasing speed.

At the time of George Washington's inauguration, as a recent *S R* editorial reminded us, it took almost two days for the news to reach Philadelphia and six weeks for Paris to hear about it. Not only does news move with instantaneous impact around the world today, but businessmen as well as statesmen and average citizens have extraordinary access to the remotest quarters of the globe.

Telephone engineers speak of "presence" when two people are using the telephone. Their goal is that people anywhere in the world should be able to talk to each other as though they were within six feet of each other. Their "presence" would be six feet, as it already is on many transcontinental and international telephone calls.

The jet airliner has already made political or business conferences feasible on very short notice, even though the participants may have to assemble from points thousands of miles apart, across oceans and continents. A weekend conference in Europe or Asia is a commonplace that has accelerated overseas diversification of U.S. business as well as intensified international copetition.

Swift communication and transportation have made possible global competition that has fashioned a "new look" in corporations—the multinational company with roots firmly embedded in several countries. Twenty-five years ago relatively few companies could claim worldwide orientation ; today the roster runs into the thousands. Twenty-five years from now, when the supersonic commercial airliner has brought all major capitals to within six hours or less of each other, the roster surely will run into the tens of thousands and the new managers of global enterprises will be making their basic decisions in terms of an integrated world market rather than rival nationalistic marktes.

This contraction of the old time-distance ratios that formerly made the world so wide and so strange has been increasingly matched by the expansion of leisure. Today the average working man in the United States and other advanced industrial nations enjoys twentytwo years more leisure during his lifetime than did his grandfather. He has a longer life span, more vacation time, and a shorter work week.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

And there is no doubt that technological progress is going to continue to release much more of man's time, energies and thought from the burden not only of physical labor, but of routine, repetitive tasks such as the quantifying of complex data which the computer today performs so much more efficiently.

The growth of leisure, rise in income, and acceleration of transport have also generated a travel revolution, a vast migration of peaceful visitors unprecedented in history. During 1964, it is estimated that some 55,000,000 individuals traveled across national boundaries and spent $9 billion. This phenomenon, with which this issue of *SR* is largely concerned, is a vital part of the economic and cultural transformation that the tremendous thrust of scientific development is powering. For the first time, tens of thousands of students—perhaps 2 per cent of the globe's student population—are studying in other countries than their own. Nearly 22,000 Americans are in foreign universities.

What is emerging is not only a [illegible] awareness of the world that would have [illegible] incredible just a few years ago, but a [illegible] appreciation for the human diversity that [illegible] share.

The new corporate statesman, the [illegible] traveller, the leisured masses, and the [illegible] students—all, in one way or the other, [illegible] more universal, less parochial viewpoint [illegible] living only six feet or six hours from each [illegible] and all must eventually recognize that the [illegible] ple revolutions of our time have made [illegible] war as obsolete as the Inquisition and [illegible] world is the best possible alternative to no [illegible]

As we start 1965 with our own re[illegible] vision of the Great Society, let us never [illegible] that "we are all of us, consciously or uncon[illegible] ly, waking or sleeping, building the unity [illegible] or plotting the end of the world."

Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji
Printed and published by Kalyan Das Gupta, Prabasi Press Private Limited,
77/2/1, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE PRABASI

INDIA'S LEADING BENGALI MONTHLY

Advertisement Rates For Single Insertion

	Rs. P.
ORDINARY POSITION	
Ordinary Full Page	100.00
" " Half-page or one column	60.00
" " Quarter page or half-column	35.00
" " One-eighth page	20.00
Page next to and or opposite contents	125.00
Ditto half-page	75.00
Ditto quarter-page	45.00
Ditto one-eighth page	30.00
SPECIAL POSITIONS	
Full Page facing second page of the cover	150.00
" Page facing third page of the cover	140.00
" Page facing last page of the reading matter	140.00
" Page facing back of the Frontispiece	155.00
Ditto half-page	80.00
POSITION WITHIN READING MATTER	
Full Page	180.00
Half-page	95.00
Quarter page	50.00
" col.	30.00

Space within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

COVERS	Rs. P.
First page of the cover (1"x6")	190.00
Second page of the cover	200.00
Third page of the cover	175 00
Fourth page of the cover **(One-colour)**	225.00
(Bi-colour)	275 00
(Tri-colour)	350.00
SUPPLEMENT size 8"x6" (to be Printed and supplied by the advertiser)	
8 pages (or 4 slips) ...	400.00
4 pages (or 2 slips) ...	250.00
2 pages (or 1 slip) ...	50.00

MECHANICAL DETAILS & OTHER PARTICULARS

Type area of a full page	8"x6"
" " half pgae	4"x6"
Number of columns to a page	2
Length of a column	8"
Breadth of a column	3"
Type area of half-column	4"x3"
" " quarter-column	2"x3"

Stereos and screen blocks (65 screen) are accepted.
Matrices or unmounted blocks are not accepted.

PRABASI PRESS PRIVATE LIMITED
77/1 Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13

THE MODERN REVIEW

Subscription : Payable in Advance.

Annual — Inland	:	Rs. 15.00
" — Foreign	:	Rs. 24.00
	:	
Half-yearly—	:	
— Inland	:	Rs. 8.00
— Foreign	:	Rs. 13.00

(Advance Payment. Rates are inclusive of postage)

On V.P.P. order—V.P.P. Charges—extra

16 Single Issue :
Inland : Rs. 1.25

Cheque on Banks outside Calcutta are not accepted.

If regular subscribers do not renew their subscriptions and/or send stop-orders in due time, the next issue after the expiary of their current subscriptions, will be sent per V.P.P. —assuming their willingness to continue.

Complaints of non-receipt of any issue of the Modern Review—must reach our office by the 15th of the month in question—and in all cases the *Subscriber Number must be quoted.*

Terms for News Agents :—On application : (minimum 5 copies of the Modern Review per month—should be ordered. Special Rates for 20 or more copies per month—on advance payment.

Manager
THE MODERN REVIEW

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

THE MODERN REVIEW Price—India and Pakistan Re. 1.25 P. Registered No. C
Subscription—Ind. & Pak. Rs. 15.00, Foreign Rs. 24.00, Single copy Rs. 2.00 or equiva
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

17 MAY 1985
Fr. 922

CITY BOOK SOCIETY

THE PIONEER PUBLISHERS OF ILLUSTRATED JUVENILE LITERATURES

Books of Late Jogendra Nath Sircar entertained & enlightened the Children of Beng
&
Enthused Lakhs of Non-Bengali Children to learn Bengali.

Hasi Khusi I
99th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Hasi Khusi II
38th Edn. — Re. 0.80
The two most outstanding books to learn Bengali)

Mojar Galpa
25th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Asare Swapna
18th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Ranga Chhabi
31st Edn. — Re. 0.80

Khelar Sathi
27th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Chhabir Bai
25th Edn. — Re. 0.70

Bane Jangale
9th Edn. — Rs. 5.00

Galpa Sanchaya
5th Edn. — Rs. 4.50

Khukumanir Chhara
17th Edn. — Rs. 3.50

Chhabi-O-Galpa
19th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

Chhotoder Chiriakhana
7th Edn. — Re. 1.87

Hasi Rasi
33rd Edn. — Re. 1.40

Chhotoder Ramayana
36th Edn. — Re. 1.12

Chhotoder Mahabharat
36th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

CITY BOOK SOCIETY
64, College Street
Calcutta—12

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The MODERN REVIEW

VOL. CXVII, : No. 5 : WHOLE No. 701

2743-65

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

Har Dayal and Ramchandra
—Prof. Kalyan K. Banerjee

Ideals of a Sanskrit University
—Prof. O. C. Gangoly

Price and Money Supply In A Developing Economy
—Chittapriya Mukhopadhyaya

National Exhibition of Art 1965—A Review
—Usab

Influences of English On Indian Languages
—Prof. V. S. Kumar

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

MAY • 1965

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOR
PRINTING
WITH A DISTINCTION.

Contact the

**PRABASI
PRESS
PRIVATE LD.**

We print in 3 LANGUAGES

ENGLISH

BENGALI

DEVNAGRI

for more details—Contact the

MANAGER
PRABASI PRESS PRIVATE LD.
77-2-1 Dharamtala Street,
CALCUTTA—13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

MODERN REVIEW

GOES TO PEOPLE
WHO COUNT
AND
ARE YOUR
BEST BUYERS

ADVERTISE IN THE MODERN REVIEW

and Reap
the Best of
RESULTS

For particulars:
Contact — **The Manager**

77/2/1 DHARAMTALA STREET, CALCUTTA - 13

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. CXVII. No. 5 CONTENTS FOR MAY, 1965 WHOLE NO.

NOTES
CURRENT AFFAIRS—Karuna K. Nandi
HAR DAYAL AND RAM CHANDRA—Kalyan Kumar Banerjee
AIMS AND IDEALS OF A SANSKRIT UNIVERSITY IN BENGAL—O. C. Gangoly
NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF ART—1965—Usab
CHICAGO MUSEUM ORIENTED TO PEOPLE—Robert Colby Nelson
PRICE AND MONEY SUPPLY IN A DEVELOPING ECONOMY—Chittapriya Mukhopadhyaya



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON INDIAN LANGUAGES—V. S. Kumar	374
AN EARLY SUNSET OF INDIAN SCIENCE—THE SOCIOPOLITICAL FACTORS—Arun Kumar Biswas	378
NEHRU'S PHILOSOPHY FOR THE TRIBAL PEOPLE OF INDIA—P. Thankappan Nair	383
GIPSIES—FORGOTTEN CHILDREN OF INDIA—Jatindra Nath Mukherjee	390
INDIAN PERIODICALS—	392
FOREIGN PERIODICALS—	398



ভারতমুক্তিসাধক

আনন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় ও অর্দ্ধশতাব্দীর বাংলা

শ্রীশান্তা দেবী প্রণীত

প্রাপ্তিস্থান : সিটি বুক সোসাইটী

৬৪, কলেজ ষ্ট্রীট কলিকাতা

সিলেক্ট পাব্লিকেশন্সের

একটি অপূর্ব্ব উপহার-গ্রন্থ

অনেকগুলি তিনরঙা পাতাজোড়া ছবি এবং প্রায়

পাতায় পাতায় একরঙা ছবি সঙ্কলিত

খাঁচা নেই

যে চিড়িয়াখানায়

(লেখক—শ্রীসুধাংশুকুমার চৌধুরী)

গল্পের মতই চিত্তাকর্ষক এবং জন্তুজানোয়ারদের

শিক্ষাপ্রদ বিবরণ।

দাম —সাড়ে তিন টাকা।

প্রাপ্তিস্থান : সিটি বুক সোসাইটী

৬৪, কলেজ স্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা-১২

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

—Advertisement Rates—

ORDINARY POSITION

	Rs. P.
Full Page	150.00
Half-page or one column	80.00
Quarter page or half-column	50.00
One-eighth page	30.00
One-eighth column	20.00
Page next to and or opposite contents	180.00
Ditto half-page	100.00
Ditto quarter-page	60.00
Ditto one-eighth page	40.00
Ditto one-eighth cloumn	30.00

SPECIAL POSITIONS

Full Page facing second page of the cover	200.00
„ Page facing third page of the cover	190.00
„ Page facing last page of the reading matter	195.00
„ Page facing back of the Frontispiece	210.00
Ditto half-page	110.00

POSITION WITHIN READING MATTER

Full Page	220.00
Half-page	120.00
Quarter page	70.00
„ col.	50.00

Space within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

COVER PAGES

Second page of the cover
Third page of the cover
Fourth page of the (*One-colour*)
(*Bi-colour*)
(*Tri-colour*)

SUPPLEMENT size 8½" × 6" (to be printed & supplied by the advertiser)

8 pages (or 4 slips) ..
4 pages (or 2 slips) ..
2 pages (or 1 slip) ..

MECHANICAL DETAILS, Etc.

Type area of a full page 8"
„ „ „ half page 4"
Number of columns to a page 2
Length of a column 8"
Breadth of a column 3"
Type area of half-column 4"
„ „ „ quarter-column 2"
Only Mounted Stereos & coarse screen (
screen) are accepted.

Subscription Rates 1 year Rs. 15.00. Half yearly Rs. 8.00

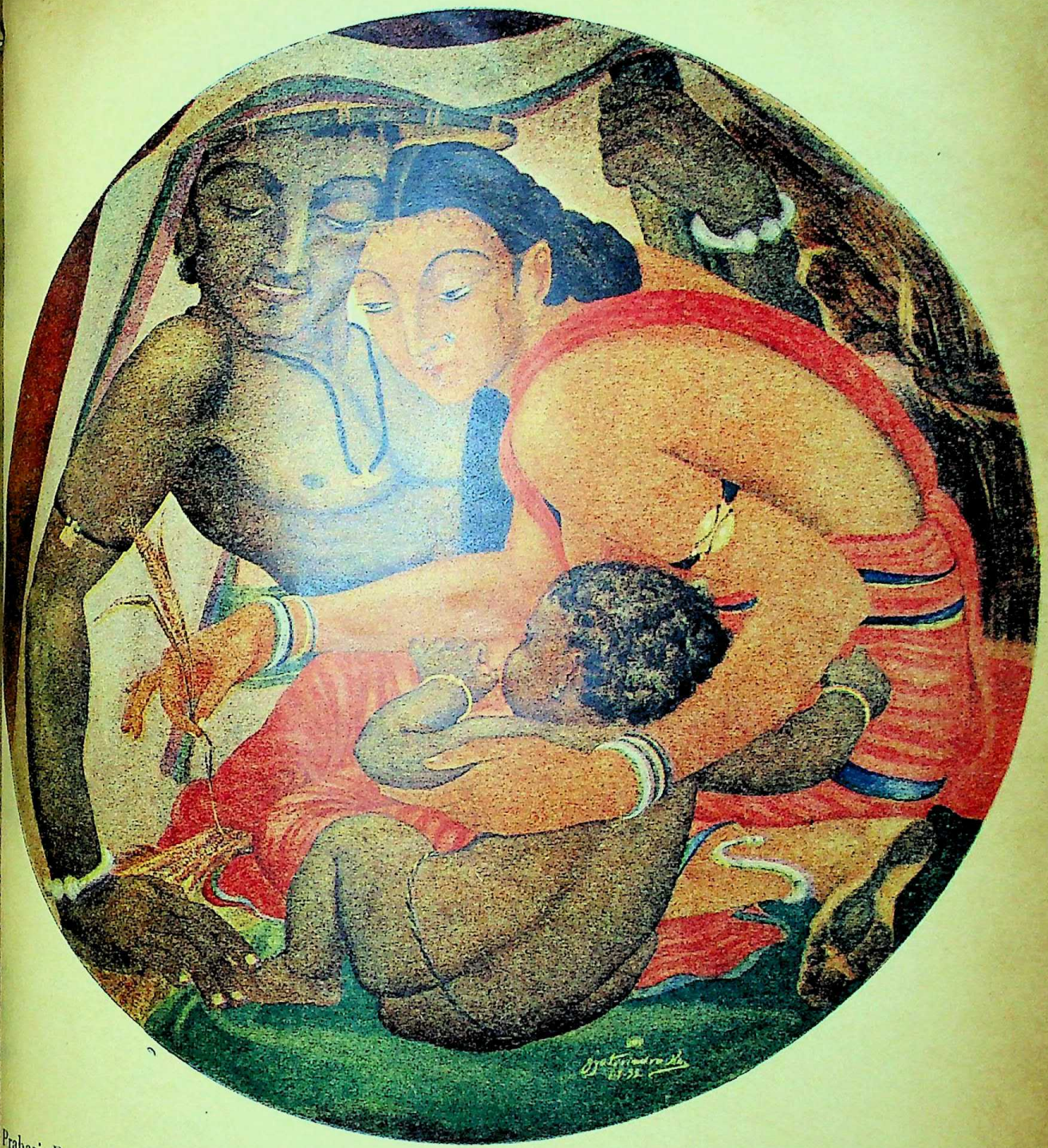
Single copy Rs. 1.25P. including postage.

Prabasi Press Private Limited

77/2/1 DHARAMTALA STREET,
CALCUTTA-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



THE TRIAD
Artist : Jyotirindra Roy

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY 1965

VOL. CXVII, No. 5 WHOLE No. 701

NOTES

THE WORLD

The Dragon's Teeth

It was about a decade ago that the U.S. authorities, under the direction of President Eisenhower sent military aid, large monetary subsidies and a host of military advisers to South Vietnam to combat an insurrection that had broken out there. The results accruing out of that initial venture was summed up by the **New York Times**, International Edition, in its April 11 issue in an editorial entitled **"New Phase"**. The salient points therein are reproduced below to show how the more sober section of the American press appraises the situation. We have altered the sequence of the extracts in order to present them in clear continuity:

"Ever since the United States became involved in the problems of Vietnam a decade ago, many Americans repeatedly have asked: "Why are we there?" "Where are we headed?"

"As for the first question, three successive Administrations in Washington have answered that the U.S. has had a vital stake in keeping South Vietnam out of Communist control—a stake that involved the security of all South-east Asia and potentially that of the U.S. as well.

"The answer to the second question is less clear. And it has caused concern ever since President Eisenhower sent the initial aid and military "advisers" to help combta an insurrection in South Vietnam. The concern deepened in 1961 when President Kennedy ordered a major buildup of men and arms to fight the Vietcong guerrillas. And when President Johnson launched the air raids on North Vietnam two months ago, there was fear of a widening conflict, possibly involving Communist China and other countries.

"The U.S. involvement now has reached the point where American jet planes are bombing military installations and transportation lines close to the North Vietnamese capital of Hanoi. In South Vietnam, Americans are involved in ground fighting against Communist guerrillas, and U.S. planes are bombing and strafing Vietcong positions.

"Yet, these actions so far have produced no let-up in the Vietcong offensive, nor have they persuaded Hanoi—which Washington believes is directing and supplying the offensive—to agree to a negotiated settlement. This has confronted the Johnson Administration with the question whether to withdraw from a decade-long commitment, or expand the military pressures on North Vietnam at the risk of triggering a major war.

"Until last week, both sides took positions which, in effect, called for unconditional surrender as a condition for opening

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

negotiations : Washington insisted that North Vietnam call off the Communist offensive, and Hanoi insisted that the U.S. get out of Vietnam. This appeared to create a stalemate.

"As anxieties grew over the escalation of the fighting, pressures built up on President Johnson to explain the Administration's objectives in Vietnam and its terms for a settlement. The pressures came from leading Democrats in Congress, from intellectuals, from the letter-writing public.

The pressures also have come from America's allies—such as Britain and France—from neutral countries like India, from U Thant, the U.N. Secretary General, and from Russia on the Communist side.

Early last week the White House made known that President Johnson had decided to take advantage of an open invitation to address the student body and faculty of the Johns Hopkins University. White House sources said Mr. Johnson felt "the time had come for a definitive statement" on the war in Vietnam."

The statement was made at the Johns Hopkin's University in Baltimore on Wednesday the 7th April, **The New York Times** says that the "burden of the speech was two-fold :

"First, that the United States was prepared for 'unconditional discussions' on peace in Vietnam. The President thus abandoned the stipulation that the Communists first give some sign they would halt their attacks in Vietnam.

"Second, that 'We will not be defeated ....not grow tired.....' Mr. Johnson thus served notice that for the Communists the alternative to a peaceful solution was continuing and possibly increasing punishment by American armed forces.

"The immediate response from the Communists in Hanoi and Peking was a reiteration of their long-standing demands that the United States get out of South Vietnam. At the end of the week a brush between American and Chinese jets near the Chinese island of Hainan seemed to raise the specter of a direct clash between the two powers.

"Still the hope in Washington that in time—after more punishing American planes—the North Vietnamese least might be persuaded that some kind accommodation would be better than drift toward larger war.

In his speech, President Johnson affirmed the Administration's purpose continuing the U.S. commitment in nam. He said :

"Let no one think for a moment retreat from Vietnam would bring a to conflict. The battle would be re in one country and then another. central lesson of our time is that the tite of aggression is never satisfied."

President Johnson was almost pr tic in his statement, "the central less our time is that the appetite of aggr is never satisfied." But little did he when he made his speech at Baltimor the next demonstration of the rel appetite of an aggressor would come a state that has been given about million dollars worth of military equi besides large scale aid in billions of over the decade, by the U.S., in cr build it up as a bulwark against Com aggression !

Ever since the enunciation of the tainment of Communism," policy, Pa has cashed in by the broad exploita the intensity of U.S. campaign of ha suspicion against the Soviets and a China. This exploitation was mad because of the immensity of Americ norance and naivete about Asiatic m Pakistan went into the SEATO and C alliances in order to further her own sionist programme—at the cost o friendly and peace-loving neighbour —by means of the arms and the dol that was made available to it by th She knew that the U.S. could be "play a fool" when the occasion came a false pride and prejudice against a that resisted all inducements to fall with the Western bloc, would hang

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

U.S. attempts at intervention against the misuse of arms in an aggression launched against India.

Pakistan was clearly declared an aggressor in the Kashmir affair by the U.S. judge appointed by the Security Council to adjudicate on it. Ever since that pronouncement, the U.S. state authorities have been trying to avoid looking that fact in the face, and the major portion of the U.S. press has been turning somersaults in attempts at the justification of Pakistan's illegal occupation of a large part of Indian territories in Kashmir,—which is and always has been an integral part of India.

There can be no doubt now, even in the minds of the most gullible of Yankees, that Pakistan has been in close contact with Red China for at least the last six years. Peking's ambassador to New Delhi made an open statement in 1958 that in case India tried to recover her territories in the Aksai Chin and NEFA areas by force of arms then she would be faced with a war on two fronts—against China and against Pakistan. Recently of course, even the thin veil, behind which Pakistan hid her intrigues with Red China, has been cast off and she is out to "Sell Red China" to the world at large, with special emphasis on the U.S. But even so the military supplies and dollar aid continues while the U.S. State officials think of face-saving phrases to cover up their discomfiture and the U.S. press continues with its campaign of propaganda against India.

Now comes naked aggression against India which Pakistan is trying to cover by means of a preposterous and newly thought-out claim to a part of Kutch about which even Pakistan did not lay claim to in these eighteen years since Partition. We do not know how the U.S. authorities view it, but to start with they have put forward all the quibbling and shifty phrases in the stock of diplomacy. They pretend that because of pre-occupation and lack of detailed observation, they are as yet unable to come to a definite conclusion. As if the truth regarding the motives for Pakistan's pact with Red China and the truth about Pakistan's bogus claims and protestations did not stand out clearly to them—as to the rest of the informed world—despite all equivocations to the contrary.

This is just another harvest from the sowing of the Dragon's teeth, by the U.S.! President, Nixon and Secretary Dulles!

The Prime Minister's statement

On April 28, there was a seven hour long debate in the Lok Sabha on the Prime Minister's motion to the House to take into consideration the situation which had arisen as a result of repeated and continuing attacks by Pakistani armed forces on the Kutch border.

At the end of the debate the Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri made a statement on the situation which we consider worthy of record as being of historic importance. We append the Salient portions below :—

Mr. Shastri said :

Our men are defending our frontiers with exemplary valour and I should like to tell thm that this House and all the people of this country stand solidly behind them and will consider no sacrifice too great to meet this challenge to our territorial integrity.

The situation which we are facing today is undoubtedly grave. I think the House would like to have a connected account of the events leading up to the situation that exists today.

During the last few months, Pakistan had been resorting periodically to firing and clashes at several points on the Indo-Pakistan border both in the east as well as in the west. Our men have taken defensive action at all these points effectively but with great restraint. The clashes on the Kutch border are the latest in the series of incidents which Pakistan has chosen to indulge in.

Some time ago Pakistani patrols were noticed moving on a track close to the Kutch-Sind border. On being challenged by

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

our patrols, Pakistani patrols claimed that they were moving on a track which was an old customs track and within Pakistan territory. It was also noticed that Pakistan had occupied Kanjarkot and established a standing post there.

"In accordance with Paragraph 3 of the Ground Rules the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Rajkot Rangers, took up the matter with the Director-General of West Pakistan Rangers and called for a meeting to discuss the situation and to determine the status quo. The Director-General, West Pakistan Rangers, did not attend but sent his local commander for a meeting with the D.I.G. Rajkot Rangers. This, however, led to no result and the encounters between our patrols and those of Pakistan continued.

On April 9, in the early hours of the morning, our border post at Sardar was attacked with heavy mortar and medium machine gun fire followed by artillery fire from 25 pounder guns under cover of which two battalions of the Pakistan regular army belonging to the 51st Infantry Bridgade advanced towards the post. Details of this encounter have already been given to the House in the statement by the Home Minister. The fact that this attack was premeditated and preplanned was quite clear from the documents captured from the Pakistani prisoners and from their interrogation.

The plan of assault on our border post by the Pakistan Army was drawn up in the second week of March and movement of troops began thereafter. Orders for the attack were apparently given on April 7 and the attack was launched in the early hours of April 9.

Therefrom as the House knows, the Chief of the Army staff was instructed to take over operational control of the border and Army units moved into Vigokot the same evening. Pakistan firing and shelling continued to which our armed forces replied. Since then Pakistani armed attacks are increasing in intensity and have been continuing at many points into our territory south of the Kutch-Sind border. On April 24, our company based at Point 84 was shelled in the morning and later attacked by Pa... infantry supported by tanks and ... armour. On April 26, Pakistani ... forces again with tanks and ar... vehicles attacked our border post at P... These attacks are still continuing.

Pakistani armed action is a naked ... aggression. They have attacked ... posts deep into Indian territory six o... miles south of the border—a territory ... on Pakistan's own admission has never ... in its possession.

Hon'ble members have no doubt ... the statement of the Pakistan F... Minister, Mr. Bhutto, on April 15 in ... he said, defending the Pakistan positi...

"It must be remembered that the c... fact is that this is a dispute over te... which lies roughly north of the 24th pa... The dispute has arisen not becaus... boundary is undemarcated, but becau... disputed territory is in India's advers... session."

This is what he has said. In ... words, Paksitan has chosen to mou... armed attack on territory over which ... stan has never exercised possession an... which Pakistan in fact admits India's p... sion.

Pakistan thus stands self-condem... She has used force for changing the ... quo and for vindicating its territorial c... This is contrary to the United Nations ... ter and to the Ground Rules under the ... Pakistan Border Agreement of 1960. ... stan's behaviour in fact amounts to a ... and open aggression on our territory.

As is usual with Pakistan even ... discussions have been in progress th... diplomatic channels to settle the ... peacefully, Pakistan has been intens... its attacks and moving in tanks and ... artillery to attack our posts.

On April 19, the Foreign Sec... handed over a formulation to the ... Commissioner which in substance w... same as the Pakistan Foreign Offic... suggested to our High Commissio... Karachi, a few days earlier, namely ... there should be a cease-fire to be fo...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

by talks at official level with a view to the determination and restoration of the status quo ante, and later a high-level meeting between the two governments to discuss the boundary question.

On the morning of April 24 the Pakistan High Commissioner handed over an alternative formulation to the Foreign Secretary, according to which cease-fire was to be followed by the withdrawal of the armed forces of both India and Pakistan, whether civil or military, from certain areas which they contended were the disputed territory.

But earlier the same morning, even before this new formulation had been presented, Pakistan had launched a heavy attack in brigade strength on our post at Point 84, west of Chadbet with heavy artillery.

"Throughout this period, Pakistan has been making shifting claims and conflicting statements. At the meeting between the DIG, Rajkot Rangers and Lt. Col. Aftab Ali, Commandent of the Indus Rangers, at Kanjarkot on February 15, they said that they had not occupied Kanjarkot but that they were patrolling the area up to the track south of Kanjarkot which according to him was the old customs track adjoining Surai and Ding. In the Government of Pakistan's Note dated March 1, 1965, which was in answer to our protest Note of February 18, 1965, it was stated by Pakistan Government that Kanjarkot fort had not been occupied by the Indus Rangers. Today, not only Pakistan is in occupation of the Kanjarkot fort but it has gone much beyond its claim to patrolling up to the customs track.

Pakistan today is laying claim to a large area south of the Kutch-Sind boundary and south of the 24th parallel.

I want to state clearly and emphatically that we reject and repudiate these claims in their entirety. Pakistan claims that the Rann of Kutch is an inland sea and, therefore, Pakistan is entitled to half of this area. This claim is completely untenable. The Rann of Kutch is not an inland sea and has never been recognised as such.

Long before the creation of Pakistan, when British Government of India decided formally in 1906, that it was more correct to define the Rann of Kutch as a **marsh** rather than as a **lake** or **inland sea.** That the Rann of Kutch is a **marsh** is indisputable. It has all the flora and fauna of marshland with marsh-grass in abdundance and other characteristics.

What happens is that during the monsoon period because of the strong winds and the high tides in the Arabian sea, this low-lying area gets flooded by sea water.

Furthermore in the monsoon period, it receives fresh water from the swollen rivers. The area, therefore, is flooded from about the middle of May till the end of October. It is mostly dry and partly marshland during the remainder of the year.

Pakisan's claims also ignore the historical fact that even though the Kutch-Sind border is undemarcated, it is well-defined on maps and well-recognised in fact. Prior to tne partition of India, the Kutch-Stind border separated the then British Indian province of Sind and the Indian State of Kutch. Not being an international boundary then, it did not need to be demarcated. The boundary itself was, however, well-defined in all official maps dating from 1872 to 1943 and even later, and was well-known and well established. The boundary has also been described in detail in official documents over the last three quarters of a century prior to the partition of India. The boundary shown in the official maps of undivided India prior to August 15, 1947, cannot be questioned.

The official gazetteer of the province of Sind published in Karachi in 1907, the Gazetteer of India of the Bombay Presidency published in 1909, and the Imperial Gazetteer of India published by the British Secretary of State for India in 1908 are all categorical about the Rann of Kutch being outside the province of Sind.

In all the documents of the political department of the then British Government of India of 1937, 1939 and 1942, defining the political charges of various officers, the Rann of Kutch was invariably shown as falling within the Western India States Agency and never as falling within the province of Sind.

As the House is aware, the entire Western

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

India States Agency became part of India as a result of accession. The totality of evidence leaves no basis whatsoever for any dispute regarding the border between the Sind province and Kutch.

Ever since these recent intrusions commenced, the Government of India suggested repeatedly to Pakistan that meetings should be held between local officials and also talks be held at a higher level. For instance, we suggested to the Pakistan Government that the Surveyors-General of the two countries should meet to discuss the problem of demarcation. Pakistan refused. We reminded Pakistan of the Ground Rules and the desirability of a meeting between the local commanders for the restoration of the status quo. We also suggested in our Note of February 18 that there should be a meeting between the representatives of the two governments at whatever level considered appropriate by Pakistan and repeated this suggestion later more than once. Despite these endeavours, there was no proper response from Pakistan.

On April 13 the Pakistan Government made a three-step proposal suggesting (I) cease-fire, (II) an inter-governmental meeting to determine what was the status quo which should be restored, and (III) a higher level meeting. The Government of India authorised its High Commissioner the very next day, i.e., on April 14 to convey the acceptance of these proposals. It is to be deeply regretted that the Government of Pakistan later went back on their old proposals.

On April 19, the Government of India repeated that the proposal for cease-fire should be accepted forthwith, but instead of accepting this proposal, the Government of Pakistan put forward an entirely new formula on April 23 which, as I have already mentioned, required the withdrawal of Indian forces from what Pakistan chooses to call unilaterally a disputed territory but which in fact indisputably is entirely our own.

Pakistan has since been persisting in this demand. This attitude on their part means a virtual rejection of all our efforts to them away from warlike postures.

In these circumstances, the Government is quite clear and will be discharged fully and The entire resources of the country and material will be employed to our frontiers and to preserve our torial integrity. I know that each of our 450 million people of India prepared to make any sacrifice in of the motherland. We will prefer in poverty for as long as necessary will not allow our freedom to be

The specific question which we consider and, by this, I mean not Government but this House and the whole country, is what should now pursue. Which path take? We are prepared to take the peace but we cannot follow it alone istan must decide to give up its activities. If it does, I see no reason the simple fact of determining the actual boundary between the province of Sind and the State of and what is the boundary between and Pakistan, cannot be settled across table.

I should like to tell the House the Kutch border Pakistan has vantages. What is more, our occupying posts in areas which be submerged in water and from they will, therefore, necessarily withdraw. If Pakistan continues card reason and persists in its activities, our army will decide strategy and the employment of power and equipment in the which it deems best. Countries friendly to us have urged that should be agreed to as soon as are ready to respond to these at the same time, I must tell the we have also to be ready for the

It is my earnest hope that the no return will not be reached Pakistan will still agree to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

accordance with its own proposals of April which India had accepted.

The supreme need of the hour is national unity—unity not of the word but of the heart. All Indians, of whatever faith or profession, have to stand solidly together and prepare themselves for hardenships and sacrifices.

In the debate itself, hardly any specific points were made by the Opposition who, while pledging full and unqualified support to the Government at this hour of trial, seemed to be unable to resist the opportunity for the showing up of past failures and lapses of the Government as being contributory causes for the development of the present crisis. Thus Prof. Ranga of the Swatantra Party said that because of "wrong policies" India had lost many friends while Pakistan had gained the friendship of many countries, during the last few years. Mr. Frank Anthony was highly critical of the mistakes of the past years. He said that the country could no longer afford the indecision and paralysis of the past, nor could it remain non-aligned to its own interests. The Government should not antagonize those who helped the country. The friendly States referred to by Mr. Anthony, were evidently Britain and the U.S. as he said that they would be needed in the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal—which was obviously in reference to the news that Britain and the U.S. were building some bases for western submarines etc., in the Indian Ocean conjointly.

At the time of writing these, the latest information was that the U.S. has registered a protest with Pakistan for the misuse of American Tanks. An official spokesman at New Delhi that the U.S. Government had clearly told Pakistan that the use of American arms in the Rann of Kutch was not justified. According to a cable, received at New Delhi, on April 29, from Mr. B. Nehru, Indian Ambassador in Washington, he had been told that the U.S. Government "had already made it clear" to Pakistan that it did not regard the hostilities in the Rann of Kutch as being covered by "self-defence" as envisaged in the Mutual Assistance Programme under which the arms were supplied to Pakistan.

Britain and Canada have also expressed their deep concern over the Rann of Kutch dispute. But as yet there has not been any clear statement made by any Commonwealth country on the question though it is said in informed circles that the British Premier had made some tentative proposals for a cease-fire.

The upshot of all the news, inclusive of the debate in the Lok Sabha and the Prime Minister's statement, seems to be that Pakistan has the sole option to settle the course of events in this affair. And she being in league with the Chinese, her judgement is not likely to be influenced by mere protests from Washington or friendly suggestions from Britain or any other member of the Commonwealth, unless there be some hint of firm measures to be taken by the U.S. or the U.K. if friendly overtures or protests receive no positive response.

On our side, although there is no cause for any panicky moves either by the Centre or by the States there seems to be ample reason to set on foot a movement to expand and train volunteer organizations throughout the country. We have in mind the kind of volunteer forces that were raised and given a short but intensive initial training and then given refresher courses at fixed intervals over a number of years. We cannot raise the strength of our regular fighting forces beoynd a certain limit due to lack of resources.

We are wedded to peace as Pakistan knows well despite all her lying propaganda and mendacious accusations. So she can leave her frontiers open or loosely patrolled by the police over most of the boundary and then concentrate forces at a predetermined point for unprovoked attacks —as has been going on the borders of Assam, Tippera, West Bengal and along the cease-fire line in Kashmir— or even mount a large scale offensive as she has done in Kutch.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

Social Responsibilities of Business

Very little public notice appears to have been attracted to the proceedings of a so-called international seminar on the "Social Responsibilities of Business" organized, sponsored and conducted jointly by the India International Centre, New Delhi and the Gandhian Institute of Studies, Varanasi in New Delhi over the week from March 15 to March 20 last. The participants were reported to have been a motley crowd of businessmen, university and college professors of economics, professional politicians and a liberal sprinkling of several others who could claim no family resemblance to any of the categories mentioned above. There were also reported to have been a few foreign participants, possibly to lend colour to the supposed *international* character of the seminar.

What these seminarians were reported to have discussed throughout a whole week of New Delhi's still quite pleasant weather, was the question as to whether business had any specific social responsibilities and, if so, what were the best methods of making it aware of these responsibilities and the techniques which could be expected to compel conformation. The tone of these discussions seem to have been set by a number of background papers presented on the occasion—and by one paper in particular—which was an exhaustive but rather a discursive study of the Gandhian concept of Trusteeship, prepared and presented by Shri Probodh Choksi who, next to the late J. C. Kumarappa, is generally regarded to be the most orthodox and faithful exponent of what, for want of a more accurate phraseology, may be described as the Gandhian School of Economic thinking. While, generally, business was conceded to have certain social responsibilities to bear, fundamental differences appear to have marked the discussions as to the methods whereby conformation to these responsibilities would be compelled. While some were reported to have felt that statutory definitions and the imposition of needed inhibitions through a process of judiciously conceived legislation was unavoidable, there were others, notably a [illegible] of economics from Gujerat, vehemently [illegible] and upheld by atleast one eminent spokes[illegible] *big business*, an acknowledged leader [illegible] Forum of Free Enterprise, who were re[illegible] have insisted that as the consumer [illegible] sovereign power over business, conform[illegible] the latter's social responsibilities would b[illegible] tively exercised by the former and any [illegible] statutory compulsions would only lead [illegible] plications from which business growth [illegible] bound to suffer without any compensat[illegible] to the consumer and the community.

Anti-Social Role of Business

That business has evinced little a[illegible] its social responsibilities in the country, [illegible] so during the seventeen years since Ind[illegible] is a fact which is all too notorious and [illegible] need to be especially underlined or em[illegible] That business, moreover, has been pa[illegible] little regard to the celebrated Gandhian [illegible] of trusteeship, if any at all, and has b[illegible] wedded to its own passions for avarice [illegible] of which, generally, the community and [illegible] alike have been the victims, is also a [illegible] is equally indisputable. It is, no doub[illegible] ideal, fully in accord with the celebrated [illegible] creed of *truth and non-violence* that it w[illegible] if it were possible to bring about a [illegible] heart in business by methods of [illegible] gentle pursuasion rather than by the [illegible] of overt impositions so that it accepted [illegible] responsibilities spontaneously and vol[illegible] the apprehension could never be wholly [illegible] that, judging by the performances of [illegible] a whole, it may not prove to be a [illegible] exercise in futility as Mahatmaji's [illegible] of pursuasion had been in bringing about [illegible] of heart in the erstwhile British Ind[illegible] ment in the past. Let alone being a [illegible] accepting its social responsibilities, [illegible] India, by and large, has been demons[illegible] consistently playing an overtly anti[illegible] *vis-a-vis* the national economy, the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and the State distorting, in large measure, the basic facts of life in the country. It is admitted on all hands that not a little part of the causes that have been spelling out the failures and inadequacies of development planning, especially during the Third Plan period, have been derived from the conditions created with deliberate anti-social intent by business and which atleast in very substantial part has been responsible for the tremendous explosion in demand over the last few years. This does not, of course, mean that there have not been business organizations and business men who, by their rectitude and ethical behaviour, have not set wholesome examples of which any community could have been legitimately proud. But they have been the honourable and, rather, the rarer exceptions and whose impact on trade has been only feeble and infinitesimal. By and large, business as a whole in the country would not appear to have been inspired by their fine examples.

Gandhian Principles and Techniques

It would serve little purpose, therefore, to aim to induce business now to behave in conformity with the Gandhian precepts of trusteeship, and that mothods of gentle pursuasion rather than those of coercive legislation would be more desirable and would be a more legitimate instrument towards the achievement of such an end. The primary fact that business as it is constituted in India today and the manner in which it is conducted has been leading to concentration of more and more wealth and income and economic power in the deprivation of the community and the State would seem to preclude any expectation that milder methods would be likely to prevail and be effective. If business were alive to its social responsibilities, the present state of the economy might have been much healthier than it has proved to be. If business accepted the ethics of its obligations to the community and the State, the present admittedly very large "unaccounted" money sector in the economy would never have grown to its present proportions and which has, to a large measure, been distorting all endeavours towards a balanced linear growth of the national economy. It is possible, of course, that the application of Gandhian principles might be effective in yielding more wholesome and enduring results *in the long run*; there is no precedent either way that they may or may not achieve such an end. But in the long run—which may be such a long run—we may all be dead and it may be the better part of practical wisdom to adopt measures which can be estimated to yield immediate effective results.

Declaration of Social Responsibilities

In the meanwhile the sponsors of the seminar whose discussions are under review here, appear to have followed up their deliberations in New Delhi by issuing a declaration on the social responsibilities of business. It is a lengthy document and it is not possible to reproduce its contents here. In brief it enumerates the responsibilites of business and obligations. It goes on to state that the "social responsibilities of business can best be assumed in an stmosphere of freedom and with the least possible restraint on healthy competition. It summarises the obligations of business to the stockholder, the worker, the community and the consumer and to the State. It concedes that a certain measure of regulatory legislation may, in the context of the rapid growth of business, be anavoidable, although in its view *self-regulation* is much to be preferred. It boldly underlines the unifying role of management in business which should integrate within itself the different aspects of the functions and responsibilities of business.

There is little in the document with which one could have any quarrel. But a sense of the realities of the situation should compel the recognition that business has done nothing so far to deserve the confidence and the trust that it could be relied upon, except under statutory compulsion, to accept its obligations to the society the resources of which it exploits and to whose reciprocal claims it has proved to be so wholly impervious upto date.

It should not be forgotten in this context that even in societies which have been more alert than in this country and which by traditon and training have been far more fully alive to its rights and claims than the people in India have been, it had become, on occasions, necessary to impose legislative intervention by the State to regulate the behaviour of business to conform to certain basic

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

social responsibilities. We would especially mention the "Antitrust" laws that the U.S. Government were obliged to formulate and adopt many years ago. Growing tendencies in the *Big Business* sector in India to-day have been demonstrating awe-inspiring trends towards *trust-cartels* and it is doubtful if anything short of compulsive legislation could ever be expected to effectively deal with this horrible menace.

Not Wholly Useless

While emphasizing once again that the discussions at the seminar and the declaration now issued by it have been merely platitudinous on the whole, we do not suggest that it has nevertheless been wholly useless. Discussions, freely and frankly engaged in, serve at least one very useful purpose. They may help to create a public awareness of a problem which has been there all the time but which it was not easy to seize by the forelock. Such discussions may be very useful in clearing the atmosphere to a very large extent and assist a realistic assessment of the situation and the means to deal with it effectively. From all that has transpired at the seminar it would seem clear that business in India cannot, by and large, be expected to accept and practically conform to its social responsibilities by what the declaration described as methods of "self-regulation". Legislation, therefore, would seem to be wholly inescapable to compel conformation, a necessity about which, unfortunately, the Government of the day do not seem to be yet fully aware. There are aspects of the matter which there is no time to go into in the present context, as for instance, the basic concepts of Gandhian economics. It is not possible, for instance, to equate Gandhian concepts of trusteeship with the present structure of business and industry in the country. The super-imposition of a highly technology-based industrial structure on the foundations of an economy which is still mainly agrarian in content has, of itself, created myriad problems with which the Government and the Planning Commission appear to have been ineffectually contending at the present moment. But that is only by the way. What we are concerned with in the present context is the behaviour of business in India *vis-a-vis* its social responsibilities. It has been conceded that business has not been assuming these responsibilities. The ... which it may be either pursuaded or ... do so are what have been the subject ... this discussion. We cannot, frankly, ... contention that business can be relied upon ... so voluntarily without compulsive legislation ... even compulsive legislation may be wholly ... unless it is conceived with a sense of ... realism and courage of conviction. In ... ment's dealings with the matter, both ... have been woefully lacking.

Tax Realizations on Unaccounted In...

Commenting last month on the ... provisions incorporated in the current ... Finance Bill to induce voluntary disclosures ... accounted income to be made in more ... measure than it has been possible to do ... and although these provisions did not ... measures for bringing to book unaccounted ... also at the same time, we expressed the ... sion that these masures on which so much ... appeared to have been placed by the ... Finance Minister, would prove to be as ... results as all of their predecessors in this ... It may be recalled that among the provisions ... included a five per cent additional tax on ... to those who would disclose their incomes ... unaccounted, within the 31st of March last ... the measure as a whole would be in force ... upto the end of May this year after which ... cessions offered would lapse.

From a recent statement in Parliament ... reply to a member's question, the Finance ... is now reported to have admitted that tax ... tions from this source upto the end of March ... has been quite negligible. That is to say ... holders of so-called unaccounted income ... were being provided with concessional ... nities to be *relieved* of the burden of ... unaccounted income, did not seem to be ... very appreciative of the generous ... sions offered to them by the Finance Minister ... cluding the additional concession of 5 per ... discount on the taxes due by them in this ... The Finance Minister, however, seemed to ... very optimistic that eventual results are ... be encouraging before the period of current ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

this concession expires on the 31st of May next. Asked if the Government had no other weapons in their arsenal to compel more effective results in the matter of tax realizations on unaccounted incomes, the Finance Minister was reported to have boastfully claimed that they had several other measures up their sleeves which would be brought into operation if the present measures failed.

What these other measures which the Finance Minister claims to have up his sleeve has not been, of course, disclosed. Judging by past performances in this behalf, it seems doubtful if the ingenuity of Government will ever be able to effectively match the cunning of the makers and holders of unaccounted income and wealth. On the contrary, the Government have been vainly offering them concession after concession, much to the chagrin of the honest tax payers who would seem to be given a step-motherly treatment in comparison with the habitual tax dodgers which, as we have had occasion to observe earlier in these columns, would look very much like yielding to a process of blackmail. This, in itself, would be considered as an element of weakness on the part of the Government who, it seems obvious, are out to appease the tax dodgers by offering to compound their felony, if of course, tax dodging is regarded as an instance of felony by the latter. Policies of appeasement are notoriously demonstrative of the fact that authority has lost its initiative.

The Finance Minister must, we feel, initiate more positive policy than he appears to have been able to conceive so far and either effectively manage to book the holders of unaccounted wealth in the income or admit failure and make room for those who may offer to ensure more positive results in dealing with that community of anti-social profiteers and tax dodgers whose operations, as he himself has admitted from time to time on many occasions in the recent past, have been in large measure responsible for the present weeful distortions in the economy. Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari has the reputation of being a strong man. The obvious conclusion would seem to be that he is not ingenuous enough to be able to effectively match and deal with the cunning community of the country's habitual tax dodgers who are used to operating on a very large scale. Or that the Government, in which he is such an important part, are unwilling to allow him the initiative which alone might enable him to deal with the matter forcefully, positively and effectively. It is notorious that the Party in the Government has been very materially dependent upon the munificnce of the business community from which, generally, are suppesed to be drawn the community of unaccounted money owners and it may be natural that in their anxiety to hold on to the powers of government they would wish to deal with them softly. But if that were really so, this would amount to a repudiation of the fundamental and basic obligations of government for greed of power and the people should know them for what they really are.

Performances of Public Undertakings

Report after report by Parliament's Committee on Public Undertakings have been pointing out instances of bungling and waste which do not appear to have been leading anywhere. In yet another report published on April 23 last, the Committee bring to light further instances of such wasteful bunglings in many fields of public sector activity and have asked Government to clearly enunciate the economic, financial and social responsibilities of these undertakings so that the managements concerned are able to clearly understand their implications and their own obligations in this behalf.

In one report, for instance, on the workings of the National Coal Development Corporation it is pointed out that there are now over 60 such undertakings under the Corporation and the number is still rising further. It may be recalled that the National Coal Development Corporation was set up by Government in pursuance of certain social and economic objectives. It would seem, however, that the management of the Corporation assume that these objectives absolve them from pursuing sound business principles in their pursuit. Some principles, no doubt, have been laid down for the guidance of the Corporation, but they would not appear, according to the Committee's observations, to have been clearly expressed or to have been followed only in a piecemeal fashion.

It is pointed out for instance that although it has been recognized that the undertakings

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

under the Corporation should be able to ensure a reasonable return on capital, it has not been laid down what the measure of this return should be. Nor are understandable policies clearly laid down as regards the reserves that these should build up, nor in respect of their wages structure or their pricing policies. The Committee have recommended the appointment of an expert committee to suggest suitable lines of ancillory activities that should be taken up by the units under the Corporation which, according to them, should go a long way towards strengthening their financial position.

An assessment in the report points out also that there is likely to be a shortfall of some seven million tonnes in the Corporation's Third Plan production target of 31 million tonnes or a shortfall of very nearly 24 per cent of the Plan target. The Committee rightly insist that the concerned Ministry of the Government should be more realistic in formulating their future production target to enable the cost of production to conform to more legitimate standards. This, it may be pointed out. has been a chronic malady in most public sector industrial undertakings. Certain targets are formulated, actual results almost invariably falling far short, although operational as well as overhead costs are generally geared to the level at which the production target is placed.

Fertilizer Programmes

In another report on the working of the Fertilizer projects under the public sector, it is pointed out that the Sindri Fertilizer Project had incurred a loss of over Rs. 10 crores between 1959 and 1964 for lack of only Rs. 20 lakhs in foreign exchange which the Government did not make available in time to enable the project to ensure the production of 20 tons of ammonia daily which is estimated to yield some Rs. 15.000 daily. The requisite foreign exchange, it is pointed out was eventually sanctioned only as late as Sepember, 1964 and it is unlikely that the requisite plant and machinery could be installed and brought to commission earlier than the second quarter of the year 1966 which would further continue these losses. Sindri, it is pointed out, has been in operation long enough, but it continues to function far below capacity, ... incur substantial annual losses for the ... son that enough attention has not yet ... to rehabilitating it. The Committee ... appointment of an expert committee ... underline the urgent need to accord ... priority to this job than to the erection ... units. It has been estimated that reha... of the Sindri unit would cost over Rs. ... but as no definite scheme towards such ... appears yet to have been drawn up, ... not likely to eventuate within the next ...

As regards the Nangal unit of the ... Corporation, the Committee appear to be ... mately critical of the fact that the est... the capital cost were revised four times ... a little over Rs. 20 crores to well over ... crores and that the cost of production ... unit is much higher than in similar un... abroad. Full and maximum utilization ... resources of the plant is still a long way ... which is, perhaps, one of the principal ... for the high cost of production and the ... sorry financial position of the Unit.

The Committee also point out a ... defects in implementation of the proj... under erection in Trombay, Gorakhpur and ... They feel that the time taken on the ... these projects is far too long and a ... concerted attempt should be made to re... same substantially and bring them under ... tion much earlier than they are like... commissioned at the present rate.

Except for one or two very ... exceptions, the story about most public ... undertakings would seem to be very much ... in their main outlines. It would seem ... of the trouble with public undertakings ... lack of clear objectives in all the aspects ... undertakings,—in the matter of capital ... in time scheduling for construction (... rious that most of the larger public sector ... takings have taken much longer to ... effective operational level than ... estimated), in the matter of production ... etc. An oft-repeated plea with most ... jects has been the gestation period ... generally known to occasion production ... there should be a definite limit to ... during which an industrial undertaking ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

normally have initial teething trouble after which production should quickly rise to and be maintained at capacity level.

Another aspect of our large public undertakings would also need to be underlined in this context. The operational organization in some of these projects are found to follow a mainly labour-intensive pattern although in the matter of investment and plant pattern they should be of a capital-intensive character. This is an anomaly which can be noticed in many of our larger public sector undertakings and which would obviously seem to be the cause of immense national loss in terms of both capital employment and watseful production costs. It is understandable that having regard to the illimatable man-power waiting for new job opportunities in the country, industrial organizations unavoidably tend to the labour-intensive pattern. In that event the investment pattern should also conform to avoid wasteful use of scarce capital. This an aspect of our larger public sector undertakings to which it seems not adequate attention has so far been paid either by the Planning Commission or the concerned Ministries of the Government of India.

A case in point illustrating this aspect of some of our public sector undertakings can be found in most of the public sector steel plants. At the one-million ton capacity level, with the type of plant set up in most of these undertakings optimum production should be possible with a labour force of 6,,000 men or thereabouts. Taking this as the legitimate potential of employment in these projects on the production side upto their one million ton capacity level, the capital employmed on these projcts per unit of labour employable would work out to very nearly Rs. 40.000 per capita. This, in terms of the investment and industrial pattern of the country would definitely be regarded as being of a pri-marily capital-intensive character. But the actual labour force employed at these projects on their respective operational programems has turned out to be well over 200 per cent or even more of the standard employment potential. This, on the face of it, has been a comparatively overwhelming labour-intensive production organization on a pattern which is basically of a capital-intensive structure. The result is inevitably wasteful of both capital which is so woefully scarce in this country, as well as of productivity. Even on comparatively more modern and highly sophisticated plants employing many times the capital that the less sophisticated pre-war steel plants called for, the labour going into per ton production of steel computed in terms of man-hours employed, remains substantially near the level where it was in the old days. It is well known that the cost of production of steel in India has gone up by more than a hundred per cent since 1952. With the more up-to-date and sophisticated plants put down in the public sector since, it should be legitimate to expect that the cost of production would go down below the pre-1953 standards for, with these more up-to-date and sophisticated plants, the man-hour cost of production per ton of steel should legitimately have gone down very substantially. Unfortunately, the reverse seems to have been the case and while India was among the cheapest steel producing countries of the world in 1953—although her gross output was vry little indeed—she has now come to be regarded as among the dearest steel producers of the world.

When those public sector plants were laid down with the help of very substantial foreign exchange loans, it was contended that the country would be able to liquidate her commitments in this behalf by expert-earnings of steel among other things. It is true that India has not yet an exportable surplus in steel—she is still a net buyer from the world markets—but even had she such an exportable surplus, it is doubtful if she would be able to effectively compete on the world market with costs of production being as high as they are today.

What would appear to have been substantially adding to the cost of production is the obvious production failures of our steel plants. With the current expansions to existing plants, India's total laid down steel capacity by the end of the Third Plan period would aggregate well over 6.6 million tons. At the beginning of the current Plan period it was already over 6 million tons. From an assessment made by a study group of the Planning Commission some time ago, it appears that the actual level of production in terms of ingot steel at the end of he Plan period is not expected to rise beyond some 5.8 million tons or, roughly will be approximately one million tons below capacity. Here is an obvious additional factor

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which would seem to have been substantially contributing to the rising costs of steel production in the country. It may be recalled that Sir Biren Mookerjee, Chairman of the Indian Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., in course of his annual statement to the shareholders of his company last year, emphatically underlined the fact that steel costs were too high and it was essential in the interests of development and to enable Indit to acquire necessary competitive strength in world markets, that this cost should be substantially reduced. Unfortunately Sir Biren's statement in this behalf does not appear to have created the impact on the thinking and programme planning of the Planning Commission and the Government which, coming as it did from a man of his experience and sagacity would seem to have deserved. The public sector today, owns just over fifty per cent of the total laid down steel capacity in the country and the proportion, when the other projected steel plants—at Bokaro, in Goa and in Madras—go up would be substantially higher. It would be legitimate to expect that with the latest technology based and highly more sophisticated plants in the public sector there should be an immediate and substantial shift towards progressive reductions in production costs which, eventually would also compel more efficient production management in the two large private sector steel plants in the eventual course. From facts as they have so far been emerging. it would appear that the efficiency of the public sector plants have continued to be at a far lower level than those in the private sector. This is a matter which, we feel, have not so far been realistically investigated and assessed.

What has been said about the public sector steel plants may with equal justification be asserted about other large industries in the public sector also. There has been the chronic case of the D.V.C. which has well nigh passed into a scandalous saga of inefficiency, incompetence, irresponsibility and wholesale imperviousness to all public criticism, however legitimate they may be, on the part of the concerned authority and that of the administration of the Corporation itself. Then again there is the story of the West Bengal Government's Durgapur Project with its multipurpose programmes, which has been another chronic and most reprehensible example of irresponsibility, incompetence and waste. The project may not be regarded, as such, as responsibility of the Central Government since it was part of a Plan programme especially since the resources deployed project have been obtained partly partly with the assistanre of the Central ment, they should have the right to quest manner in which the affairs of this Weg project is being conducted. In any case deal of public resources have been pour this project and the Union Government have both the right and the obligation to that it is managed in conformity with quiremens of public interest.

Fresh thinking on Coal Needed

With the Third Plan coal target finally at 96 million tons by 1965-66—it recalled that the coal target in the Plan revised at least twice, first to place it 105 million tons and then to reduce present 96 millions—indications now would seem to suggest that the demand likely to exceed very much beyond some tons. The responsibilities of the private in realising this coal target have been far greater than those of the public sector tioning under the National Coal Development Corporation. In connection with another in these columns, we have already seen public sector's performance has consistently below its allocations in the Plan. The sector, however, have been endeavouring fil the obligations placed on it and suffering in consequence. It will be recalled that the Parliamentary Committee on sector undertakings has, in course of its reports, underlined the need for Government formulate more realistic targets to avoid and bungling. This was in the context production targets of the public sector was not in a position to fulfil. The same may be made in respect of the allocations to the private sector by very nearly enough to fulfil which, the private sector coal would now seem to be in trouble. It has new capital in order to be able to fulfil

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

duction targets allocated to it. But the assessment of demand by the Planning Commission would appear to have been exaggerated out of all realistic proportions, with the result that this very important industry is now facing a varieties of problems stemming from its endeavours to fulfil its obligations to the national economy as conceived by the Planning Commission. Pithead stocks are said to have hugely accumulated with the result that production rates has had to be slowed down and from indications now available, it does not seem likely that the industry will be able to pull out of its present problems at least for some years to come. It appears that estimates of demand have been exaggerated from what should be their realistic level by approximately 30 per cent. Assuming that the tentative estimates of demand during the coming Fourth Plan may have, likewise, been accentuated by a like proportion, a great deal of the fresh capital invested in the industry by the private sector would seem likely to prove infructuous even when the increased demands likely to eventuate in the Fourth Plan have been taken into account.

Currently, the Ministry of Mines and Steel have published their tentative estimates of the demand for coking coal at approximately 47 million tons. Of this the public sector ras been asked to contribute 21 million tons and the private sector has been expected to supply the balance which would mean doubling its outuput of coking coal. The NCDC has frankly confessed that it does not expect to raise more than 17 million tons from the outside, which would mean that the private sector would be expected to raise its output of coking coal to something like 30 million tons. As the Chairman of the Indian Mining Association is reported to have observed, "would pose a formidable challenge, since a substantial portion of this sector's contribution must come from mines arising with stowing, and from vertical development in depth. It will require a fresh flow of capital on an impressive scale. Again, stowing must play a signigcant part, sufficiency of sand supplies will have to be ensured. The growth of coaking coal production, moreover, will have to be washed and if the washing capacity and the expansion in steel does not keep pace with production of coking coals, the industry's investments may be rendered largely sterile."

Apart from the problems enumerated above, sizeable reserves of coking coal are known to lie in small mines and it is necessary to effect a process of amalgamations to enable effective exploitation of these reserves to be adequately ensured. The progress made in this direction cannot certainly be claimed to have been encouraging.

One of the principal lessons of the Third Plan in respect of the coal industry would seem that reliance on past input-output coefficients can lead to an average error of somewhere around 30 per cent in consumption forecastes. As already observed, against the Third Plan target of 96 million tons, demand is not now expected to exceed some 73 million tons. This attenuation of demand cannot be said to have flowed from srortfalls in the output of the coal-consuming industries but rather from the shortfalls of input by them.

So far as coking coal is concerned, the principal problem would seem to be its ash contents which appears to have been steadily going upwards of a proportion which is not found elsewhere in the world and which, therefore, poses a particularly intractable problem to the steel industry of the country. It appears that inspite of all the scrubbing that may be given to it, the ash contents of the coal is seldom below 16 per cent. The steel industry has been carrying out various experiements to obviate this problem. Oil injection is known to have been used by the Tatas and Bhilai has been experimenting with fluxes to find out if non-coking coal can take it. Both experiments, if successful, would have the effect of reducing the use of metallurgical coal which should go to indicate the likelihood of the actual demand for metallurgical coal to be far less than the present estimates envisage. It is just possible that innovations that may be introduced, for instance in the projected steel plants in Goa and Madras partly using naptha for their blast furnaces from the refineries with a proportional admixture of coking coal, the demand for coking coal would be reduced still further.

With all these facts before us, it is reasonable to visualize that the market for metallurgical coal may have to pass through a period of listlessness, if not actual attenuation. Washing may reduce some of the problems,, but the cost factor has to be reckoned with for washing, for all

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

practical purposes, is known to virtually double the cost. Even then, the price offered—having considered the considerable reduction by weight of the coal required after washing—may not prove to be very attractive to the industry. There, naturally therefore, is reluctance on the part of the private sector coal industry to increase its raisings of metallurgical coal. Most of those it has been supplying has been derived mainly from depillarizations in existing mines and very little from new depths whch would involve considerable measures of fresh investment. It is understood that a rise in the price of coking coal is at present under consideration and it is possible that a substantial measure of rise will eventuate within the next five years or so. Even then, having regard to its experiences during the current Plan period, the private sector may not feel hugely enthused over the increased targets for coking coal and may remain reluctant to go in for the fresh investments that contribution of its allocated quotas the target would involve unless it is assured that the estimates of demand now given out are realistic and that mining for increased output of metallurigcal coal would be ensured reasonable profitability over a period of years within the next two decades or so.

Food Policy : Defects and Dangers

Although the principal issues of a food policy which were being hotly debated a few months ago, appear, at least for the time being, to have receded into the background on account of the relatively favourable trends in the supplies of food grains, a closer examination of the contents and implications of the present food policy, on a long term view of the matter, should indicate the defects and dangers inherent in what may at best be described as only the present negative policy in this behalf. It is unlikely, of course. that having regard to the distinct improvement in the supplies and price position anent food-grains that has eventuated with the new harvest a few months ago, that Mr. Subramaniam will have a hard task to face when he has to reply, in course of the next few days, to the debate on the demand for his Ministry's grants. It will, in any case, be much easier for him than [illegible] had to defend his Government's muddle [illegible] question of rice supply to Kerala [illegible] Nevertheless it is not easy to be so re[illegible] convincing on the point of his Gov[illegible] preparedness for the future.

In spite of the interruptions in [illegible] account of the U.S. Longshoremen's [illegible] the resulting cuts in grains allocation[illegible] States, serious complaints about deficie[illegible] supply appear to have been absent so far. [illegible] no doubt, are still substantially higher th[illegible] they were a year ago, but they have [illegible] declined quite substantially from the [illegible] prevailing in September last year. Go[illegible] appear to have already procured 1.6 mi[illegible] of rice for the Central Pool by about the [illegible] March and if it is maintained over the [illegible] months before the lean season sets in, the [illegible] gate purchases for the Central Pool may [illegible] be quite comfortable. This would seem [illegible] essential as building up an adequate buff[illegible] would seem to be quite pivotal in the [illegible] situation.

The wheat position, unlike rice, [illegible] remains hazy and uncertain. Produc[illegible] casts indicate a substantial increase over la[illegible] Substantial imports since last year have, [illegible] however, not been augmenting buffer [illegible] because distribution has kept proportion[illegible] Generous measures of assistance from [illegible] and Canada may obviate the developme[illegible] serious situation, but buffer stocks, ho[illegible] would seem to be a paramount necessity [illegible] long-term food policy.

The Price policy remains, again, [illegible] and hazy. Revision of Central food [illegible] prices by some 30 per cent in the case [illegible] and 50 per cent for rice, would seem to [illegible] Government's abdication of initiative to [illegible] ted market trends. Their plea that this [illegible] to suitably relate prices to market trend[illegible] they also insist, is in conformity with t[illegible] of price support to the farmer with a [illegible] incentive for higher production [illegible] read as Government's inability to [illegible] initiative in implementing their pro[illegible] without outside pressure.

—0—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HAR DAYAL AND RAM CHANDRA

An Assessment of two Gadar Leaders

By Prof. KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE

This is the fourth of a series of articles on Indian Revolutionary Activity in the United States. Each article in the series, is however, complete in itself. The third one entitled The Gadar Movement and the Hand of Germany will be published later.

In a technical sense, the name Gadar has some particular reference to the Indian revolutionaries of the west coast of America and their Indian agents working elsewhere. Not all the persons we have so far named in the context of the Gadar movement, were formally members of the Gadar party or organization. This organization represented a compact group. Thanks to the distribution of its inflammatory literature and the publicity given it by the British Indian administrators who apprehended a rebellion in the country, the organization was taken particular note of by the Indo-British political and administrative circles. Somehow, the whole process and scheme of revolutionary plots and conspiracies during 1914-1916 in and out of India with a view to creating unrest and insurrection in the Indian sub-continent came to assume a collective name —the Gadar movement. They were all parts of a general scheme of organizing mutiny and insurrection. As such, the name is justified. But, they were not, in all cases, organized by the California group.

These observations are made not to underrate the importance of the Gadar organization. During the San Francisco trial it became some sort of a central theme. But for a proper understanding of the nature and the scope of the Indo-German Conspiracy movement, it is also necessary to remember that the Gadar, though perhaps the largest single unit, was not the only unit working for India's independence on dangerous lines. As we proceed, we shall have occasions to see that even within the Gadar organization there developed factions weakening the bigger movement.

In the initial phase, however, the Gadar organization, as has been seen earlier, was compact, well-knit and strong. When the World War broke out, Ram Chandra had charge of the Gadar propaganda machinery, and was, in effect, the leader of the organization. He was a handsome young man with large penetrating eyes. His face had the stamp of a dignified personality and resolution.[1] An ardent patriot with a commendable record of political work back at home[2] Ram Chandra was conscious of his abilities. That intellectually he was far above most of his compatriots of the Gadar party is beyond question. Uncompromising and subjective in his attitude at times, he appears to have been eager for publicity and had a taste for power and authority. That was a perfectly normal instinct all the more because of his qualities. Ram Chandra died a controversial figure, shot fatally in the court room by a Sikh co-accused during the San Francisco trial, and was denied the opportunity of defending himself against the insinuations that have been whispered since then. The motive of the assassin could not be known since he also was shot dead immediately after this tragedy in the same court room by a preserver of the law and order. There is much that can be said in favour of Ram Chandra. Of that, later and in the proper context.

It was not difficult for Ram Chandra to make himself an effective figure and a power amongst the Indian revolutionaries in the United States. By the time he was assassinated "Ram Chandra was perhaps the most widely known Hindu in America after the departure of his associate, Har Dayal....."[3] He gained this eminence through the handling of the party newspaper *the Hindustan*

1. His pictures were published in the San Francisco newspapers. Besides, I saw a few of his photographs preserved by the members of his family in the United States.
2. *The Modern Review*, February, 1965.
3. *The New York Times*, April 24, 1918.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Gadar, the organization of an Indian News Service, the publication of several pamphlets furthering the Indian Cause, and by contributing letters to the American newspaper press on different aspects of British rule in India. We reproduce below a few extracts from a letter that was published in the *New York Times* with a double column headline on the editorial page. These extracts and his other publications reveal the working of the Indian agitator's mind. The title of the letter in question is—What Young India Has in Mind.[4] The letter was a rejoinder to Lord Hardinge's statement on the political situation in India given to the London correspondent of the *New York Times*. Ram Chandra writes, "I repudiate in the most emphatic terms that the 'Young India Party' whose organ Hardinge says our paper is, can in any sense be called 'anarchistic'[5].... We are not anarchistic but republicans....Our plan is constructive, first and last. We aim at nothing less than the establishment in India of a republic, a Government of the people, by the people, for the people in India."

"In support of my contention that the Gadar Party is not anarchical, I submit a quotation from the opening speech of Bevan Petman, the Crown Prosecutor at the trial of some men of the Young India (Gadar) party before the Lahore Special Tribunal, (April 26, 1915):

'The aim and object of this formidable conspiracy was to wage war on his Majesty, the King Emperor, to overthrow by force the Government as by law established in India, to expel the British and to establish "Swadeshi" or independent national Government in the country.'"

In several such letters to the American Press and through his pamphlets in English, Ram Chandra sought to draw American attention to the Indian problem. He also wrote against the U.S. Government's Immigration policy towards the Indians. The propaganda in English was primarily aimed at capturing American public opinion.[6] Through the medium of the weekly *Hindustan Gadar*, Ram Chandra kept up the anti-British tirade.[7] Till the rift in the ranks of the... the *Hindustan Gadar* was the official organ of the organization. Early in 1917 Bhagwan... started his own paper in collaboration with other Sikh Gadar workers.[8] Even after the... of this rival the paper edited by the Hindu... from Peshwar continued to be the more... and popular one. During the early stages of the war Ram Chandra had practically the sole... of issuing the propaganda materials to be... buted in India and elsewhere amongst... Indians or, Indian soldiers and prisoners... war.[9] As the leader and most powerful... the Gadar organization he was in close touch... the German Consul-General in San Fra... Like several others in the conspiratorial... also was a recipient of German money. He... large hand in recruiting Sikhs and others... patch to India for purposes of insurrec... activity at home. We shall have occasion to... that at a later stage, his propaganda and... were frowned upon by certain quarters... were not producing the desired results. The... committee in the United States was reor... more than once at the instance of the Ber... Committee, whereby Ram Chandra's posi... a little weakened, but he could not be sile...

4. *Ibid*, July 8, 1916, 8:7.

5. Hardinge had said, "The Gadar Party, so called because of the paper of that name, which is printed abroad and introduced secretly, is frankly anarchistic."

6. Mark Naidis, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-256.

7. "The theme of all these issues... Gadar) is the same, namely to go to India... up Ghadr to defeat the English and t... Government of the country from them." ... Committee Report, p. 168.

8. Spellman, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

9. Preston in the course of his... address said, "We have Von Brincken (... military attache of the German Consulate... Francisco) out in the night time taking... out of this place for the purpose of taking... to be scattered by aeroplanes behind the... order to produce mutiny among the... soldiers on the battlefield." Trial... p. 6876.

That a considerable number of ... Gadar) were reaching Burma might be... inferred from the fact that as soon as ... was introduced for postal communication... quantities were seized. As many as ... containing copies of the Gadar, published... 24th January 1915, were intercepted. ... Committee Report, p. 169.

It may be reasonably concluded that ... Gadar reached many of the countries ... able Indian population.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ram Chandra continued to be a power to reckon with in the internal set-up of the Indo-German conspiracy.

The importance of Ram Chandra in the history of the Indo-German conspiracy movement, specially in its early phase, is also brought out from the following reference to Douwes Dekker, Dutch revolutionist, in an issue of the San Francisco Chronicle.[10] In 1915 Dekker was a paid agent of the Berlin India Committee, receiving 500 pounds a month, and had undertaken to spread doctored German war news and propaganda throughout India. He passed through San Francisco sometime before December, 1915 on his way to India, and is said to have numerous conferences both in San Francisco and Oakland with Ram Chandra and others. It may be mentioned here that Dekker became a Government witness at the San Francisco trial.

To come back to Har Dayal. A fervent patriot and idealist Har Dayal had already had the experience of propaganda work in India, England and France.[11] He could not be in the United States for long. But before he fled the country in March 1914, he had lent dignity to the Gadar organization. It is doubtful if with all the money and the enthusiasm any other of the Pacific Coast Indians could have attained so much of success as Har Dayal had done. It is interesting to recall, however, that during his brief stay in India before he came over to the United States Har Dayal advocated passive resistance as a means to the attainment of India's freedom. As an organizer of the Gadar movement in America he prescribed violence. This would, very easily, give one guessing. Was his interest in passive resistance just a passing phase? Was it a camouflage to bluff the Indian Government since by choosing to utilize the State scholarship, he had made himself a marked man? Did he really believe in violence right from the very beginning of his political career? These and similar other questions with respect to his eventful career pose themselves. It is also interesting to note that years later, in 1939, Har Dayal died a pacifist while engaged in a lecture tour in the United States.

Besides, one is tempted to ask, in the context of the Indo-German conspiracy, what was his specific role in that movement, and, how far was his leadership constructive and effective? We shall try to meet these questions even on the basis of the meagre materials in our hand.

It has been mentioned already that Har Dayal, even though he had been appointed to a three-member delegation to represent before the U.S. Government and legislature in Washington on the issue of the Asiatic Exclusion Bill, took no part in it.[12] The Khalsa Diwan Society of Stockton (California) undertook to meet the expenses in this connection. Anyway, Har Dayal does not appear to have been with the delegation in Washington.

It is difficult to say when exactly Har Dayal came to Berlin from Switzerland whither he had gone from the United States. Mrs. Sarangadhar Das, a Swiss lady called for the United States, in her testimony before the court said that when she sailed for America on August 28, 1914, she carried a few letters at the insistence of Har Dayal (one to Ram Chandra another to Munshi Ram) written in Hindi or Urdu which she could not read. But she destroyed them and informed Har Dayal about their fate.[13] In a letter dated Geneva, January 8, 1915 to Mrs. Das who was then in the United States, Har Dayal writes, "I am allright and busy now. Work for India is also being done successfully in many directions. Good results are expected to follow. Let us wait. There are too many hindering circumstances though."[14] Mrs. Das knew Har Dayal at Stanford University in 1912.[15]

In a letter to this lady dated Berlin February 19, 1915, Taraknath Das says, ". . . . X is here about a month." Mrs. Das said that X referred to Har Dayal.[16] It appears, therefore, that Har Dayal was not one of the 'on the spot' Berlin conspirators till January, 1915. The letters which Mrs. Das carried may have contained only his own personal views rather than the agreed opinions of the Berlin Committee. That everything was not going on well and hat Har Dayal may not have wielded consequential in-

10. *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 5, p. 11. Also *San Francisco Chronicle*, mber 7, 1917, p. 12.
11. *The Modern Review*, November, 1964, 358-359.
12. *Ibid*. February, 1965, pp. 98-99.
13. *Trial Records*, pp. 1322-1324.
14. *Ibid*. p. 1339.
15. *Ibid*. p. 1317.
16. *Ibid*. p. 1315.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

fluence tend to be borne out by some evidence that came up during the Conspiracy trial. This may be discussed later. In another letter dated February 10, 1915 to this Swiss lady again Taraknath Das says, "From a long talk with Har Dayal, among other things I understand that sometime before you left Switzerland he gave you several letters to be delivered to his friends. For some reason unknown to Har Dayal you did not deliver them to the proper parties. In the meantime some of Har Dayal's friends of San Francisco writes to him that his letters were given to Ire or to me . . . . It has been also reported and the general impression here is that you a simple and innocent lady in confidence gave me those letters to be delivered to the parties and I in mere spite against Har Dayal or owing to some party feeling destroyed them. Others hold the view that as a young and frivolous girl, you were influenced by me and were induced to destroy Har Dayal'c letters to create disadvantages for him etc. In the meantime Har Dayal has got a letter from you that you yourself destroyed the letters but did not mention any reasons in it . . . I must say that I have been unjustly put in a position of a mean contemptible conspirator . . . ."[17] In the other letter of February, 19, to which a reference has already been made, Taraknath Das says, "Here there was a great row when Ramsay[18] of San Francisco sent news that I had destroyed the letters which Har Dayal gave you or you acted as my cat's paw."

Nothing has been known about the contents of the letters. It may not be unreasonable to conclude, however, from the little information that may be gleaned from them that Har D... was not in a position to direct the [illegible] spirators in America from Europe, ... internal squabbles and differences were ... up.[19] It may be pointed out here that ... padhyay and Pillai were the two most ... members of the Indian group in Berlin. ... Chattopadhyay was the President of the ... dence Committee.

Besides, it appears that Har Dayal's ... tions were not always acted upon by the ... revolutionists in the United States. Jodh ... who figured in the Chicago trial (not to be ... up with the more important San Francisco ... was instructed by Har Dayal in Berlin to ... in San Francisco and help around in the ... tionary movement . . . ."[21] He was ... that the German Goevrnment was willing ... financial help and do everything for the ... of a revolution in India. "I finally ... New York using a false passport where I ... L. Gupta. He told me that I should go ... Siam expedition and not remain in San Fr... I objected, he insisted." Singh then ... Chicago where he met George Boeh... Sterneck. They were to go with the exp... It is clear that H. L. Gupta who happ... be the leader of the Indian revolutionar... in the United States when Jodh Singh ... acted contrary to the wishes of Har Dayal.

The differences with Har Dayal ... expressed by Dr. C. K. Chakravarty ... put in charge of the Indian conspiracy in ... in its concluding phase. Answering a ... put by the court, Chakravarty said, "I ... this that the last two years I knew Har ... he was advocating a degree of violence ... I emphatically disagreed with him, and ... many bitter discussions with him, and ... finally we were so far apart on this ques... there was absolutely no object of ... any further discussions in regard to ... Chakravarty really meant what he said ... sensible interpretation is that Har ... counsel was not always respected. ... significant that Ernest J. Euphrat, a ...

17. *Trial Records*, pp. 1343-44.

18. *Ibid.* p. 1345. The Court : Q. Who is Ramsay ? A. Ram Chandra.

19. This is corroborated by the contents of the copy of a letter which the writer chanced to find in a box containing Gadar pamphlets etc. which was very kindly lent by Dr. Jacoby of Asia Studies Centre, Berkeley, California. In the letter in question, Taraknath Das writes to Surendra Karr from Washington D. C. on May 29, 1920, ". . . . it is absolutely necessary to correct the wrong impression you have in your mind 'that all the leaders of the Gadar Party were against me. I had the closest friendly relation and co-operation with mostly all of the principal workers of the party except Har Dayal, Ram Chandra and Kashi Ram.

21. Sperry, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

22. *San Francisco Examiner*, ... 1917, New Section 2, p. 1.

23. *Trial Records*, p. 1059.

CC-0 In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ait man said that he had met Von Wisendonk (who was secretary in charge of the Indian section of the German Foreign Office) and V. ...Chattopadhyay at Berlin. He does not mention any other Indian. Euphrat agreed to carry two verbal messages to the United States. One was for Dr. Ernest Sekunna, who was subsequently arrested along with Dr. Chakravarty, asking him to notify the Berlin Committee whether Chakravarty was dead or alive. The other message was to notify Ram Chandra "to stop his propaganda as it was expensive and of no use to the Committee." Euphrat was instructed to communicate to Chandra through the German Consulate in New York.[24]

It is reasonable to infer that Har Dayal did not come to Berlin before January 1915. From the foregoing analysis, it seems that his was not the deciding voice with respect to the programme of revolution in general, or the movements of individual revolutionists. But, in October 1915, Har Dayal had written two letters to Alexander Berkman who, along with Emma Goldman was subsequently sentenced to imprisonment for "their conspiracy to interfere with the draft." Har Dayal who wrote under the assumed name of 'Israel Aaronson' urged Berkman to send "some earnest and sincere comrades" to help the Indian Revolutionary Party. Berkman was asked by the Indian revolutionist to communicate with him by code telegrams in care of Madame Kercher, whose address was given as 116 Oude Scheveningerweg, Scheveningen, Holland. In the second letter Berkman was asked to send "real fighters, I.W.W's[25] and anarchists." He was assured that 'our Indian party' would make all necessary arrangements.[26]

It is difficult to make a correct appraisal of Har Dayal's moves as indicated by the letters. He does not refer to Berlin but talks of a new conspiracy centre in Amsterdam. He does not approach Alexander Berkman through the German Consulate but writes directly to him. His suggestions regarding the nature of the revolutionary work are vague. In the second letter he says, "Can you send me some earnest and sincere comrades, men and women, who would like to help our Indian revolutionary movement in some way or the other? I need the co-operation of very earnest comrades. Perhaps you can find them at New York or Paterson. They should be real fighters, I.I.W's or anarchists." What sort of people did he really want and for what purpose? How did he secure the finances? Did the plan of action he had in mind, have the approval of any revolutionary committee, or, was he proceeding on his own? Was he acting on behalf of a group, or, in his individual capacity? These are some of the questions that have no ready answers. They shroud Har Dayal with an element of mystery and do not help us to arrive at a correct assessment of his role in the revolutionary movement now that he was in Europe. The assessment made by Bhupendra Nath Datta who had worked with him

---

24. *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 10, ...p. 9.

25. International Workers of the World, a ...wing organization in the U.S.A.

26. *The New York Times*, February 25, 1918. ...2 and *Trial Records*, pp. 1336-39. Both the letters (contained in envelopes) ...addressed to Alexander Berkman, care of ...ber Earth Office, West 125th Street, near ...h Avenue, New York. The first was post...ked—Amsterdam, Oct. 24, 1915 and dated ...ber 20, 1915. The second was postmarked ...ber 26, 1915. In the first letter Har Dayal says, "This is ...reat opportunity for our party . . . Several ... of our comrades have come from India with encouraging news and messages . . . .

"Kindly also send me names and addresses of the prominent anarchist comrades in Spain, Denmark, France, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Austria and other European countries."

In the second letter Har Dayal says, "If some comrades wish to come, they should come to Holland. We have a centre in Amsterdam, and Dutch comrades are working with us." Then further down, ". . . . all financial arrangements will be made by our party. News from India is good."

It is inexplicable why Har Dayal says that news from India is good, specially after the collapse of the 1915 February insurrection. Michael O'Dwyer's assessment has a different note. "By August 1915, that is within nine months of the first outbreak, we had crushed the Ghadr rebellion. Nearly all the leaders and many of their most active adherents were in our hands awaiting trial or were brought to justice later, internal order was restored, and, above all, the Sikh Community had again proved its staunch loyalty." O'Dwyer, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and from whose book (in Bengali)—*Aprakasita Rajnaitik Itihas* (2 vols.)—R. C. Majumdar draws some materials which is unequivocal. Datta does not ascribe any important role to Har Dayal. "On the other hand, Datta has made many deprecatory remarks against him. He is charged with attempts to create dissensions within the Berlin Committee in order that he himself might prove as the only representative of Indian revolution before the German Government. He was expelled from the Committee for his intrigues, but received constant help from the German Government for carrying on his individual activities from Holland, Vienna and Sweden during 1915-18. Yet, in his book, *Four Years in Germany*, Har Dayal wrote that the German Government virtually kept him a prisoner, and did not allow him to freely move out of Germany. After mentioning all this Bhupendra Nath Datta categorically asserts that Har Dayal's book is a tissue of lies."[27]

Har Dayal made a public recantation of his political views in the pages of the *New Statesman* of England.[28] The articles were reproduced at considerable length by the *New York Times*.[29] In a biographical note the Editor of the *New Statesman* says, "In December, 1914, the German 'Government invited him to come to Berlin, where for 12 months he devoted himself to the development of plans for a rebellion in India." This fits in with our suggestion, confirmed by the trial records that he came to Berlin from Switzerland sometime in January, next year and had no direct share in the formulation of the revolutionary programme in Germany in the early months. In October we see him corresponding, most probably in his personal capacity, with Alexander Berkman. "His experience, however, of German methods," the Editor continues, "especially in Turkey and Asia Minor, changed his views." We are then told that Har Dayal did not conceal the change and wanted to [illegible] many. This was not allowed, "and for [illegible] half years he was practically interned." [illegible] course, is a repetition of Har Dayal's own [illegible] In October, 1918, he was permitted to [illegible] Stockholm.

According to the *New York Times*, Har [illegible] proceeded to Constantinpole from Berlin [illegible] representative of the Berlin-India Committee [illegible] stir up discontent, mutiny and trouble [illegible] among the British Indian troops then operating [illegible] Palestine and other parts of the Near East. [illegible] the two articles the noted revolutionist explained [illegible] why his attitude changed from that of one of [illegible] Britain's bitterest enemies to a supporter of [illegible] control in India and other eastern countries [illegible] the British charge. A profound change [illegible] Har Dayal was writing off his entire political [illegible]

Har Dayal said that the breaking up of [illegible] British Empire in Asia would lead "only to the [illegible] of masters for the peoples of India and [illegible] Coming to the question of the German ambition [illegible] Dayal said, "A German Empire in Asia was [illegible] nigh within the range of practical politics. [illegible] The cry 'Berlin—Baghdad' was ominous [illegible] ears. . . . . ." Har Dayal then chooses [illegible] the evils. "Imperialism is always an evil," [illegible] says, "but British and French imperialism [illegible] worst forms is a thousand times preferable [illegible] man or Japanese imperialism." Looking [illegible] future, Har Dayal says, ". . . . it is the [illegible] wisdom for us not to tempt fate but to [illegible] the protection of the British fleet and army [illegible] quiet, sunny home of Hindustan, and to [illegible] best of our position in the Empire." He [illegible] izes an empire with India as a part of it [illegible] rich enough for all, and we need not [illegible] another. ..... Thus, the British Empire [illegible] day will be converted into the British [illegible] African Commonwealth of the future. A [illegible] our goal indeed." Har Dayal waxes eloquent [illegible] the quality and the blessings of English [illegible] "No Oriental nation would be a loser if [illegible] its own tongue and learned English instead [illegible] him a primer of English history "is worth [illegible] than all the histories of Asia."[30]

27. Majumdar, *op cit.*, p. 410.

To the writer Mrs. Ram Chandra said, "I am inclined to agree that his (Har Dayal's) role in the Indo-German plots was exaggerated, but I have no information. He did not take an active interest in the S. F. Gadar Party after leaving the U.S. . . . ."

28. Har Dayal, The Future of the British Empire in Asia, *The New Statesman*, March 22 and 29, 1919.

29. *The New York Times*, June 8, 1919, Sec. 2, 3 :1.

30. These views of Har Dayal were [illegible] by many. In a letter to the *New* [illegible] April 5, 1919, an Indian says, "It is [illegible] suppressing the spiritual heritage of a [illegible]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Such views expressed by a stormy petrel like Har Dayal surprised many. They were nothing short of a repudiation by himself of his own political past. Moreover, it was not a slow and painful change of faith and philosophy, but a hurried and easy one. The biographer of Shyamaji Krishnavarma tells us that the latter must have been deeply wounded in his heart when a friend in Berlin sent him the "astounding 'Confession of Faith'—sarcastically called 'the Confession of a Thing'." The author categorically observes that Har Dyal purchased the safety of his earthly existence at the base price of this shameful avowal and assured his immunity from the dire fate which befell some of the noblest of his erstwhile revolutionary disciples."[31] The judgement is undoubtedly harsh. But these controversial views of Har Dyal undoubtedly represent a very big and unexpected change of front on the part of the founder of the Gadar Organization on the Pacific Coast of America. They seem, however, to be in keeping with his shifting interest in political ideas and revolutionary programmes, and, tend to confirm our belief that his role in Europe vis-a-vis the Indo-German Conspiracy has been exaggerated.[32]

---

can make it a worthy member of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

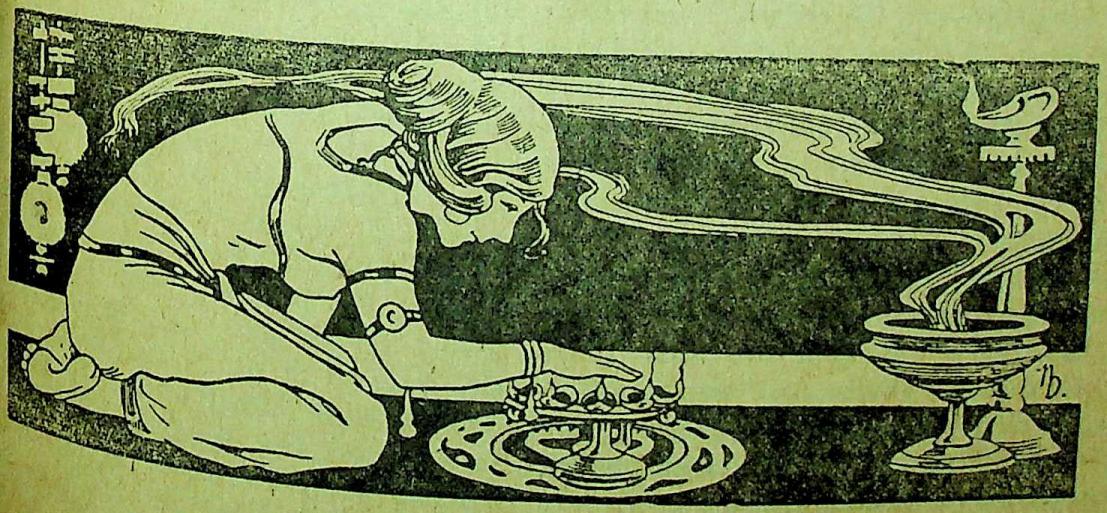
"As to the charge of cowardice which Mr. Har Dayal levels against us, it does us no harm and no honour."

31. *Yajnik, op. cit.*, p. 318.

32. The following excerpts from *Young India*, the monthly organ of the India Home Rule League of America may be quoted in proof of the inconstancy of Har Dayal's views.—"There is a swing of the pendulum in the opinions of Lala Har Dayal. It reminds us of the remarks made by Mr. Lajpat Rai about him in his book *Young India*. Writing of his reported views on anarchism and the use of violence for political ends, Mr. Rai said, 'Nobody however knows what changes are yet to take place in his (Har Dayal's) views. He is a quite uncertain item. He is an idealist of a strange type'."

"The expected has happened. From one pledged to the destruction of the British Empire by all means, fair or foul, Har Dayal changed into not only an admirer, but even an enthusiastic upholder of the same."

"He brands the Indians as incapable of military leadership. ..... He desires the introduction and encouragement of Greek in Indian schools and colleges. While Oxford and Cambridge in England and Harvard and Princeton in America are discarding Greek, Mr. Har Dayal advocates instruction in Greek in Indian schools and colleges."—*Young India*, May 1919, p. 104. This journal published from New York was edited by Lala Lajpat Rai till his return to India late in 1919.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AIMS AND IDEALS OF A SANSKRIT UNIVERSITY IN BENGAL

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

I

There are rumours that our State Government is thinking of setting up a Sanskrit University in Bengal. It is a very laudable project, and is likely to be hailed by the people of Bengal with delight and acclamation. The excellent plea, recently made in the columns of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, for the use of Sanskrit, by Sri Harendra Nath Roychowdhury, our popular Ex-Minister of Education has been endorsed by all right thinking men, and our State is sure to get an enthusiastic backing and support for such an excellent proposal. There has been some discussions as to the suitable site for such an University, but we need not discuss, here, the choice of a site.

We propose to discuss, here, the possible Aims and Ideals of such a University. There is already such a University functioning at Benares. But the proposed new seat of Sanskrit learning need not and *should* not be a carbon copy, or imitation of the Benares Institute.

The principal aim of our proposed new Institution—should be to develop not only higher studies in Sanskrit, but, at the outset,—to take steps to intensify interest in the study of the Language—and to make it popular—and widely extensive in use—so as to develop, and, also to simplify the Language—and to extend its popularity—so as to attain all necessary qualities and characteristics—to ultimately take shape—as the State Language of India—of immense potentiality as an unifying and cementing force—welding the different members of the Indian Union—Bharata—into one emotionally integrated Unit, singing in harmony—like the seven-stringed Instruments of our *Vina*, attuned to one great and Grand Melody.

If this aim is accepted—we must devise special courses of studies—to implement the fundamental plan to make the Language popular—and readily accepted by the maximum numbers of the inhabitants of Bengal.

Experts must put their heads together to find out ways and means how this so-called "Dead Language" could be made extremely active, alive, mobile, and energetic—moving in all directions and dimensions—so as to embrace parts of our life, and serve all practical purposes,—no more confined to the narrow philosophical speculations or of the theological needs of any particular sect.

In its, Grammar, Vocabulary and Idiom we have already a sound, scientific foundation for the Language—qualified to soar to the highest heights, and, to stretch its arms to embrace gradually, all the multiple businesses and necessities of our life,—not merely confined to the narrow necessities of religious rites and ceremonies. In other words, the Sanskrit Language is destined to grow in Length and in Breadth, and develop into a veritable Titan to serve the needs of the Sputnic Age, like unto the Ten-headed Titan—Ravana—of mythical fame.

That our ancient Language—has, within itself, all the potentialities of un-limited growth can be realized—if we study,—how, in ancient times, it has served various other needs and necessities—in the various Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus.

The Secular Sciences of the Hindus—relating to Politics, and Administration (known as *Raja-dharma* and *Artha-sastra*) as expounded by Kautilya and Vishnu-Gupta—have been carefully studied by our scholars (R. K. Mookerji, Rangaswami Ayyangar, Narendra Nath Law and others). Some Sanskrit texts on Algebra have been published by Colebrook. Dr. Hoernle has published a Sanskrit text in Osteology. Sanskrit texts of *Caraka* and *Susruta* have been published. Dr. P. C. Roy—in his *History of Hindu Chemistry*, has also presented the Metallurgical, Physical, and Chemical Theories of the Ancient Hindus. Dr. Brojendra Nath Seal has also presented, (if partially) other branches of the Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus. It is the present writer's good fortune to discover a Text which, in a chapter, has described the Method of construction of *Vata-Yantras*, or *Aeroplanes*. This Text datable in the 12th Century—proves that the Hindus had anticipated the Modern Scientists—in the mechanical conception of Air-transport.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Enough data have been cited to prove that the Sanskrit Language is not confined only to Religious Literature and the Puranas—which have prevented our Pundits and Priests—from studying a large area of Sanskrit Literature —devoted to the Secular Sciences.

The newly proposed Sanskrit University should therefore concentrate on the larger areas of Secular Literature,—hitherto neglected by our short-sighted Scholars—whose visions have been obstructed by the tariff-walls of the Texts of the Vedas and Upanisads—which need *not* now occupy the attention of our future students of Sanskrit, who should now concentrate on extending the boundaries of Sanskrit and making it popular by inducing a large part of our population to study it, as a mere *hobby*—for tasting the sweets of Sanskrit Literature.

II

Having made a short survey of the history of Sanskrit studies—we are now in a position to suggest a Programme, a Plan, and a Syllabus for our new Sanskrit University.

The study of Sanskrit, having regard to its present status—has now no economic basis. Very few people—namely a limited number of teachers and professors—can adopt Sanskrit as a whole-time career. So that a Sanskrit University cannot function with a large numbers of resident, or day-scholars.

Ways and Means have to be found to popularize the study of the Language on the basis of a study—in leisure hours—of a large body of persons—employed in other occupations—than teaching the Language. This can be done (1) by publishing small Primers for imparting elementary knowledge on the lines of "*French In Three Months*" (2) by publishing Higher Readers on the lines of *Bhandarkar's Sanskrit Readers* (3) by publishing a Journal on the lines of *Hugo's French Journal*, arranged in Progressive Courses, (4) by running a Postal Course in teaching Sanskrit Language, (5) and by conducting morning and evening classes at the University.

In short by organizing study courses, to attract and encourage a large number of persons to study the Language—without attending a school or college—excepting short hours in the morning or in the evening—the principal inducement being the lure to taste the wonderful Treasures of Sanskrit Literature—embodied in Romances (*Kadamvari* etc.,), Dramas (Kalidas, Asvaghosa, Bhavabhuti and Bhasa—constituting the finest masterpieces of the World) and Stories and Tales —like the *Katha Sarit Sagara* (ocean of stories), the *Vattris-Simhasanas*, *Dasa-Kumar-Charita*, and other attractive Romances,—*Rasa-Sastra* texts and Erotic Literature.

This scheme to popularize the study of the Language has to be organized and conducted by a learned Group of Experts (Board of studies) working at the University, who besides writing Text-books—and publishing Journals, shall conduct (1) Elocution Classes for acquiring fluency in speaking the Language and (2) arrange for frequent Representations of Sanskrit Plays—with attractive scenaries and stage equipments, with the assistance of a specially trained artists and craftsmen.

The more serious duty of the Professors should be (1) to compile comprehensive Sanskrit Dictionaries : (a) Sanskrit-Bengali, (b) Sanskrit-English, (c) Sanskrit-Hindi—on the lines of *Roth*, *Bothlingk* and *Macdonell* and to bring up-to-date the celebrated *Vacaspatya-Abhidhanam*, (2) to publish smaller and popular lexicons for popular use.

An enormous amount of new vocables and vocabularies, and words—(hitherto un-known) have cropped up—in the numerous Texts of our Sanskrit Inscriptions—edited in the *Epigraphica Indica* (published by Government). Our Professors have to patiently study them and make a collection of new data for building their new Lexicons.

A major branch of work at the university should be to compile (a) a Comprehensive History of Sanskrit Literature in several volimes, with smaller and popular Primers of the History (b) to prepare a Revised Edition of the *Sabda-kalpa-druma*, a monument of Sanskrit studies in Bengal.

Another serious Programme of study by the Professors of the University should be (1) to search for new and hitherto un-known Sanskrit Texts (a) on the Positive Sciences (b) on Music, Drama, and Dancing (c) the large un-edited body of *Silpa-Sastra* Texts—on Painting, Ssulpture, and Architecture (d) Archery (*Dhanurveda*) (e) Fire-Arms.

This important undertaking to discover, edit, and publish unknown Sanskrit Texts is likely to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

bring substantial Income to the University owing to the incessent demand of European Orientalists, Universities and Libraries. So that it will be necessary to provide and maintain a fully equipped Printing Press, with beautiful Types, trained Printers and compositers and other facilities for Printing.

In order to enable our orthodox Pandits to benefit by the study of the works of Foreign Scholars in the field—a class, or classes should be conducted—for teaching our Pundits—a working knowledge of English, German, French and Italian.

The Campus of the University must include following Buildings and Structures (1) A Marble Temple enshrining a stone Image of Sarasvati—reproducing the famous Inscribed Image of the Goddess, which at one time, belonged to Raja Bhoja-Deva'sSanskrit College at Dhar (Dhara-Nagari), destroyed by the Mahomedans, the original Image being now preserved in the British Museum, London, and which was reproduced by the writer in his journal : *Rupam* Jany. 1924). (2) An Image-House (*Pratima-Griha*) on the model of the Sculpture Gallery described in Bhasa's *Pratima-Nataka.* (3) A Theatre House and Natya-Sala for-frequent Dramatic Representation (*Preksanaka*) (4) Three-storied Building to locate a fully equipped Library of Sanskrit Books, Printed books, Journals and Manuscripts —including European Journals of Indology e.g. ZDMG, JRAS, JA, JAOS etc.—, with a large Reading Room on the Ground-Floor (5) A Series of inexpensive structures for the residence of professors and students—to be -entitled : *Adhyapaka-Kutirs* on the models of the Baroda University.

It is said that sometimes a large part of the funds provided by Government to build new Universities are wasted in un-necessarily expensive buildings and luxurious furniture and appointments.

It is suggested that the ideal of Plain Living and High Thinking should be incarnated in the Architecture of the Buildings of the University—yet they must be modelled on the principles of Mediaeval Temple Architecture of India.

As an annexe to The Temple of Sarasvati, mentioned above—a Hall or an Image -House (*Pratima-Griha*) must be set up—which must enshrine (1) the Images or known Portraits of Manu, of the Vedic Rishis—Agastya, Vashishtha, Atri, Angirasa, of Shankarasharyya, [illegible] tari, and of other personages famous in [illegible] Literature (2) a series of Plastic Portraits of [illegible] Sanskrit Scholars, (Indian and Foreign) [illegible] Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara (b) Dr. [illegible] Bhandarkar (c) Pandit Jivananda Vidy[illegible] (d) Pandit Mahes Ch. Naya-ratna (e) [illegible] Haraprasad Sastri (f) Pandit Panchanan T[illegible] ratna (g) Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy (h) [illegible] Jatindra Bimal Chowdhury, II (a) Sir W. [illegible] Jones, (b) Dr. F. Maxmueller, (c) Dr. H. H. [illegible] ("Bhatta Karna") (d) Dr. Charles Rockwe[illegible] man (e) Dr. Sylvain Levi, (f) Dr. Arthur Ber[illegible] Kieth (g) Dr. A.A. Macdonnel (h) Dr. J. Ta[illegible] su, (h) Prof. Lesny (i) Prof. Winternitz[illegible] other Foreign Scholars who have made [illegible] guished contributions to the study of S[illegible] Literature.

The residential quarters should include suitable Guest House for Foreign Scholars Visiting Professors.

The Buildings in the Campus should include a Gymnasium (Vyayam-sala) with Annexe for Yogic Exercises. Lastly,—the C[illegible] must include a Museum & Art Gallery on the of the HaraPrasad Chitra-sala, recently set the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

These Buildings are sure to provide necessary atmosphere—for the residence gallaxy of Scholars—who shall devote their to the development of Sanskrit Literature Language of Gods (*Deva-Vasa*)—to [illegible] serve the needs of the Populace—(the *Devata*)—in an extensive *Lingua Franca* of our new Democracy.

In conclusion, I cannot do better than from a letter of Dr. Freidrich Heiler, P[illegible] of the University of Munich : "I love S[illegible] as the most perfect language of the w[illegible] earthly expression of the enternal *rita*[illegible] Sanskrit verse is heavenly music for [illegible] *I only regret that the Independant Indi[illegible] did not accept Sanskrit as the official l[illegible] of India.* Just as Israel has adapted the language of the Old Testament to mode[illegible] tion. India could do the same with [illegible] Sanskrit"*

* Quoted by Sri D.N. Chakravorty, Secretary, Sanskrit Sahitya Parisad, Ca[illegible] a letter published in the *Amerita Baza* 25 March, 1965.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF ART—1965

BY USAB

The Lalit Kala Akademi, which is generally dormant except in the late winter, organised its annual exhibition in its hall at Rabindra Bhavan, New Delhi, in the month of March, 1965. The Selection and Judging Committee composed of Sarvashri S. Roerich, K. K. Hebbar, G. Venkatachalam, Sankho Chaudhuri and Dinkar Kowshik, considered 1742 exhibits done by 765 artists and selected 197 paintings, 42 drawings and graphics and 45 sculptures executed by 225 artists from all over the country. Even a bird's eye view of the award winning works will reveal that in the estimation of the Judges, the entire eastern region of India—right beyond Lucknow has, at least during the years, lost all aesthetic values. May be there being no code to guide the Judges, they are at liberty to select anything to satisfy their idiosyncracies and award prizes accordingly.

This is the eleventh exhibition of the Akademi, yet a visit to the exhibition conclusively proves that the Akademi has not yet reached a well-founded base. The Education Minister, Shri M. C. Chagla, while inaugurating the All-India Music Festival close to the site of the exhibition, said that improvement and progress in commerce and industry and the like counted little, for preservation and advancement of the cultural traits of a nation showed its assured place in the world. If that is true in the case of classical music, can we not have such laudable aspiration in the realm of contemporary art of our country! The ultra-modern schools of art are unrelated and deformed in describing images of objects we are aware of. They are, therefore, slightly connected with our life and aspirations. May be artists are intellectuals, at times some do consider themselves as such. But the age group, experience and in many instances they do not reveal any higher attitude than that of mere painters. There are, however, noble exceptions as one comes accross in all walks of life.

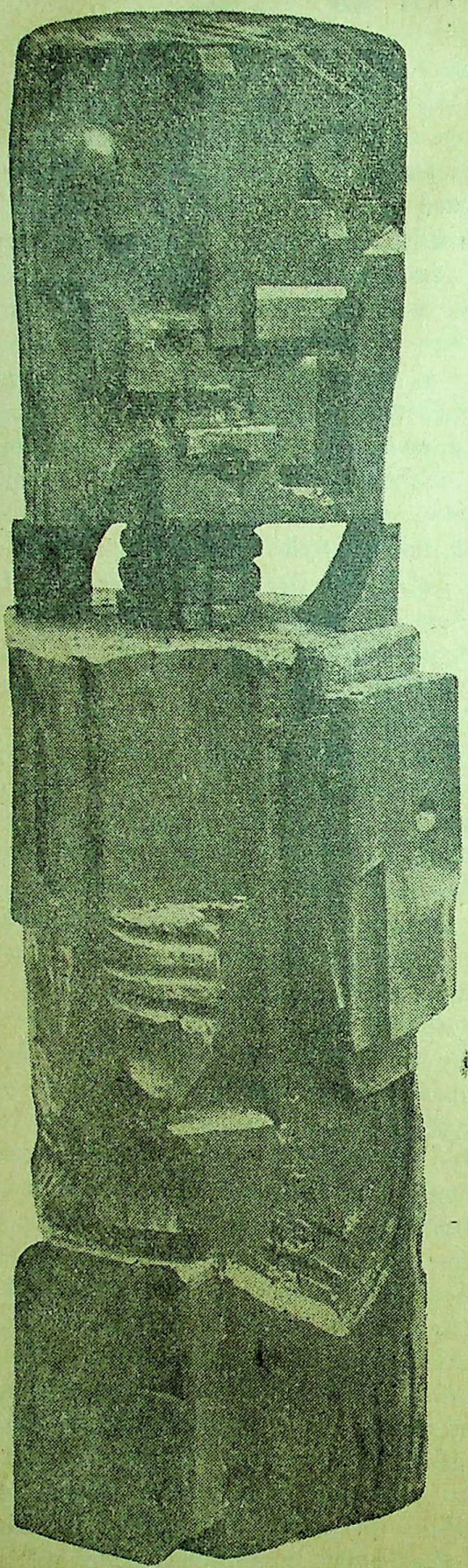
Granting that like other creative fields, the arts should encourage and adopt experiments in styles and expressions, an exhibition of such a magnitude must not ignore some of the established and utilitarian modes of painting. It is gathered that several portraits, Indian art patterns and realistic works were received, but the selectors gave the least preference to these styles. The earlier exhibitions of the Akademi contained varieties including traditional paintings which are now exceptions rather. If cultural facets and literature differ from country to country, art works alone cannot have a strict regimentation as we have to sum up by seeing this show. The Akademi has succeeded in obliterating our traditional art styles. Quite a number of visitors wondered at the scrupulous avoidance of Indian art styles in this "National Exhibition." In the matter of acquiring a good number of exhibitions also, partiality and fondness for the abstract style is discernible.

About sculptures, the selection and judging committee having found quite a few exhibits damaged in transit, has advised artists to restrict sculptor's media to more permanent meterial like stone, metal, terra-cotta and wood only. This year the number of sculptures is comparatively large. In styles too they are more of representative nature than paintings. MOURNER is brass plate shaped with deep and soft impression to display two hands over the face of a woman. It has enough suggestion of flowing hair on both sides of the head, eyebrows, nails and fingers of the hands. Criss-cross specks have been pleasantly used as texture. Kewal Soni has woven BIRDS in almost linear description of a clumpy leafless tree on which a flock of birds, six in number, are flying with their spread-out wings. Although he has avoided details, the up and down arrangement of birds, some having slight attachment to the branches of the tree, give an adequate representative character. Binit Kumar Roy's DOG is a realistic, will-composed, large curved feature of a greyhound standing on three legs and scratching its muzzle with one of the hind legs. Miss. Harbhajan Sandhu has composed a bronze statue entitled GETTING THROUGH, showing a triangular torso balanced on two thin legs. It has one arm jutting out, the other folded up above

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the head with a round hole to depict a woollen pullover being put off. WORKERS is a bas-relief panel done with cream colour plaster by M... Osman Siddique to show several women ... by means of long triangles with round ... on their heads. Mrs. Rita Sinha's PO... reminds us of Epestein's 'Tagore' as she ... it in red terracotta to show a hard face of ... in definite planes, moustouche, a square ... eye and the other round and hollow. It is ... ful in displaying mass and space in cubi... PLAYMATES is an endearing realistic ... statue by N. H. Kulkarni to show two ki... playful mood. One of them is up balanced ... paw and face of the bottom one. Mahen... Pandya has chiseled MOTHER AND CHI... of a dark brown hardwood. The mother ... head turned left and on her left shoulde... baby poised. The mother is graceful, ... dimensions and expressive facial feature... baby has been done in broad sections mi... circular form and has been somehow ... on the shoulder. Rough wavy chiselling ... good dressing. It is a commendable work



"The Image"
(Sculpture in Timber)
Artist : Mrs. Anila Jacob

Then we see the examples of the pre... fad of cosmic figures and architectura... viz. CONSTRUCTION by Dhanraj Bha... FROM THE MARS by M. Dharmani ... FULL OF MUSIC by Kuldip K. Bhal... like. A few resemble totems of tribes ... of these are done with little conviction a...

Narendra Bedi in PORTRAIT OF M... has tried to expose deeper notes of ... broad waves, and finer nuances by ligh... on a tampura which has suggestions ... eyes. Then there is a hybrid experimenta... ture executed by Rajanikant R. Pancha... SCULPTOR'S PAINTING, PANTER'S ... TURE. This has been done by arrangi... dozen rectangular aluminium tiffin b... openings in the centre and perfo... around, through which copper wire ... been woven. Perhaps the artist tries ... vibration of sound in art. Let us now ... sense of smell through work of art as ...

Now we come to the two award... sculptures. The first is by A. M. D... a pharmaceutical chemist and a s... sculptor, displaying SHE AND THREE ... The headless shapes are like square ro... made out of metal sheet. The other by ... Jacob entitled THE IMAGE made ... having a grotesque feature of a ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...tting and cracking female figure has been ...quired by the Akademi.

In the drawing and graphic section, the ...andard is varied if not markedly higher than ...at we saw last year. Jagmohan Chopra's ...ntaglio colour COMPOSITION is abstract in ...pproach revealing in good texture three ...ssy colours, viz., blackish white, then ...eaks in dull white and low chocolate mossy ...ll. Miss. Anju Chaudhuri arranges an orange ...ed woman in siesta in linocut named ...OMPOSITION. It has slight green and deep ...ckgrounds breaks around to focus our view on the ...woman whose thighs are enormous. In THE CHILD ...ramesh Hore has brought out his delicate ...ge of etching process. The figure is archaic, ...ite fantastic, yet delightful for its texture on ...ive background on which is seen a skull like ...ead, a massive body in spotty hues. Across her ...nds is the mummy shapped child. FISH is a ...-tic blue colour etching with white breaks ...green worked out background, by Sailen ...ra. Mohammad Yasin's WORKERS is the ...istic details in bold black and white litho- ...ph to show two well-built women labourers ...h pans on their head moving. Slight touch of ...own chalk has been added to the blank space. ...har Makwana in his wood cut, THE LONELY ...s, in black and grey, shown a dismembered ...e, at the back of which is the outline of a ...n with domes and factories brightened by ...wn and yellow rays of his usual sun flower ...Sun.

Nikhil Biswas has depicted a few struggling ...n figures by drawing woolly pen and ink ...s in FIGHT. J. Sultan Ali in pen and ink ...penned an elaborate description of the world ...making. Here in CREATOR AND THE ...ATURES are added odd animals, long faced ...ded men and women, cloud like patches and ...ssive writing on the paper after horoscope. ...CHAN KAMINI by G. B. Prochand is an ...ssive and able handled line drawing of a ...n on yellow background. The fine black ...shows an Indian woman in proportionate ...res, supple body and also decorated with ...tional ornaments, holding a few drooping ...flowers. Patches of pink and black give ...balance to the figure. This is one of the ...ples of ignored traditional style.

The painting section is the largest and this ...the exhibits are generally very restricted in styles and mannerisms. Perhaps it would have been logical to display a good number of examples of realistic, traditional Indian, portraits side by side with modern art works, for an



Figure of A Woman
(In Oil)
Artist : Tayeb Mehta

exhibition is meant for art-lovers who have fancy for varieties which enlarge their vision on art mannerisms. It is really deplorable that even examples of typical surrealistic, futuristic and action paintings are negligible in number. In THE DARK WALL (Oil) Jivan Adalja has succeeded in composing a house under the low light and shade effect by means of black, grey and white circles and squares after the divisionist method. For it he wins an award. This year the award winning works have been displayed in one corner, although each has its style and approach quite distinct from others ; thus such an arrangement hardly helps the onlookers to assess the comparative merits on this score. THE FAMILY is an admixture of folk art touched with expressionism. In this large oil work Badri Narayan has in broad black lines drawn yellow and brown figure of a man on whose lap is seated a woman in similar tone. On the right top is a cage with a parrot, at the base is the craddle with a lovely baby and under

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

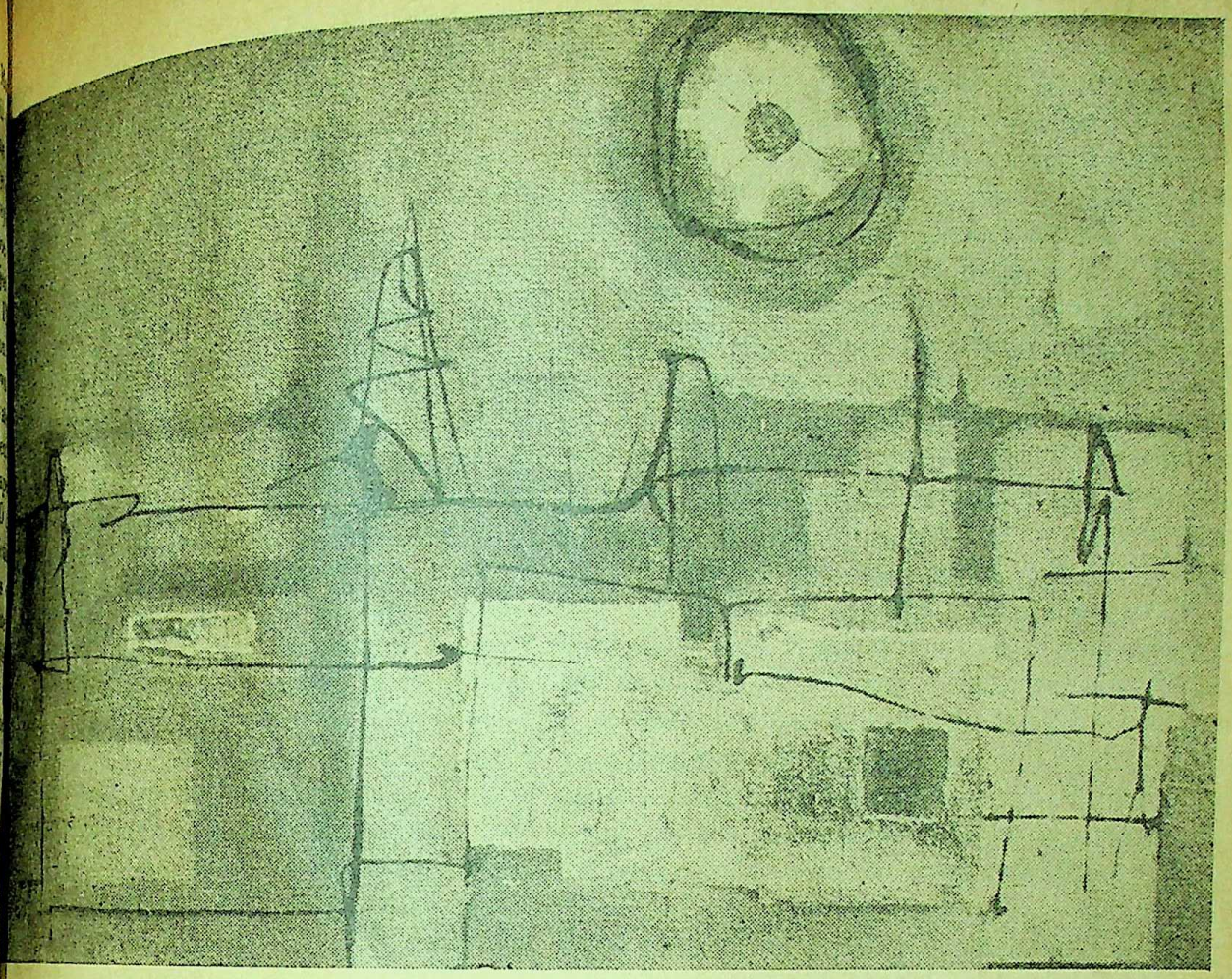
their feet is a cat. The woman has been suffused with crimson patches to show the low mood. He wins an award for it. Ramnik Bhavsar in PAINTING II has shown three-fourths of the top portion of the canvas in bright orange below which are grey to white rectangles broken by a red square, orange circle—all to create the fauvistic feature of a townscape under the setting sun. It is powerful and wins a prize. R. S. Bisht in his award winning oil painting CITYSCAPE III has deployed light blue background over which are deeper hazy bluish pigment and red centred moon with white ground and faint blue halo. Below he shows dreamy black lines on a white house with blue doors and windows. There is a light green patch on the left to create balance. It is an intelligent commixture of black lines after action painting in impressionistic setting. His another oil painting CITYSCAPE II in olive green and other shades of green with lines after action painting style is equally graceful. THE GRACES apparently shows application of black, white, grey and red patches in abstract style, but on closely observing we see outlines of plumpy legs and heads of women and the patches show their feelings at the most. This is also an award winning work. Krishna Khanna has used deep grey ground on which is a rectangular shape fashioned by fur like white patches to depict WINDOW INTO WINTER. This award-winning painting does not show the sense of distance and is rather flat in depiction of the scene. FIGURE OF A WOMAN wins one of the ten awards for the hard expressionistic figure of a manly WOMAN in reminiscent mood. The complexion is greyish white against grey background and the dress is deep blue. K. G. Subramanyan has woven in fauvistic red patches the surrealistic impression of his STUDIO with smaller yellow, orange, blue and violet geometrical splashes as breaks. It is incredibly strange that this loud and unpleasant canvas too wins an award !

Of the very few realistic paintings, which are at the most substantive, we see Nanak Chand Verma's CONSTRUCTION (Oil) has a pleasant, powerful and straightforward depiction of grey rafters, light brown wall, beside which is a tall dull brown section of another house. Slight pink patches and the space in the background give a harmonious view. In FLOWERS (Oil) Syed S. Azmat shows a bunch of dahlias, chrysanthemum and the like in bold impasto of yellow, blue and chocolate on greyish background. Y. ... sudana Rao paints UNMADINI in ... simple white background with a grey ... the right to balance the figure of a ... red eyed woman, scantly clad in supple ... The approach is after water colour, ... the power of oils. Satya Sebak Mukher... given a good account of THE FALLEN ... (Oil) by showing a twisted, uprooted ... on a sandy foreground suffused with brow... pink. In the background is deep blue wa... white sails—all to register the after effe... storm on sea-shore. He has hardly escap... pressionistic style, however. WELCOME TO ... is a soft toned water colour painting de... wet paper the effect of brown to green ... uneven contour, a few wild grass with ... thery steams, white open space and a ... above. Sakti Burman in YELLOW ... of yellows, greens and blue oils on ... and a figure of a young woman on the ... Chagall.

Very few portraits have been sele... though it is understood several were rec... the Akademi. It is hard to deny the ... of this manner of expression, particular... portraits have utility too. THE HEAD ... Vidya is a portrait in which amidst ... black and grey patches he has brou... bearded face partly in pink, grey, white ... white is appealing a few deep blue oil p... disturbing and the face suffers. M. F. Hus... done an excellent head study in oil on a l... vas entitled BIOGRAPHY. Here on a ... cubist background he shows fine heads ... Jawaharlal Nehru, some of which are i... The outlines are in deep green, yell... black exposing such moods as morose ... mined, thinking and apprehensive, happ... and lastly disillusioned. In each Huss... strength and flexibility of broad lines ... pigments to bring before our eyes ... phases of Nehru's life. It has mo... Miss Prafulla Joshi has applied thin ... in two colours to bring a characterful ... GEETA. This shows the facial expre... charming girl in supple black lines and ... patches with a bit of matching violet ... the figure. The background is also ... tone to balance. Y. K. Shukla has ... expressive portrait of a patriarch in ... specks and the background in yellow.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



City Scape (In Oil) Artist : R. S. Bisht

There being preponderance of abstract style, ...asies have a big share. Miss Fatima Ahmed ...used luminous maroon and black oils to paint ...boon like face entitled PORTRAIT OF GOD. ... background has similar colour scheme with ...ccent on darker tone. RANI SARKAR (Oil) ...ts four grotesque faces in green, blue, ashy ...e and orange. The left side of the canvas is ...ly coloured and below are supporting red and ...n patches and then pell-mell designs in black ... red. The top right is strikingly blank for ...h the canvas suffers. Miss Rani Poovaiah by ...application of thin patches of browns, yellow, ... blue, green and greys and hard linear details, ...painted THE DEVI. It has extended hands, ...es flicking out from the head, fearful eyes and ...ampling the huddled shape of a green and ...n demon. J. Sultan Ali has composed THE ...ST SIN to depict in high toned oil a biblic ...ject of two nude man and woman showing ...ented and fearful eyes. Around are pre-...oric animals, a lemon sky and the reddish ...k sun looks on fiercely.

PAINTING by S. K. Rajavelu is a pleasant oil work on greyish background with a touch of roughly applied crimson. The figure of the profile of a female playing on Veena and up above the moving faces of girls in futuristic style in broad white against low crimson, have all been executed with power and charm.

Action paintings are rare. The one which is somewhat striking in PARADISE LOST. It has sandy patches, paper fixed over which smudgy brown, black and red lines have been done with the carelessness of action painting style. This web like irregular canvas has green, Indian red, sienna in the background. It is hardly charming in technique, though interesting to see. R. S. Bisht has applied a bit of action painting mannerism in his oil works of which mention has been made in a foregoing paragraph. Since painters are enamoured of abstraction one would like them to display a few action paintings.

Dadaism, whether fits in with the intellectual calibre of the artists or not, is in vogue. We see K. C. Aryan formulates a mechanical view UNI-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

VERSE, partly in tin plates, copper, wire mesh pieces with rough wrought iron strips to create lines or star to explain cosmic action. Another of his BETWEEN ME AND THE HEAVEN is an assembly of copper and brass plates with round black patches, heading upward, in the middle of which is a crumpled piece of copper sheet. On the top is a blackish oval space over which are several round and square enamel colour plates in green, blue and white. COMPOSITION II and III are enamel treatment on copper plates in blue, red, green or specks of various colour by Bishamber Khanna. S. Krishnan uses mica on a few male and female figures on a plywood which is partly burnt or decorated with blue and black oil colours and a twisting pink Sun in DARKNESS AND NOON. Jeram Patel by burning some part of a plywood or by scrapping it here and there and by painting a large space in the middle in red, has done 'JERAM PATEL—I'. Piraji Sagara in I GOT RHYTHM has repeated his last year's endeavour by fixing round or oval, copper, brass and iron pieces with nails flattened on a wooden board. He then perforates them and then applies red and black colour—all to get rhythm.

Still life attempts are few and are of ordinary standard. Vinod Shah has composed on a plywood a few BOTTLES of odd shapes after purism in white and cream colours or even by leaving space on the board. Some of these are done by fixing sand on the plywood. STILL LIFE by Rathin Mitra shows powerful drawing of a red bottle, a jar on a white plate with blue oils in slightly cubist way.

We find the impressions of dreamland in absurd combinations having their bases in super-realism. K. Devadethan has done a striking oil painting entitled SKY ABOVE AND MUD BELOW by carefully drawing long tapering cubes in browns and greys. Here we see nose, eyes, teeth and two legs crossing at a right angle. One hand is placed on the upper leg. The entire figure is decorated with black button like design. Few others are weak attempts.

Cubism lingers on though with less verve. FRIENDS (Oil) by Ram Kinker is sculpturesque. It shows a man in browns, grey and blue, walks with another in dull grey, around whom are pronounced cubes in green, yellow, blue separated by dividing black lines. Triloke Kaul has repeated his Kashmir hillscape in weighty black and blue oil cubes with a few huts. In this work—HIMALAYAN SHELTER—he used flashy patches in red and green to... canvas is, however, below his usual standard.

Divisionistic approach has culminated... mere display of divisions to its applied... Miss Kamala Roy Choudhuri has done... AGE (Oil) in broad black and evasive ... tangles tinged with nightly blue and in ... dle is a red patch which points to a way ... of flashy speck. It is an excellent wea... reveal the meditative feeling by focussing... attention to the bright flashy colour. P... Barwe composes the plan of WHITE C... thick white oil colour by dividing it wi... of colour and sprinkling a bit of orange... Sripat Rai's MISADVENTURE is a ... canvas done by arranging violet, blue, ... crimson rectangles, which conveys neither ... nor a good sense of design. LOVE is a ... mendable substantive composition in ... displayed divisions by Peter Lewis. Here ... dark black background, at the base of ... two reclined figures in small broken ... pastos. On the top is green, then a ... white patch inside which is a deep yel... moon.

Dev Anand in his water colour ... SONG displays the vigorous action of ... shaft and a pinion of a machine in ... tantive strokes of white and greys. ... treatment gives an adequate surface ... fine grey, indigo, yellow and pink sur... dark patchy distance, Dinkar Kowshik ... a sympathetic view of a bare forest in ... (Oil). B. Goswami paints GLITTERING ... LAGE (water colour) by using brownish ... the base. In the top half of it amidst ... squares, cubes and arches red and ... flashes are seen. On account of the ... effect and effective drawing, the vivid ... village at night is nicely exposed.

A very few folk art attempts are ... Perumal describes a long white ... which is a longer bull both with a ... around them are scurrying men. ... brown pigs and hazy sky in white ... BULLS. Mr. Reddeppa Naidu uses ... black decorative lines on the light ... ground to describe the figure of a deity ... and light crimson sitting on a ... DEITY SEATED ON LION. P. ... VILLAGE LABOUR is the crimson ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

doll-like stiff female labourers with pans on head.

Expressionism has several examples, some of which are excellent. In MEMORY Anis Farooqi has painted the profile of a blue stunted nude woman against dull olive broken background. Her eye is red and up in the sky is the dull white black rimmed moon. SORROWING WOMAN (Oil) is the seated figure of an obscure sloppy shouldered morose woman in yellows, blue and brown. Facing her are light lemon and blue patches. This has been done by Miss Jaya Appaswamy, M. K. Bardhan has in several previous National Exhibitions too hung figures showing despair. His REVELATION OF DESPAIR is luminous in grades of brown and yellow. In it on the top is a bright moon, like a disc, circling greys and browns and below are two standing female figures. Their faces, half covered with their hands, show in shades of sienna, orange, greys extreme pain. Bhagwan Kapoor has adopted tall multi-coloured figures of women in mixed sienna, grey and yellow oils with white faces in REFLECTION. White and brown breaks make the painting likeable. TOILET—B by Feroz Katpitia has romantic low maroon and red with breaks in violet and brown to show two women composed in small geometrical shapes lounging. Laxman Pai from his usual floral and leafy motifs has changed to express in powerful yet straightforward description of a large face in oil—INTEGRITY. The right half of the face in red, brown and blow, is having a bursting painful eye and a deep black open wound. The other half is white with half closed eye. Locks of hair are in short curls over which white jets are coming out. It proclaims that an unfortunate sufferer in destitution is having an oscillating mind whether to resort to destructive course or to obey the command of nature. FEAR IN THE OFFING (Oil) shows a fat man in dull yellow amidst light yellow set in terror with arms outstretched and behind him in concealed colours are outlines of fiendish men with staffs. Red on the top suggests danger while a bit of blue adds balance to the canvas.

Impressionistic style is at the low ebb; but few are of merit. C. V. Dharmaratnam has in luminous blue oil painted an architectural scene of the Red Fort—THE DEAD YESTERDAY. The marble dome is bright blue and the bridge over the moat is also of deeper blue. Clumps of green grass or dark receding view of trees and streaks of red to show stones, are all there to make a grand impressionistic composition. How SOLITUDE (Oil) by T. K. Padmini has been selected is not clear! It has wild uncontrolled blue, maroon, black and green patches in the midst of which is an equally badly drawn figure of a woman in blue and white. This and few other low standard works do not fit in such an exhibition. Surely selection from more than a thousand paintings could obtain better canvases.

Abstract style has fascinated the selectors, for they are the largest in number. Some of these are of dubious standard, while some are charming in quality, texture, design and display of pigments. Strictly speaking this style need not express anything but the elements of composition, colour and design based on the subjective feeling of the artist. Abstraction in literature differs from abstraction in painting in the sense that in literature the periphery is circumscribed within the dictionary, while in plastic art it is absolute. Therefore only artists who generally have powerful imagination and command over the sense of spacing, weight, rhythm and other aspects of the grammar of art, do well. It is, however, observed that a considerable number of artists taking this mode as the hall-mark of success adopt splash and splatter method. The onlookers, including many artists, it is found feel baffled, for the facets of life of our country hardly sustain such a philosophy.

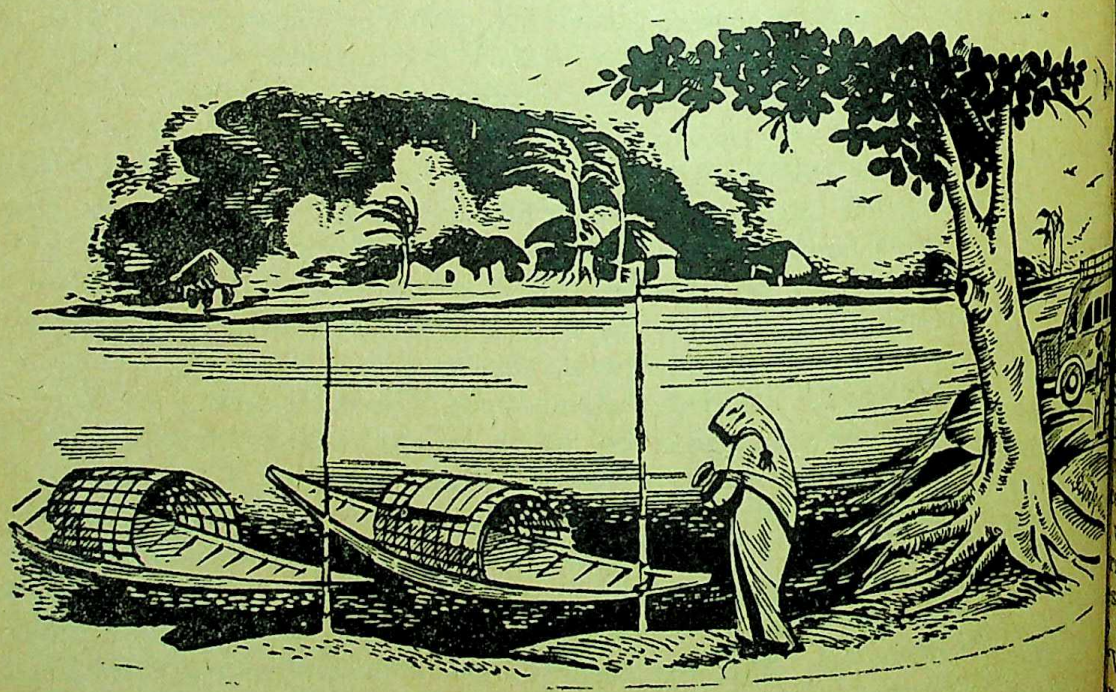
Shanti Dave's TIMIDITY is a very large canvas where in the lower half he has applied lemon and grey patches. In the centre thick impasto, often half inch above the canvas, has been applied in white, grey, yellow at random. The upper half is in deep flat grey with attempts to break the monotony with slight crimson and white, which have little effect. At times artists try to import the sense of abstraction by adopting far fetched ideas. Thus, K. C. S. Paniker on a fine mauvish grey brackground has soothing light crimson, but has drawn designs as are seen in horoscope and scribbles line after line of words in WORDS AND SYMBOLS (Oil). So facile is this style of painting that Itwari Lal, who it is understood is an orderly of the Akademi and is self taught, in his oil COMPOSITION IN BLUE has given effective spacing, good texture executed by brush or spatula, balanced and harmonious colour scheme. In it, on a grey can-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

vas which has white highlights, he has placed rectangular rhythmic patches in emerald, blues, a speck of red and controlled white stipplings. Fossil like designs and cacti shapes in blue orange, brown and yellow exposing good tonal effect has been painted by Ambadas in ENIGMA AND THE SHADOW (Oil). Deepak Banerjee by placing large brown, green, grey oil patches in front and blues or white in parallel lines, creates the total view of a LANDSCAPE. Ajit Singh Rao weaves a very impressive monochromic fancy in END OF COSMOS in black. Here we see a black canvas having faintest touch of brown on the top to balance and in the middle, across the canvas, is the uneven trailing semi-circular ridge like shape. Certainly it associates our sense with cosmology and from all angles it is one of the best attempts. Ghulam Santosh paints the total view of a distant melting snow-scape in PORTRAIT OF THE UNKNOWN (Oil) by showing white humid sky below which are grey ridges in specks amidst snow. A bit of yellow here and there creates the effect of the light of the Sun. We see two large patches of whitish brown to sienna constellations with spotty patches on dull brown to grey background in Sushil Vatsa's TRANQUILITY.

To a common man of average culture fair is one of the sources of visual ecstasy. Just as *Loka Silpa* (the art by untrained folk) cannot be the only source of delight, so also of a large number of abstract canvases which are the offshoots of modern art mannerisms), fail to illuminate our aesthetic sense or for that matter enlarge the scope and understanding of visitors. It is the duty of the selectors to give a square deal to the various mannerisms of visual art both by rejecting in the National Exhibition more representative and by awarding prizes to a few examples of the various schools of art. The norm is that from the days of savagery we march to civilization.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CHICAGO MUSEUM ORIENTED TO PEOPLE

By ROBERT COLBY NELSON,
Chief, Midwest Bureau, *The Christian Science Monitor*

"This is a mass-education institution based on the premise that acquiring information, knowledge, and understanding, should be a pleasant experience." ... Lenox Lohr, President of the Museum of Science and Industry

The summer of 1964 brought a world-famous American museum to a proud milestone. The Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago welcomed its 50 millionth visitor. No statistic could make the museum happier, so carefully and enthusiastically is this amazing collection oriented to people, with do-it-yourself displays on every hand.

No matter how costly or elaborate or cleverly designed an exhibit may be—and some represent investments of hundreds of thousands of dollars—if it does not win attention it is considered a failure.

"We're just tickled to find the floors scuffed and the paint worn and the glass smudged," a museum spokesman remarked to a visitor one day recently. "If an exhibit shows no signs of wear it must have failed."

"Here, under one roof, the accomplishments of science and industry are on exhibition," observes a museum spokesman, "not merely to be seen and admired, but to be understood and appreciated."

Thus it is not surprising that every museum day begins with a whistletoot from a coal-mine tipple, an exhibit which rivals with a real submarine for distinction as the most popular exhibit anywhere in the museum's 14 acres of floor space.

Since 1933 when the amazingly realistic simulated coal-mine opened, nearly 10 million visitors have descended the shaft from the ceiling of the museum past rough mine-walls into the basement, where real miners demonstrate the cutting and loading process in a setting that could hardly seem more authentic.

"We're not a 'collection' museum," said Lenox Lohr, president of the museum. "We don't put great stock in keeping 'things' for the future. We long ago decided to concentrate on education, on emphasizing ideas, and on transmitting them. Take Isaac Newton for instance. Our approach is to demonstrate his laws, not to preserve some object he may have touched."

Consequently, the museum uses a miniature locomotive rumbling around a special track to show that when a train starts or stops there is an equal degree of recoil in the track beneath it.

The museum aims to give the visitor what he wants first and then what it, the museum, wants the visitor to learn second.

Thus, the mine, a model farm, real chicks hatching from real eggs, a typical Chicago street of 1910 complete to the cobblestones and high-button boots in store windows, exhibits on rubber, chemicals, steel, aluminium, and hardwoods, a complete scale-model railroad display the size of a tennis court, and food exhibits—all these draw the visitor into fascinating but simultaneously educating settings. Present exhibits are showcases for nearly 50 of the nation's principal industries and government agencies.

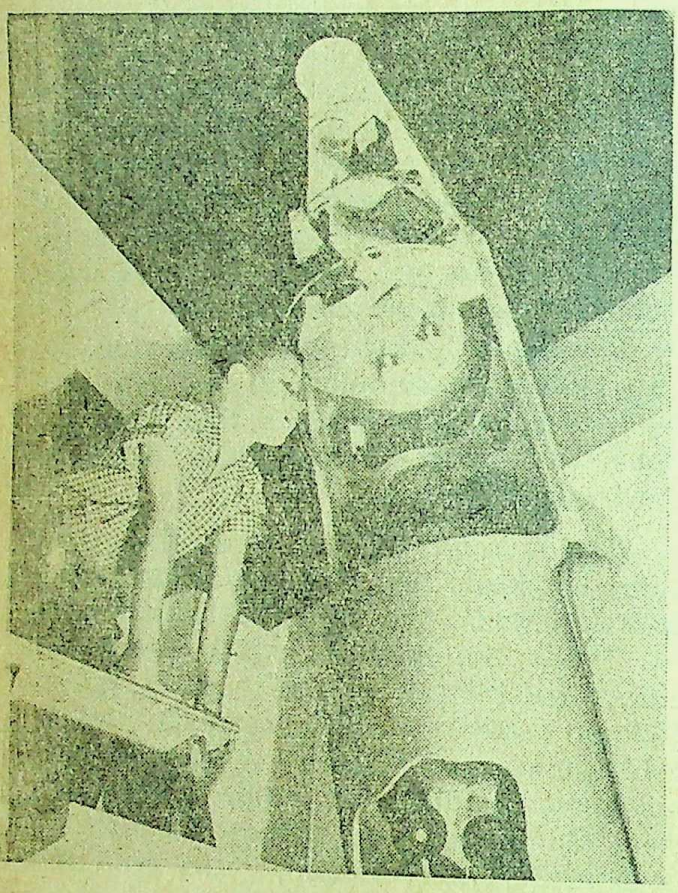
In 1963 alone, the total number of museum visitors was 2,843,540, more than the combined attendance of Chicago's baseball, football, and hockey teams. In the record single month of August, 1963, 464,479 visitors trooped through the museum. In that single week people came from all 50 United States, from 2,787 towns and cities in that country and from 230 towns in 57 other countries.

School children come by bus, train and plane. In 1963, 355,000 pupils came in 7,779

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

groups. One spring day about a year ago no less than 178 school groups came from six different states. Royalty comes too. Queen Elizabeth II of England, King Frederick of Denmark, King Baudouin of Belgium, and Crown Prince Akihito of Japan have been visitors, plus heads of government from India, Ethiopia, Ireland, Canada, Mexico, and Peru.



Spacecraft in the next decade : Model of a spacecraft at Chicago Museum

The world's kings and queens prove to be just as fascinated as American youngsters when it comes to enjoying the Motorama, Mathematic, Atoms for Peace exhibit, or the enchanting and priceless Colleen Moore fairy castle or the shows at any of a score of small theaters.

The delight of children visiting the Museum of Science and Industry today is in itself a tribute to the institution and its history, for the museum came into being in large part due to the excitement of a little boy many years ago.

Back in the early years of this century, Chicago merchant millionaries Julius Rosenwald frequently took his son to visit the Deutsches Museum of Munich. The still one of the finest natural museums of Europe, the German captivated young Rosenwald. He for something like it in Chicago.

This spurred his father to look prospect of rehabilitating what had fine arts building at the Columbian tion of 1893-94 and making it a Located about six miles southeast of town Chicago, near Lake Michigan, it dreadful disrepair, but by no means renovation.

Mr. Rosenwald gave a large Sears Roebuck stock to spur the tion. The Chicago Park District a $5 million bond issue to pay cost of restoration. In 1926, the tion began.

The new museum opened in same year as the Century of Progress Fair. More than 290,000 visitors Museum of Science and Industry year; then public response lagged inspiration, a new sense of direc needed.

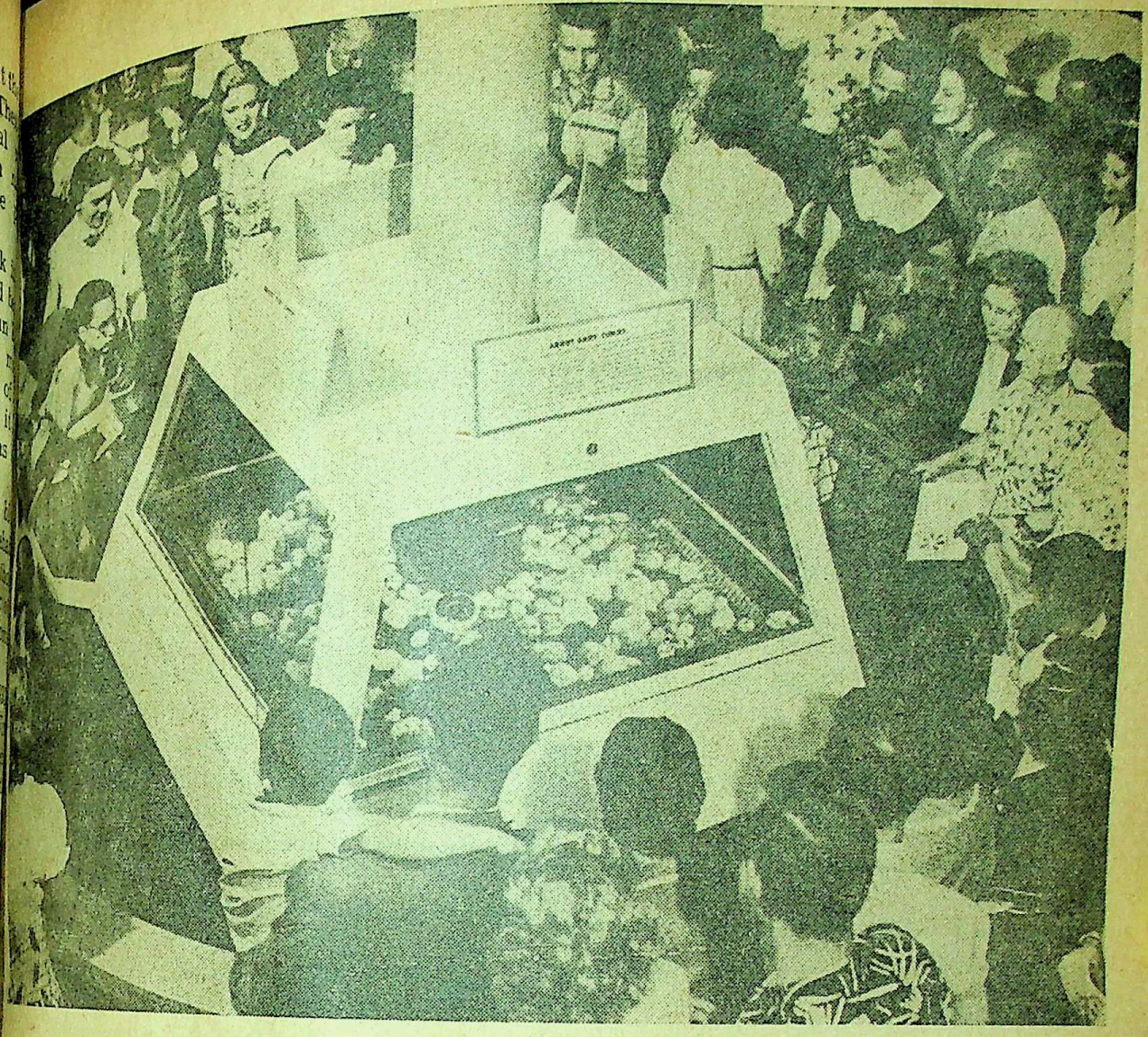
Major Lenox R. Lohr, who general manager of the fair and president of the National Broadcasting pany, was asked to take charge of the ring but faltering Museum of Scien Industry.

In 1940 he began to "revolutionize place" as one onlooker in those days Major Lohr's idea was to develop yourself museum. Let the visitor in the adventure of learning about and industry, he reasoned. With a man's careful judgments and a fea ger's flair for showmanship, the ideas soon began to do for the the museum what Mr. Rosenwald had done for its physical condition 1942, the annual volume of visitors beyond 1.1 million; by 1952 it over 2 million. Today this volume ing steadily toward 3 million per

Today the museum is still by income from the stock donated Rosenwald, by $300,000 a year from by the modest profits of seven dining rooms and the book and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Food For Life Display at Chicago's Museum of Science

cessions; and by the moderate upkeep ts charged exhibitors. No rent is char- d for exhibit space and unlike most seums throughout the world, there is no mission charge. Nominal charges are de to the special coal-mine and subma- e and just to preserve the authenticity ff all, five cents (a nickel) for the Nickelo- n.

At least 10 per cent of the "permanent" hibits (a contract for at least five years exhibition is considered "permanent") st be updated or replaced every year. ourteen per cent were changed in 1962; 11 r cent were changed last year. "This is r appeal," says a museum veteran. "There's ways something new." Within two hours of the orbiting of the first Telstar satellite, a working model was on display at the museum.

There is not a single "do not touch" sign anywhere in the museum. "We want people to get into the act," says Daniel M. MacMaster, museum director, once a museum demonstrator himself. "We feel that until the visitors' attention and interest are caught and held," says Mr. MacMaster, "nothing has been accomplished. We believe that if there is no audience there has been no accomplishment... An exhibit in the hands of today's museum administrator is not merely a specimen securely displayed and adequately lighted. An exhibit is an educational tool."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PRICE AND MONEY SUPPLY IN A DEVELOPING ECONOMY

By CHITTAPRIYA MUKHOPADHYAYA

As India goes ahead with her developmental programme, general price level tends to go up and the inevitable question that now haunts the public mind at the concluding phase of her Third Plan is : Can we avoid a runaway inflation ?

The seemingly irreconcilable problem of combining progress with stability,—stability of domestic prices as well as exchange stability and equilibrium in balance of payments position,—has assumed particular significance in view of the urgent need for increased outlay on defence in recent years.

Various explanations have been put forward by eminent persons for the abrupt upward push in the price level in recent months ; some have placed emphasis on increased money supply, others on stagnant agricultural output, while others have blamed the 'hoarders' or have accused the administrators of 'unproductive' expenditure ; others again consider that a defective fiscal policy, implemented without having regard for the long-term interests of the consumers or producers, has paved the way for a creeping inflation.

While it is likely that all these factors have contributed to the recent inflationary pressure, planners are yet undecided about the best course of action that they should recommend. If the long-term growth rate has to be attained within the stipulated time, some amount of risk has to be taken. Pruning the plan outlay for bringing about stability,—and that at a low level of national or per capita income,—would no doubt strike at the root of our objective. Putting restriction money supply has its obvious limits ; a revision of fiscal policy may not bring about desired effect due to lack of adequate administrative machinery, or may have adverse effect Capital formation ; 'hoarding' or cornering es only when a chronic imbalance between gate supply and aggregate demand persists in spite of the best of administration ments, complete eradication of this evil seem be unlikely, within the present economic set long as there is a chronic want amongst a section of the population; agricultural output yet to reach its optimum level, in spite of irrigation or other facilities, or price incentives to continuance of an infra-structure of the economy which still moves in a vicious circle over and above all this, defence outlay has intensified in spite of its inability to strengthen the base of the economy in the long run.

In spite, however, of all these difficulties can hardly afford to slacken our development programme ; our failure to do so would put back in the race for development now undertaken by almost all countries of Asia Africa. And this renders our task of combining stability with progress all the more difficult.

On the other hand, rising price cannot, obvious reasons, be allowed to take an inflationary character. The price policy followed in all these years or proposed to be adopted in has to be assessed in the background of these issues.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

II

Any effective comparison of the price trend of India during its 'take off' stage, with similar period for other countries is hedged with many difficulties. England, for example, entered her 'take off' stage[1] under completely different conditions more than a century and a half back ; her commercial expansion raised her economy, prior to Industrial Revolution, to a level far above what India had in 1951 ; USA also started her industrialisation, more than a century back—under so very different conditions that any comparison is almost futile. But as we have a modified version of similar economic structure and do not altogether rule out price mechanism as a tool for regulating our economy, some interesting trends may be observed by comparison of the price fluctuations in Great Britain during 1782-1802, in USA during 1843-60 and in India during 1951-1964. No firm conclusions, beyond what these survey outwardly, should however be drawn ; technique of preparing index numbers has changed ; products enumerated are not of comparable weightage ; role of the State in its monetary and fiscal functions has undergone radical transformation ; in short no basis for comparison virtually exists because of the emergence of what may be called a new economic philosophy. Figures for the three different countries in three different periods have therefore to be considered in their correct prospective.

Keeping in view the political situation (such as Napoleonic War etc.) or the economic set-up, the technique of production prevailing in different countries in different periods, we find that during the first fifteen years, (1782-1796), prices in Great Britain moved within comparatively narrow range and recorded an increase of 30 per cent at the end of this period ; fluctuations in subsequent years were wider. During the first thirteen years, price increase was not appreciable. In U.S.A. also overall increase in price during the first thirteen or fifteen years was not quite high.

After the inflationary period of World War-II, prices in India declined by about 20 per cent during the first five years of the plan period and were, so to say, counterbalanced during the second five year plan period. Compared to the first thirteen years in the other two countries which recorded some drops even in the latter years, prices in India have steadily moved upwarwds during the India have steadily moved upwards during the last eight years. Ignoring, for the present, the sectoral price changes in India during this period we might assume that, though India has a controlled capitalism while the other two did not have it, the change in price has moved on a similar pattern.

This brings us to a closer comparison of the price changes in the three countries during the last six or seven decades or to an even more close analysis of the changes since 1929 and 1939.

III

In table 2 we quote the price changes in the three countries since 1886. (See Page 362 and also graphic representation at Pp. 360-361).

Leaving aside the increase of price during the First World War, we find that Great Britain registered an increase of 85.5 per cent in 1940 over 1886 ; U.S.A. on the other hand shows an increase of 37.2 per cent during the same period. India :—with her low per capita income, and the violent oscillations in her agricultural prices—shows an increase of 57.5 per cent. While the prices of Indian exportable products depend entirely on the economically stronger countries, it is perhaps reasonable to ask : to what extent can India afford to increase her prices to bring the same more or less at par with those of the advanced countries.

Taking 1929, as the base year we might ascertain the extent of price changes in different countries till the beginning of the Second World war [*vide* table 3.]

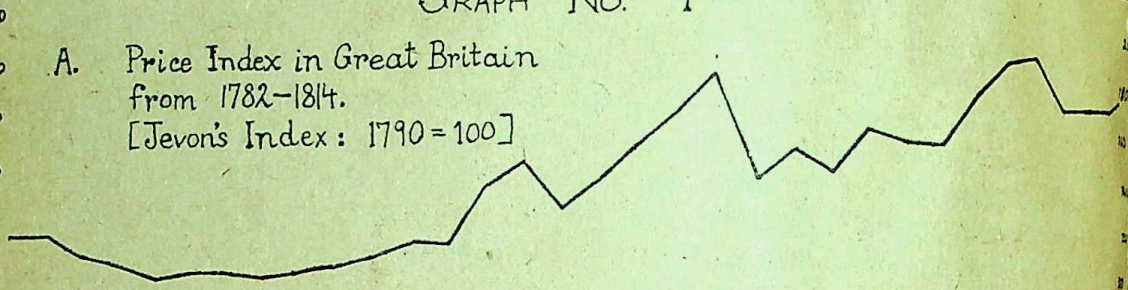
1. According to W. W. Rostow the take off period for Great Britain can approximately be identified as falling between 1783 and 1802 ; for France from 1830 to 1860 ; for the United States from 1843-1860, for Germany from 1850-1873, for Japan from 1878-1900, for Russia from 1890-1914.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

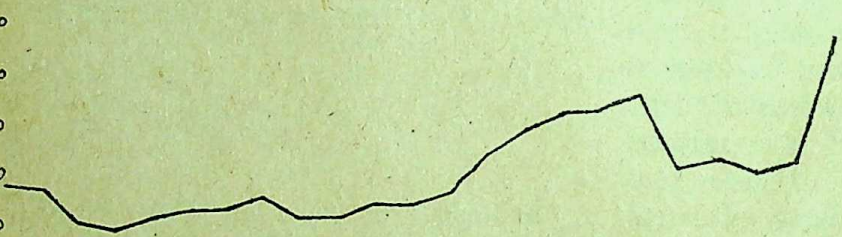
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GRAPH NO. 1

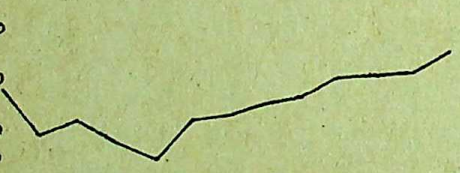
A. Price Index in Great Britain from 1782–1814.
[Jevon's Index: 1790 = 100]



B. Price Index in the U.S.A. from 1840–1862
[A.H. Cole: 1791 = 100]



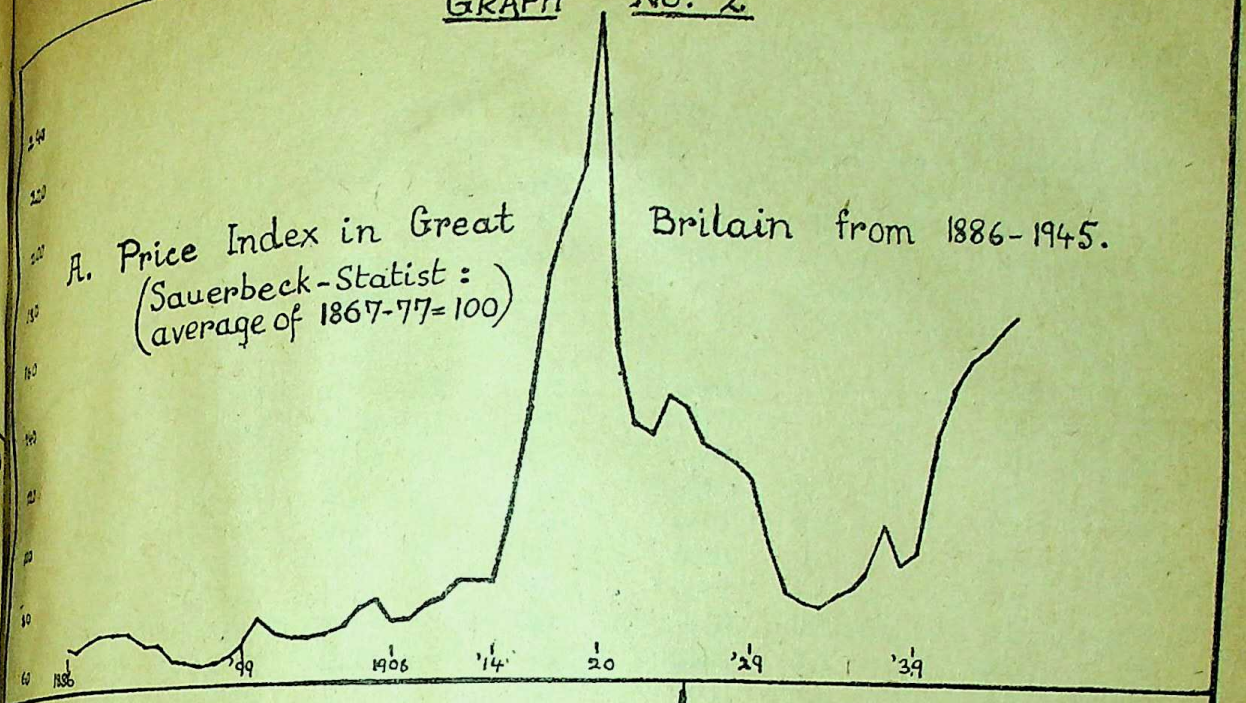
C. Price Index in India from 1951-52 — '63-64
(Average of months: 1952-'53 = 100.)

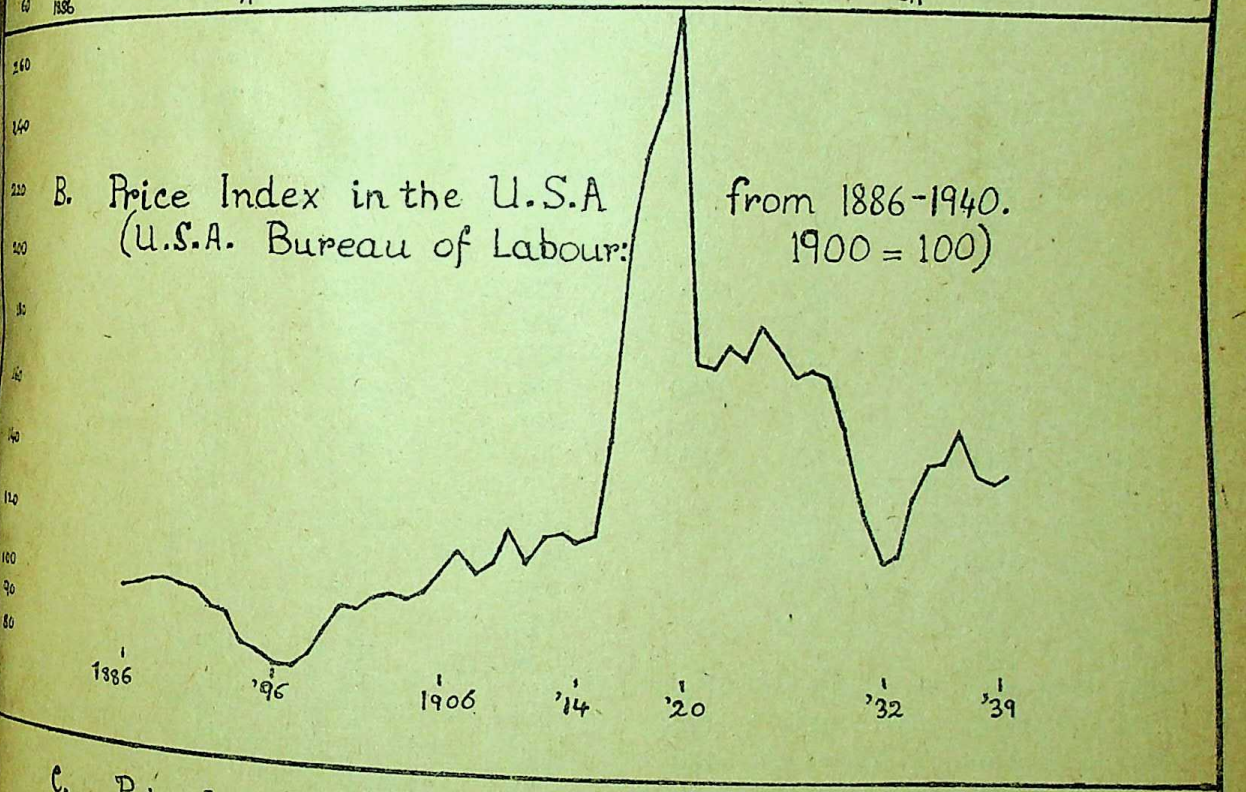


CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

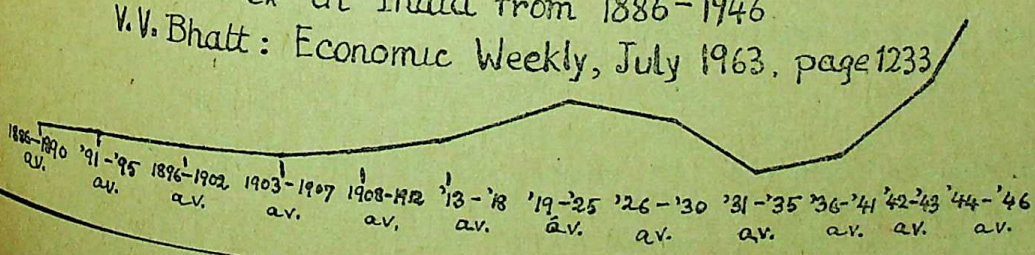
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GRAPH No. 2.





C. Price Index in India from 1886-1946
V.V. Bhatt: Economic Weekly, July 1963, page 1233



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TABLE—1 ***

PRICE CHANGES IN GREAT BRITAIN, U.S.A., AND INDIA DURING THE 'TAKE OFF' PERIOD.

(A) Great Britain (Jevons Index) 1790=100			(B) U.S.A., (A. H. Cole) 1791=100			India (C) (1952-53=100) Last weeks average	
(1) Year	(2) Index	(3) Annual Change (P.C.)	(1) Year	(2) Index	(3) Annual Change (P.C.)	(1) Year	(2) Index
1782	115	—	1840	97	—	1951-52	
1783	115	—	1841	96	— 1.0	1952-53	100
1784	107	— 7	1842	83	— 13.5	1953-54	101.2
1785	104	— 2.8	1843	81	— 2.4	1954-55	89.6
1786	98	— 5.8	1844	85	5.0	1955-56	99.2
1787	100	2.0	1845	88	3.5	1956-57	105.1
*1788	100	— —	1846	89	1.1	1957-58	106.1
1789	98	— 2.0	1847	98	10.1	1958-59	112.1
1790	100	2.0	1848	87	— 11.2	1959-60	118.7
1791	102	2.0	1849	86	— 1.1	1960-61	127.5
†1792	107	4.9	1850	93	8.1	1961-62	122.9
*1793	114	6.5	1851	92	— 1.1	1962-63	127.4
1794	112	— 1.8	1852	97	5.4	1963-64	139.0
1795	134	19.6	1858	111	14.4		
*1796	144	7.5	1854	122	9.9		
*1797	126	— 12.5	1855	127	4.1		
1798	136	7.9	1856	128	0.8		
1799	150	10.3	1857	133	3.9		
*1800	162	8.0	1858	105	— 21.1		
1801	176	8.6	1859	108	2.9		
†1802	137	— 22.2	1860	104	— 3.7		
*1803	147	7.3	1861	106	1.9		
1804	140	— 4.8	1862	157	48.1		
1805	156	11.4					
†1806	153	— 1.9		Board of Trade Index.			
1807	152	— 0.65		1900=100.			
*1808	171	12.5	1862	127	—		
1809	185	8.2	1863	114	— 10.3		
†1810	188	1.6	1864	136	19.3		
*1811	169	— 10.1	1865	111	— 18.4		
1812	170	0.6	1866	151	36.0		
1813	171	0.6	1867	142	— 6.0		
1814	176	2.9	1868	129	— 9.2		
			1869	126	— 2.3		
			1870	130	3.2		
			1871	137	5.4		
			1872	141	2.9		

* Trough and † Peak in Business cycle.

*** 'PLUS' Signs for years wher the annual changes indicate increase over the previ
___ have been omitted.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TABLE—2

Great Britain (Sauerbeck's Index) (1867-77=100)	Converted Index 1900=100	U.S.A. (Bureau of Labour) 1900=100	*India (1852-53=100) Average of		Converted Index 1900=100
	(95.8)	102	1886-1890	18.6	(83.)
69	(96)	105	1891-1895	20.8	(92.8)
72	(82.7)	85	1896-1902	22.4	(100)
62	(100)	100	1903-1907	23.6	(105.3)
75	(96)	105	1908-1912	27.4	(122.3)
72	(104)	125	1913-1918	31.8	(142)
78	(144)	124	1919-1925	44.8	(200)
108	(334.7)	276	1926-1930	40.0	(178.6)
251	(181.3)	184	1931-1935	24.4	(108.9)
136	(128.0)	154	1936-1941	29.2	(130.3)
96	(110.7)	143			
83	(170.7)	140			
128					

*Taken from Table 3 of the article 'A Century and a Half of Economic Stagnation in India' by V. V. Bhatt. (*Economic Weekly*, Annual July, 63).

TABLE—3.

Index number of Indian Import & Export Prices.		Index number of wholesale prices.			
Export.	Import.	India (Cal.).	U.K.	U.S.A.	Japan.
100	100	100	100	100	100
81.9	92.3	82	88	91	82
57.9	78.8	68	78	77	70
55.5	81.9	65	76	68	77
54.6	75.3	62	76	69	91
54.1	71.8	63	78	79	92
59.9	71.8	65	79	84	94
58.9	71.8	65	83	85	97
61.5	84.9	73	96	90	118
59.9	83.5	68	91	82	131
61.5	80.5	77	91	81	140

t is seen that prices of Indian exportable were more severely affected and the terms of were increasingly unfavourable to India. e other hand general prices also dropped to en larger extent than in the industrially ad- countries.

During the Second World War, price structure in every country changed radically and Indian prices moved ahead of many other countries. Following table illustrates the point.

TABLE—4.

Year.	Wholesale price Index number (1939 = 100). U.K. (Board of Trade)	U.S.A. Deptt. of labour)	Canada	Australia	India (Calcutta)
1940.	132.9	101.9	109.9	110.1	111.1
1941.	148.4	113.2	119.2	116.9	128.7
1942.	155.1	128.1	126.8	131.5	171.3
1943.	158.3	133.7	132.6	138.2	284.3
1944.	161.1	134.9	135.9	139.3	275.9

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It is evident from the above table that Indian price level, which dropped quite low during 1929 and 1939, moved ahead of the other countries by 1942 and stood far above others by 1944. And this inflationary pressure continued for years after the cessation of the War. Taking 1929 as 100 Indian price level stood at 2[illegible] 1944 ; that of U.K. at 146.5 and U.S.[illegible] 109.5.

Sectoral price increase during war [illegible] reflected in the Table No. 5.

TABLE—5.

Index number of wholesale Prices in India (& money supply)
1939 August = 100

Year.	Rice.	Food & Tobacco.	Raw Materials.	Manufactured articles.	Cotton manufactures.	General.	Notes in Circulation (Rs. Crores).
August, 1939.	100	100	100	100	100	100	170.29 (100)
January, 1940.	110	122	126	141	127	133	226.35 (133).
-do- 1941.	141	107	126	122	119	115	230.20 (135).
-do- 1942.	151	131	158	161	190	145	328.39 (193).
-do- 1943.	218	191	171	224	415	190	587.60 (345).
March, 1943.	496	248	172	227	437	213	—
June, 1943.	951	298	181	251	513	242	—
Sept. 1943.	847	303	178	257	417	236	759.75 (446).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Trend of price movement of different categories of commodities during different periods shows the pressure exerted by rice, cotton manufactures, and to some extent, other manufactured articles. Notes in circulation started moving ahead of general price level by early part of 1941 and reached 446 per cent in September, 1943, as compared to 236 per cent in the general price level.

IV

Prices continued to rise after the War for various reasons, of which the more important were (a) suppressed demand of the war years (b) continuous rise in the supply of currency and bank money (c) chronic deficit budget (d) decline in agricultural and industrial production (e) economic dislocation arising out of partition and other developments at home and abroad (including Korean War).

During the two or three years immediately after the end of the War, agricultural prices continued to move ahead of manufactured articles vide table No. 6.

During the three years, agricultural prices went up by 30.9 per cent manufactured articles by 19.9 per cent and general index by 25.35 per cent.

And even before 'deficit financing' as a tool for development had been introduced quite extensively, prices continued to rise in the following years and relatively more stable and long-term items of expenditure began to adjust themselves to the higher cost structure. By shifting the base year from 1939 to 1952|53 Government admitted, —and quite rightly of course,—the impossibility of reverting to the prewar price level. But the temporary decline in price after 1952|53 was considered as a prelude to a slump ; and partly due to some hasty steps by the Government (including some patch work about 'price support' policy, raising of floor prices of some essential commodities, and continued recourse to indirect taxation) and partly due to an unwarranted faith amongst the entrepreneur classes about the efficacy of rising prices as a lever for higher production, the downward price trend was soon halted and Table 7 shows the price trend during the ten year period 1947-48—1956-57.

TABLE—6.

Whole Sale price Index for 1945-46 to 1947-48
(1939 = 100).

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	1945-46	1946-47	P. C. Variation in 2 over 1	1947-48	P. C. Variation in 4 over 2
Agricultural Commodities	272.6	313.8	15.1	356.9	13.7
Manufactured Articles	240.0	259.1	8.0	287.8	11.1
General Index	244.9	275.4	12.6	307.0	11.5

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

TABLE—7

Wholesale Price Index for 1947-48—1956-57
1939=100

Weightage	(1) Food articles (31)*	(2) Annual change*	(3) Industrial Raw materials (18)*	(4) Annual change*	(5) Manufactured articles (30)*	(6) Annual change*	(7) General Index (100)*	(8) Annual change*
1947-48	306.1	—	377.5	—	286.4	—	308.2	—
1948-49	382.9	25.1	444.8	17.8	346.1	20.8	376.2	22.1
1949-50	391.3	2.2	471.7	6.0	347.2	0.3	385.4	2.4
1950-51	416.4	6.4	523.1	10.9	354.2	2.0	409.7	6.3
1951-52	398.6	— 4.3	591.9	13.2	401.5	13.4	434.6	6.1
1952-53	357.8	— 10.2	436.9	— 26.2	371.2	— 7.6	380.6	— 12.4
1953-54	384.4	7.4	467.7	7.1	367.4	— 1.1	397.5	4.4
1954-55	339.8	— 11.6	436.2	— 6.9	377.3	2.7	377.4	— 5.1
1955-56	313.2	— 7.8	419.7	— 3.8	372.9	— 1.2	360.4	— 4.5
1956-57	388.5	24.0	507.0	20.8	384.6	3.1	414.0	14.9
Change over the decade.	+ 26.92%		+ 34.30%		+ 34.28%		+ 34.32%	

* 'PLUS' signs for years showing increase have been omitted.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

During the decade immediately after Independance, prices of all categories increased by over 34 per cent; this fact is often obscured by the fact that the base year was shifted in the meanwhile from 1939 to 1952-53. From the table above, it will be observed that price movement was not uniform in all sectors; food articles recorded steep ups and downs and ultimately yielded to the pace of price rise in manufactured articles. Industrial raw materials, which carry the potentiality of pushing up the prices of manufactured articles, remained consistently ahead of the other two groups.

Before we go into the other relevant data for the Plan period, we sum up below the overall price increase since Independance.

TABLE—8.

Wholesale Price Index Since 1947-48.

Year	1939=100	Year	1939=100	11952-65=100	Annual Change*
1947-48	308.2	1951-52	434.6	118	+ 6.1
1948-49	376.2	1952-53	380.6	100	— 15.3
1949-50	385.4	1953-54	397.5	104.6	4.6
1950-51	409.7	1954-55	377.4	97.4	— 6.9
1951-52	434.6	1955-56	360.4	92.5	— 5.0
		1956-57	414.0	105.3	13.7
		1957-58	426.2	108.4	3.0
		1958-59	443.9	113.9	4.2
		1959-60	460.4	117.1	3.7
		1960-61	491.0	124.9	6.7
		1961-62	491.8	125.1	0.2
		1962-63	502.9	127.9	2.2
		1963-64	531.9	135.3	5.8

* 'PLUS' signs for years showing increase have been omitted.

During the seventeen years since Independence, prices have recorded an increase of 72.6 per cent. Part of it no doubt is due to such spontaneous factors over which no individual country, (and more so a country that is dependent on others for machineries as well as for food) can have any effective control. But considering the various points that we shall place subsequently, it seems doubtful whether the presence of a 'creeping inflation' was quite earnestly entertained in the official circle. Recent warning from the Chief of the International Monetary Fund against using 'deficit financing' as a convenient method for development has not come too early; there are reasons to believe that forces are at work to turn the 'creeping inflation' into a 'galloping inflation' unless strong monetary, fiscal, and administrative measures are adopted together with a determined effort to reduce the gap between 'non-productive' or 'unproductive' expenditure by the State and its productive outlay.

It is true that our industrial production is keeping pace with money supply and that the inflationary gap in our economy is not as wide as in the case of some South American Countries.[2] but the trend of price movement (food prices going ahead of other articles at the initial stage and later lagging behind industrial products) that is evident in recent past is more or less similar to what happened in 1943. Although 'inflation' during war and 'deficit finance' for development do not ordinarily have the same effect on price structure, in the ultimate analysis it is the *dose* and *timing* of deficit finance that

2. Refer to *R. B. I. Bulletin*, April '64. page 417. With 1958 as Base year money supply in India has moved from 114 in 1960 to 149 in 1963 (30.7 per cent). Industrial production from 120 to 150 (25 per cent) and whole sale prices from 111 to 119 (7.2 per cent). Corresponding figures for U.K. are (i) 105 and 116; (ii) 112 and 118; (iii) 102 and 108. For U.S.A. the figures are (i) 100 and 108 (ii) 116, 132 (iii) 100 and 100. For Argentina, (i) 184, 271 (ii) 93, 88 (iii) 269, 489. For Brazil (i) 192, 804 (ii) n.a. (iii) 180, 649. Figures for different countries however, are not exactly comparable because the proportion of industrial production as percentage of total national output is not the same in all countries. Widening gap between money supply and wholesale price may incidentally be compared with figures in the last two columns of Table 5.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

decides the usefulness or otherwise of this *convenient but dangerous* tool. In spite of what the Planning Commission had said earlier about the inevitability of some rise in price due to deficit financing, it has, in its, 'mid-term appraisal' of the Third Plan, expressed anxiety at the abnormal rise in price, and has admitted that 'since the expansion in money supply more than kept pace with the trend in aggregate output, it is possible that it had some price effect' (Mid-term Appraisal : Page 13, Para 16). The data in table no. 9 corroborate the point.

TABLE—9.

Financing of the Third Plan (Rs. crores).

	Five year period.		1961-62. (Actual).		1962-63. (Revised Estimate).		1963-64. (Budget Es- mate
Total Resources of Plan out-lay.	7500	(100%)	1130	(100%)	1414	(100%)	1654
(a). Deficit financing.	550	()7.33)	168	(14.93	207	(14.6)	241
(b). External assistance.	2200	(29.33)	262	(23.2)	437	(30.9)	507
(c). Others.	4750	(63.34)	700	(61.9)	770	(54.5)	906

Making allowances for any likely reduction in the figure for deficit financing (Mid-Term Appraisal, Page 39, Para 37) it seems the net figure for deficit finance during the initial years of the Third Plan tends to be proportionately higher in the aggregate.

V

Following figures (table no. 10) culled from various official publications, would be helpful in ascertaining some of the economic trends during the first ten years of the Plan ; subsequent developments are largely the results of measures taken earlier.

Among other things, the table shows that (a) ratio of national income and net money supply has, on the whole, remained constant. thereby suggesting that there has not been appreciable slowing down or acceleration in the velocity of the net money in circulation. (b) Increase in capita net money supply (col. 6.) is by speaking consistent with increased per come, and extension of the monetised sector economy. (c) Gross money supply (repres largely the excess supply of money that has been mopped up either by taxation or by borrowing)[3] has gone considerable ahead of income, or of the weighted average of the in in total output.[4] (d) Annual fluctuations in cultural prices (col. 13). agricultural prod (col. 11A) or in per capita income of the mary sector. (col. 15A) hardly reflect agricultural policy or any definite relation tween supply, price or net availability (as columns 22, 22A and 23) of agricultural p (e) While deficit financing is stepped up 21). Column 9 shows a wider margin betw money supply and gross money supply.

3. During the ten years, indirect taxes gone up by 195 per cent and direct taxes creased by 110 per cent. On the other hand portion of internally held public debt has pied relatively smaller share of the total ing public debt.

4. If we assume an weightage of 46 cent in agricultural sector and 53.9 per the other sectors, we arrive at a gross in output by 68.85 per cent and per ca crease by 39 per cent. On the other hand money supply is higher by 73.6 per cent capita gross money supply by 43.7 per

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

All these tend to suggest that, whatever the other reasons may be for the present spiralling trend of prices, there has been some lack of precision and foresight with regard to our fiscal and monetary policy during the two Five Year Plan periods. If increased borrowing has its limits (it has already widened the gap between total capital disbursements and the net plan or developmental outlay, with the increasing charges for servicing and repayment of debts), so has deficit financing; the other alternative is not to slow down the developmental programme, but to streamline simultaneously the monetary, fiscal and administrative policies for the most effective mobilisation and utilisation of resources.

VI

Although 'deposit money' does not yet form as important a part of the total money supply in our country as in more advanced countries, gradual extension of the monetised sector and of banking institutions has started bringing about a structural change in the pattern of our economy. However effective the selective credit control mechanism may be,[5] its usefulness in our country is as yet rather restricted; those who intend to 'hoard' can take recourse to other avenues for the finance. If the State has so far failed to unearth this money that foils some of the stringent measures adopted by the Reserve Bank, the solution lies not so much in the monetary policy as in the fiscal and administrative spheres.

Similarly, success or otherwise of the Bank rate as a weapon for credit control is dependent on factors not under direct control of the Reserve Bank. Upward push of prices takes place, amongst many other factors, by credit expansion: in a boom condition that we are now having, if the *prospects for higher rate of profit*, (either by restriction or expansion of output or by resultant chain reactions of too rapid an inflow of extra money into the economy) seem to be sufficiently attractive, higher Bank Rate may as well have a negative or an opposite effect. In spite of steady increase in the Bank Rate, which increases the *cost of credit*, recent experiences have possibly shown that bank credit has all the while gone up; higher cost of credit has perhaps helped in raising the final prices as well[6] of the finished goods manufactured with the help of bank credit; the incidence has quite easily been passed on to the consumer.

While keeping the Bank Rate low is surely not the way to restrict bank credit, it seems there is a case for reappraisal of the conventional methods for regulating and co-ordinating bank credit in a 'mixed economy' that is passing through a difficult phase of the 'take off' period.

While, with changing phases of the economy, relative position of Time and Demand Liabilities of the banks is changing[7] growing banking

---

5. It is true that with imposition of various restrictions on the purpose, amount and cost of credit, advances against paddy or rice have to some extent been covered by 'unsecured' or 'clean' advances; total bank credit in this trade low ever not very high in comparison with the total amount required for financing the storing and movement of this vital product. Refer in this connection to the table in Reserve Bank Bulletins relating to classification of Bank advances according to security.

6. In the busy season of 1960-61, when the peak level of scheduled banks' borrowings from the Reserve Bank was reached, weighted average rate of interest was 5.47, and of the total outstanding borrowings (Rs. 93.60 crores) Rs. 61 crores were borrowed at 6 per cent interest. And during 1962-63 busy season, out of the total outstanding borrowings of Rs. 83.40 crores, about 45.40 crores were borrowed at 6.5 per cent, and the weighted average rate of interest was 5.80 (See RBI Bulletin April, '64, page 457, August, '64, page 989, para 3). While Bank Rate was raised from 3 per cent to 3½ per cent in November, 1951 to 4 per cent in May, '57 and to 4½ per cent in Jan., '63 (it has again been raised recently) and quota system was introduced for issue of credit, Bank Credit has moved steadily upward from Rs. 580.45 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 1814.57 crores in 1963-64.

7. Ratio of demand to Time liabilities was 2 : 1 in 1951-52; in 1955 the ratio changed to 1.4 to 1, and by 1960 it was .66 to 1 (RBI Bulletin April, '64. p. 504 and 462). Demand deposits began to rise in 1963. Share of Time to Total Deposits declined from 57.7 in 1962 to 54.9 in 1963. Some of this was due to change in definition arising out of new arrangements about withdrawal facilities (RBI Bulletin April, '64 p. 464); introduction of Statutory reserve requirement on a uniform basis of 3 per cent instead of two rates followed so far, has brought about some definitional and functional changes of the Time Deposits.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

TABLE—10

	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61
1. Population (Per cent).*	101.1	103.5	105.4	107.3	109.4	111.7	113.9	116.4	119.0	121.5
2. National Income. (Rs. crores).	9970 (104.6)	9820 (103.0)	10480 (103.9)	9610 (100.8)	9980 (104.7)	11310 (118.1)	11390 (119.5)	12600 (132.2)	12950 (135.9)	14160 (148.6)
3. Net money supply (Rs. crores).	1875	1754	1767	1852	2052	2226	2338	2399	2556	2730
4. Ratio of 2 : 3.	5.3	5.6	5.9	5.2	4.9	5.1	4.9	5.2	5.1	5.2
5. Percentage changes of col. no. 3. since 1550-51.*	100.6	94.1	94.8	99.4	110.1	119.4	125.4	128.7	137.1	146.5
6. Per Capita money supply (Rs.). 1950-51=100.	50.7 (98.9)	46.6 (90.9)	46.1 (99.9)	47.5 (92.6)	51.6 (100.6)	54.8 (106.9)	56.4 (110.0)	56.7 (110.5)	59.1 (115.9)	62.2 (121.3)
7. Gross money supply (Rs. crores.)**	2546 (103.0)	2417 (97.8)	2453 (99.3)	2575 (104.2)	2846 (115.2)	3061 (123.9)	3244 (131.3)	3481 (140.9)	3849 (155.8)	4289 (173.6)
8. Per Capita gross money supply (Rs).	68.9 (101.3)	64.3 (94.5)	64.0 (94.2)	66.0 (97.1)	71.5 (105.2)	75.4 (110.9)	78.3 (115.1)	82.2 (120.9)	88.9 (130.8)	97.7 (143.7)
9. Increase in col. 8 as per of col. 6.	35.8	37.8	38.8	39.1	38.7	37.5	38.8	45.1	50.6	57.1
10. Index of Industrial production.	112.2	113.4	117.3	129.1	138.6	151.0	152.5	157.2	175.0	194.3
11. Index of agricultural production. 1949-50=100.	97.5	102.0	114.3	117.0	116.8	124.0	115.9	132.0	128.1	139.1
11A. Annual Change.	2.0	4.6	12.1	2.4	— 0.2	6.4	— 6.8	13.9	— 2.5	8.1
12. Average price Index (1952-53=100).	118	100	104.6	97.4	92.5	105.3	108.4	112.9	117.1	124.9†
12A. Same as per table 1(c) col. 2.	—	100	101.2	89.6	99.2	105.1	106.1	112.1	118.7	127.5
13. Agricultural price Index (1952-53=100)	118.8	100	105.8	94.3	88.0	104.5	107.4	114.0	116.5	123.8
14. Price Index of Industrial products Ann.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	106.3	106.1	108.4	111.7	123.9

TABLE—10. (Contd.)

	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61
15. Per Capita income in	189.8	178.6	193.6	155.7	159.6					

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(1952-53=100)										
14. Price Index of Industrial products.	118.8	100	105.8	94.3	88.0	104.5	107.4	114.0	116.5	123.8

TABLE—10. (*Contd.*)

	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61
15. Per Capita income in primary sector (Rs.).	*189.8*	*178.6*	*193.6*	*155.7*	*158.6*	*190.4*	*178.1*	*206.0*	*202.2*	*218.2*
	(100)	*(94.1)*	*(102.0)*	*(82.0)*	*(83.6)*	*(100.3)*	*(93.8)*	*(108.5)*	*(106.5)*	*(114.3)*
15A. Annual Change.	—	*— 5.9*	*8.4*	*— 19.6*	*1.9*	*20.0*	*— 6.5*	*15.8*	*— 1.8*	*7.9*
16. Per Capita income in Secondary/Tertiary Sector (Rs.).	500	497.8	504.4	503.4	512.8	532.3	551.1	562.4	579.1	613
17. Ratio of 15 : 16.	2.6	2.8	2.6	3.2	3.2	2.8	3.1	2.7	2.9	2.8
18. Per Capita average Income (Rs.).	274.2	265.4	278.1	250.3	255.0	283.3	279.6	303.0	304.8	326.2
19. Plan outlay (Rs. crores).	259.6	267.5	343.0	475.9	613.9	632.9	884.2	1001.4	1010.5	1071.0
20. Outlay as p.c. of National Income.	2.6	2.7	3.3	4.9	6.2	5.6	7.8	7.9	7.8	7.6
21. Deficit finance‡ (Rs. crores).	2	44	36	94	157	253	496	136	112	(—) 49
22. Price Index of cereals (1952-53=100)	102	100	98	80	76	96	101	107	104	104
22A. Annual Change.	—	— 1.9	— 2.0	— 18.4	— 5.0	26.3	5.2	5.9	— 2.8	—
23. Index of per capita net availability of Cereal (1950-51=100).	97.4	103.5	114.8	110.4	107.8	111.3	104.4	118.3	116.5	120.0
23A. Annual Change.	—	6.3	10.9	— 3.8	— 2.4	3.3	— 6.2	13.3	— 1.5	3.0

* Except where stated, the base year is 1950-51. ** including 'Quasi money' or "near money' vide Reserve Bank Bulletin November, 1963. † for annual changes see Table 8.

Plus signs have been omitted.

‡ Vide 'Review of the First Five Year Plan', p. 35 & Third Five Year Plan, p. 35 & 733. Aggregate for the First Five Years here comes to Rs. 333 crores. Figure in I Plan Review is Rs. 420 crores. Aggregate for the II Plan period is Rs. 997 crores minus Rs. 49 crores=Rs. 948 crores. For corresponding figures in subsequent years see 'Midterm Appraisal' of the Third Plan, p. 30, 31.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TABLE—11.

	Money Supply with the public (Rs. Crores).			Debits to current deposit accounts with scheduled Banks & deposit turnover (Rs. crores).		Cheque clearances. (Rs. crores).			Time deposit excluding Inter-Bank deposits of scheduled Banks. (Rs. crores).	Bank deposit of scheduled Banks. (Rs. crores).
	Total money supply.	Currency with public.	Deposit money with public.	Current A/C. deposits.	Debits to A/C. during the period.	Annual rate of turn over.	Number. (000).	Amount. (Rs. crores).		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10
1951-52	1848.1	1285.5	562.6	340.1	15211.6	44.7	28076	7876.6	288.2	580.5
1952-53	1764.7	1199.3	565.4	315.2	13229.3	42.0	29700	6570.4	303.8	500.2
1953-54	1793.9	1229.4	564.5	306.6	13378.1	43.6	32030	6714.5	325.6	494.0
1954-55	1920.6	1311.8	608.8	323.8	15104.5	46.7	34620	7249.4	349.7	553.1
1955-56	2216.9	1571.0	645.9	347.3	16285.0	46.9	37283	7960.2	412.4	761.3
1956-57	2341.8	1622.7	719.1	363.0	17655.5	48.6	40106	8730.1	471.7	900.0
1957-58	2413.1	1674.1	739.0	369.1	18511.5	50.2	41775	8961.7	720.6	962.7
1958-59	2525.9	1792.0	733.9	346.0	19378.9	56.0	45284	9774.7	912.6	1013.7
1959-60	2720.1	1930.9	789.2	355.0	14422.4 20875.7	40.6 58.7	50196	10990.0	1120.7	1127.9
1960-61	2868.5	2098.1	770.4	366.6	16248.8 23649.6	44.3 64.5	54809	12555.7	1026.3	1319.5
1961-62	3045.7	2201.2	844.5	—	—	—	59946	13602.3	1133.1	1407.6
1962-63	3317.0	2379.5	937.5	—	—	—	63112	14989.4	1175.1	1588.0
1963-64	3752.9	2603.6	1109.3	—	—	—	66789	16808.5	1216.1	1814.6

Notes :—(A). Figures in column 1-3 are subject to slight variation due to revision of the method of computation adopted in later years.

(B). Figures for the last three years in columns. 4-6 are not available. These figures relate to only the Reporting centres (Reserve Bank of India, Bulletin January. 1960 Table 16) having population of more than one lakh. During the first eighth years total debits include those to overdrafts and cash credits. During the last

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

facilities have started putting new meaning, so to say, to the hitherto accepted concept of 'money supply.' Any piecemeal or conventional decision for bringing about contraction or expansion of notes in circulation may gradually prove to be less effective than in the past due to increasing role of bank deposits and bank credits. From the Table II the point is corroborated.

Although the Conventional ratio between currency and deposit money (column 2 & 3) remains more or less constant,, the increasing role of bank money is evident from the increased rate of turnover in current deposits (columns 6 & 7) in the clearing house figures and in increased bank credit. While the definition of the same and the influence of Time Deposits on extension of credit are under constant study,[10] its phenomenal growth is again a reflection of the changing role of banks and also of 'institutionalization' of the channels of savings.

As these structural cranges take place in our economy (simultaneously with the presence of an 'unorganised' money market, and of a large slice of paper currency that has not been accounted for) responsibility of our Central Bank, for innovation of monetary tools in addition to the conventional ones used by more advanced countries, increases and the need for a closer integration of the monetary, fiscal, and administrative functions of the State is being felt.

As various monetary measures are being adopted from time to time to curb the over-extended credit deposit ratio,[11] bank money continues to have larger impact on the total money supply; this is reflected in the following table relating to annual variations in money supply.

TABLE—12.

Annual Variations in money Supply. (Rs. Crores).

	Total	Currency	Deposit money
1951-52	— 160.04	— 113.23	— 46.81
1952-53	— 39.08	— 17.32	— 21.76
1953-54	+ 29.26	+ 30.18	— .92
1954-55	+ 126.65	+ 82.34	+ 44.31
1955-56	+ 262.18	+ 193.90	+ 68.28
1956-57	+ 124.97	+ 51.72	+ 73.25
1957-58	+ 71.24	+ 51.34	+ 19.90
1958-59	+ 112.83	+ 117.95	— 5.12
1959-60	+ 194.19	+ 138.84	+ 55.35
1960-61	+ 194.19	+ 167.19	+ 27.00
1961-62	+ 177.19	+ 103.11	+ 74.08
1962-63	+ 271.32	+ 178.31	+ 93.01
1963-64	+ 435.93	+ 224.13	+ 211.80

Of the total increase of money during the decade (Rs. 1800.83 crores) currency accounts for an increase of 1208.46 crores (67.1 per cent) and deposit money (Rs. 592.37 crores) the remaining one third.

During the last three years, however, (when total money supply has increased by Rs. 884.44 crores), currency covers no more than 57.2 per cent (Rs. 505.55 crores) and deposit money accounts for Rs. 378.89 crores (Rs. 42.8 per cent).[12]

Keeping view (a) the inflationary pressure that was injected into our economy during the last war (b) the chain reaction that has followed due to an overdose, within a comparatively short time, of 'deficit financing' (c) existence of a large amount of money which remains 'hidden' for extra-legal transaction (d) gradual increase in the power of banks to create more credit (e) chronic imbalance between aggregate demand for consumers' goods and their supply, there is a strong case for a re-orientation not only in our monetary policy but also in our fiscal, and administrative policies for a more precise approach to the long-term price structure of the country.

---

8. Refer in this connection to Column 7 in Table 10.

9. This may, incidentally, be compared with Columns 2-4 and 7 of Table 10.

10. Refer in this connection to Reserve Bank Bulletin, November, 1963. The widening gap between gross money and net money has been illustrated in columns 3 and 7 of table 10 of this article. Change in the statutory reserve requirements has also brought about some definitional change in Time Deposits; on the other hand, overlapping character and functions of the two Categories of Deposits (or part of these deposits) has partly brought about change in reserve requirements (Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, April, '64, page 464).

11. Cash as precentage of Deposits in seche-duled Banks was 9.58 per cent in 1951-52 and only 6.47 per cent in 1963-64. On the other hand ratio of credit to deposit moved from 70.61 per cent to 79.54 per cent. Recent legislation for increasing the liquidity ratio will bring about some change (Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, April, 1964, page 465).

12. In 1963-64 the increase is accounted for almost equally by currency and deposit money.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON INDIAN LANGUAGES

By V. S. KUMAR.

This article is written purely from the philologists' point of view and is not meant to be an apology or a plea for the continued use of the English language. To go a step further, it is the author's strong conviction that all languages flourish when mutually in contact acting as a catalyst, one on the other. A philologist does not look upon any language as the property of a set of people, but on the other hand considers all languages as a common human inheritance, which all, irrespective of colour, race or creed, have a right to enjoy.

A language is essentially a means of communication between two persons or two sets of peoples, and as long as this purpose is served, no language should be considered under any other pretext. A wise Professor once remarked that a language is like a rose garden which may belong to one individual but whose fragrance belongs to all irrespective of legal or other issues involved.

It is, therefore, irrational to demarcate rigidly peoples that speak different languages, and dogmatize on the issue, while there is such clamour for universal brotherhood and demolition of barriers. Language is, nevertheless, an emotional issue and to use it for any purpose other than a means of communication and understanding reveals blatant and basest political expediency. All that the author wishes to deplore is the crude way in which the languages are being used as tools to carve out transitory niches of power. In the hasty operation of bringing out a national language, if the umblical cord of English is cut too soon, the nation may be left with a still-born. Let a language be born naturally. Let it not be asphyxiated.

The theme of this article, as stated before, is to examine to what extent English has quickened the pace of the development of Indian languages to suit the technological society that we are trying to build. The preceding paragraphs were after a necessary digression.

The advent of European traders, especially the English, was on all counts inauspicious for the various Indian States. The initiative in administration, commerce, arts was snatched away by the European traders depriving the Indians their just rights. As British power expanded and enriched the English nation it produced great liberals, who brought many reforms in England. Their influence extended to the empire, and they gave the subject nations the one blessing that could give the fast evolving English language by spreading English education.

The introduction of English education though it was meant only to meet the growing demand for native clerks and petty officials, came as a great stimulant to the dormant intelligentsia in the country. It was a nation that had lost its vitality, a people who had long become disillusioned with their own ancient heritage, English came as a fresh breeze, a shot in the arm, a dose of vitamins. To the scholar who had withdrawn into himself and had become a habitual introvert, a new window opened on a new world, a world where revolutionary changes were taking place, a world where ideas buzzed spreading sweetness and light. At least that is how it looked like to the minds that had stagnated for centuries.

While many aspired for English education to make a living, the few who mattered took to it to rejuvenate their minds. It is these few, who learnt, assimilated and got ready to throw off the foreign yoke; they who built a new structure, made of freshly baked rationalism on the immemorial base of indigenous wisdom. To them we owe our freedom, our modern concepts, our long needed reforms.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...English educated elite is too obvious ...need illustration.

Coming at last to the Indian languages ...broads have been made into them by ...English! Their approach to literary forms ...has undergone an incredible change. No ...more do poets write for ornamentation ; ...w under feudal patronage. No more do ...se writers laboriously carve the literary ...mble. It is for the common man all of ...them write, as it should be : It is not the ...w rulers who are the subject-matter. It ...the man on the street whose feelings ...matter. It is his lot that is portrayed. It ...to him the writer appeals. But for the ...formist writers of nineteenth century ...where would our people be today ? Thus ...is the reformist zeal and the appeal to the ...sses that have lifted our society out of ...e worn out ruts and placed it on a new ...ad. One cannot over-emphasise the role ...glish has played in this remarkable ...nsformation of ideas and their creators.

With the advent of English education ...me, the beginnings of industrial revolu...on in this country. Here, too, the motives ...ere selfish but what a base it has given ...o our ideal of fast industrialisation today ! ...is the English who built our railroads, ...o quickened our communication systems, ...o gave us a nucleus for our growing ...ies of scientists and technicians. The ...stern philosophy of materialism based on ...nce and technology, though dissected ...o contempt by our so-called pure thin... has come to stay. What is more, we ...perately need it today to liberate our ...g suffering masses to give them all the ...c necessities, to make them literate, to ...the life into their minds and thus ...erate their souls. The words of scienti... or industrial origin so commnoly used ...our people today owe their birth to the ...w concepts that English brought to our ...ntry. Our languages have become enrich... and will grow further on their own as ...g as we do not cut off their nourishment ...pletely. It is in this context that a west... language becomes indispensable. And ...re is no other language to suit our pur... ...es better than English with which we are already on intimate terms, and which many of us cherished as our own. And what opportunities it has given us to expound our own Philosophies and give them a place of pride among the various civilizations. To those of us who were blind to our own rich heritage, English came as an eye-opener renewing our faith in our ancient land. Thus the renaissance wrought by English not only sustained our faith in ourselves but gave us an opportunity to look at others and their ideas.

Those who accuse the English knowing few of having vested interests perpetrate this unjustified charge by discouraging the many from learning this international medium. It should be inquired into why the English knowing run most of our administration, and if it is found that this minority is able to assimilate more ideas, then all the people should be encouraged to take to English learning. Those who dissuade people from learning a foreign language are doing the greatest injustice to the nation by keeping the majority in ignorance. The fact that incredible numbers of people seek education in English proves that they are eager for new realms and new ideas. A comparison here may not be out of place. English is the engine that pulls the people in the train and along with it carries the guard's van, the safe-guarding mother tongue.

The first part of this article discusses, only in a general way, the reactions of various aspects of Indian life to English and makes a plea for the banishment of prejudice and blindness to sustain the growth of Indian languages through contacts with foreign languages like English. This part deals more with the actual changes and expansion in the vocabulary of Indian languages. For purposes of easy reading the vocabulary cited is placed under different aspects of life in a modern society.

Food :—Soda, Drink, Cool drink, Colour (Coloured Soda or aerated water) are commonly used even by the most illiterate people in many parts of the country. Under the same category can be mentioned plate, cup, saucer glass (usually glass vessel or

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tumbler, which also denotes any drinking vessel made of copper, brass, stainless steel etc.)

Fruit Salad, (usually mispronounced as well as misspelt in many a hotel or restaurant as fruit solid), Ice, and Icecream.

Hotel, Lodge, Lodging, Boarding, Server (i.e. waiter or one who serves food), Cleaner (a word common in both hotel and automobile industries).

Coffee, Tea (common in the South only), Biscuit, Rusk, Cake, Bread (not very common), Sweet, Chocolate (pertains to toffees also). One can add many more, but the above-mentioned are most common.

Communication and Transport :—Post (Mail), Post Office, Post Card, Cover (Postal Cover), Telephone, Money-order, Registered (Cover, Parcel etc.), Air-Mail, Express delivery, Sea-Mail, Stamp, Postman, Postmaster,

Train, Compartment, Berth, Reservation are commonly used by the educated classes. Rail is most common, and is used in different corrupt forms in different languages, such as Railgadi in Hindi, Railbandi or Vandi (pronounced Rilu) in the South.

Engine, Driver, Fireman, Signal, Platform, Guard, Linesman are universally used. Coolie is frequently used for porter. Trolley is another common word. So are Booking-Office, Ticket-Collector, Station-Master etc.

Aerodrome, Aeroplane or Plane are frequently used by the educated classes. Pilot, Navigator, Air Hostess, Runway, Signal tower are very popular words.

In road transport Lorry, Car, Bus, Driver and Cleaner are invariably used. So are words like Horn, Petrol, Tyre, Axle, Seat etc. Road is used without exception but variously pronounced, even though all Indian languages have well-known equivalents like Rasta in Hindi or Theru in Tamil (it also denotes street).

Van has no equivalent unless something has been artificially invented.

Radio is universally common and with the phenomenal increase in its popularity is used even in the remotest villages. So are Gramophone and record (gra... record).

Music, dance and drama are fr... used though they have well-known ... lents. Cinema and Cinema Hall, ... Cinema, and Film are not strange ... even the villagers.

Hero, Heroine, Actor, Director, Director, Make-up, are also wel... words. So are Sound, Scene and R...

Education :—School and Colle... popular though they have equi... Headmaster, Principal are used ... exception. Desk, Blackboard, Des... Chalk Piece are popular. So is Be... School Bell). Lecturer, Demonstra... Quarterly, Half-yearly, Annual (pr... to examinations) are used with... inhibition. Laboratory and Libr... usually mispronounced either by ... ing the syllables or shortening th...

Composition, Geometry, Alge... tional, Scale, Balance, Test tube, ... Jar, Gas, Margin, Experiment, C... Physics, Biology or Natural Scien... History, Economics, Home Scien... cine, Engineering, Doctor, Engin... fessor, Reader and so many other w... so well-known that it is better to le... to the reader himself to enumerate.

Commerce, Administration and ciary :—It is curious that though ... began its conquest through ... merce, very few commercial wo... been borrowed by the Indian La... Probably the fact that commer... already highly developed in India ... the British came, made the Indians ... any English Commercial words. Th... however, a few words that have ... borrowed.

Stock-Exchange, Corporation, ... Director, Shares, Bank, Insurance, ... Trust, Deposit, Pass-Book, Cheq... Purchase Officer, Accountant, Cash...

Administration and Judiciary ... given many more words to the ... Languages :—Government, Governo... ster, Secretary, District Collecto... Collector, Revenue, Revenue D... Officer (more commonly known as ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

District Medical Officer (D.M.O.), Resident Medical Officer (R.M.O.), Disrict Superintendent of Police (D.S.P.), Inspector, Sub-Inspector, Constable, Guard, Registrar, Sub-Registrar.

Municipality, Municipal Corporation, Mayor, Commissioner, Health Officer, Municipal Chairman, Panchayat President (an excellent example of combining local language with English).

President (the Hindi equivalent Rashtrapati is gradually gaining currency), Parliament, Assembly, Council (legislative council), Speaker, Marshal, Whip, in spite of using the Hindi equivalents, are very regularly used.

Words like Calendar and all the English names for months are used without exception.

General:—There are any number of words that are unconsciously used because of their utility and their long-standing usage.

Let us take a house. One opens the gate and rings the **bell.** The light under the porch is **switched** on. The **passenger** pays the **taxi-driver,** and asks his servant to carry the **suitcase** inside. He himself carries the **hold-all.** He sits on the **sofa** and asks for a **cup of coffee.** He asks for the fan to be **switched on.** He picks up a newspaper, scans it and asks for the latest paper (newspaper). He removes his **coat** and takes out his **purse** (money purse) and pen. He goes to the **typewriter** and **types** a letter. He pus it in a cover and seals it. Then tells the servant to use the **cycle** (bicycle) to go to the **post-box.** He goes to the **tap** or **pump** (used as a synonym for well) and has a wash. He uses a **soap** (soap has many variations in the Indian languages like sabun in Hindi and Kannada or sabou in Telugu). He then wipes his face with a **towel** (Indianised into Taval, Tuvalu etc.). He removes his **Banian** and looking at himself in the mirror tells his wife that he must soon go to a **Hair-cutting saloon.** He says he is not hungry and asks his wife for a **glass of juice.**

Next morning he shaves using a **razor** and a **blade** (razor blade). He puts **hair oil** on his hair and combs his hair. He has coffee and tiffin and gets ready to go to **office.** He **telephones** the office that he may be **late.** He goes to the **bus-stop** and waits for the **bus.**

Well, this story has apparently no end, but it will be interesting to find out how many English words we use ordinarily in our daily lives.

It will, of course, be far-fetched to say that one cannot speak in his own tongue without using English words. It is very much possible and requires not much of an effort. What concerns us here is the fact that a person, when he is not conscious that his speech is being observed, unconsciously uses a number of English words whether in their pure form or in a slightly Indianised form. One need not be and therefore should not be ashamed of this fact. If the Indian languages are gradually becoming enlarged to suit the needs of a technological society it should please everyone that such a thing is happening, irrespective of whether words are being borrowed left and right from English or Russian or French or any other language. When two languages or more come into contact there is mutual benefit all round. A chain reaction sets in and all the languages are enriched because of this reaction. (There is an interesting book "Indian words in English" by Late Subba Rao of Andhra University published by Oxford University Press.)

Hindi will one day, because of its increasing contacts with English and other foreign tongues, in addition to its connections with the other Indian languages, grow in stature and suitability and will be accepted without hesitation as the common language of all Indians. Perhaps during this process, which may take sometime, English would have become so common among the nations of the world that it may be officially accepted by all as an international medium.

We, who aspire to live as equals among other nations, should therefore cultivate our national language as well as the international language (which is already familiar to us) to occupy our rightful place in the world.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AN EARLY SUNSET OF INDIAN SCIENCE —THE SOCIOPOLITICAL FACTORS

By : ARUN KUMAR BISWAS

It would be presumptuous to write about progress of Science in India during the mediaeval period (between the twelfth and eighteenth century)—because, there was hardly any. Of course, the technical arts and crafts acquired during the preceding centuries were improved occasionally ; cotton, silk and carpet industries thrived ; after Babur's invasion, the Indians learnt the use of gunpowder and modelling of better cannons ; and the techniques of road—and bridge-making were improved—but none of these truly represented any advancement of science or scientific thinking. The purpose of this article is to analyse the socio-economic and political factors (these are closely inter-related) which led towards the steady decline and stagnation of Indian Science during the Pathan and Moghul period and prevented any resurgence till the British rule started in this country. Brief references about European, Chinese and Japanese social conditions during the mediaeval period would be made to illustrate various viewpoints.

During the Hindu period, at least upto the 6th century A.D.., India enjoyed remarkable prosperity and peace. In spite of occasional provincial conflicts, animossty between two neighbouring Kingdoms was often resolved in a peaceful manner. All the monarchs were Hindus and tolerant in religious matters. Progress of science and education was largely due to the patronage and critical appreciation of Kings like Vikramaditya, and also due to favourable social factors.

It was, however, a different story, after the 6th cetury. Like Europe, the Indian subcontinent experienced the terrible Hunnish invasions. After the emergence of the forces of Islam, the Arabs started their marine expeditions to the west coast of India ; Sind collapsed in the 8th century. The Hindu navy was often humiliated and the Arabs forced as many Hindus as they could to embrace Islam. The Hindu rulers in India were lacking in political wisdom. Instead of uniting against the invaders, they were often at loggerheads with each other. A powerful religious head could perhaps exhort the rulers to unite against the foreign invaders as the Vatican united the Christians for the crusade. But the liberal-minded Hindus never any common religious figurehead and thus society always lacked political cohesion.

The chaotic social conditions could encourage any scientist or intellectual professions of craftsmen and merchants were with many difficulties—and were chr insecure. But the worst feature happened the intellectual bankruptcy of the Hindus an outcome of affluence in the 4th and 5th and international fame enjoyed by science and culture, vainglory had set hearts of the Indians.

Alberuni, the famous foreign scholar 11th century travelled throughout India study Indian science and philosophy, he was a great admirer. His records reve the contemporary Hindus were not only but strangely overcome with foolish va parochialism which contrasted with the knowledge and humility that had mark Indians of the age of Varahamihira. Hindus", he wrote, "believe that there country but theirs, no nation like theirs, like theirs, *no science like theirs* (italics mine). They are haughty. foolishly va conceited and stolid..... If they and mixed with other nations, they wou change their mind, for their ancestors as narrow-minded as the present generati Thinking naively that the Hindu scien culture had already attained the unsurp height, the Indians neglected the noble acquisition of knowledge.

There is no reason to believe that the age of Aryabhatta and Varahamihir reactionary forces were totally absent in th society. The caste system was being gr made rigid. Later, the duty of philos studies (which included speculative science) was assigned exclusively to the practical arts were taken

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the non-Brahmins. Moreover, different languages evolved out of Sanskrit, and a common technician having little opportunity or capability to study the scientific texts in Sanskrit, became cut off from the mainstream of Indian scientific thoughts evolved in the previous centuries. Those who studied the Sanskrit texts had little fascination for experimental science and scarcely felt it necessary to translate the Sanskrit texts into the newly evolved languages and thus to popularise science among the masses. This divorce of theoretical from practical studies of science had been so complete by the 12th century that no Indian, whether Brahmin or non-Brahmin could possibly appreciate the inviolable relationship between a scientific truth and its experimental verification.

The invasions and daring piracy of the Arabs created great turmoil not only in the political life but also in the social life of the Hindus. While political unison was a far cry, the advocates of the reactionary forces persuaded the rulers of the country to stop emigration of scholars or merchants—since they would be either maltreated or converted to alien ways of life, by force or persuasion. (In the 15th century, the Chinese emperors took a similar decision in the face of Japanese and European hostilities in the Sea). Thus, the most progressive nation in the world turned itself towards conservatism and painful physical and cultural seclusion. The people who had carried the message of wisdom all over Asia, now decreed that eating with foreigners or even with fellow citizens of a different caste was punishable and an act of sea-voyage needs atonement :

This curious mixture of vainglory, dogmatism and lack of political wisdom in the Indian people had already predestined an early eclipse of their science.

The situation was hardly improved by the Moslem invasions and here again the unbiased historian Alberuni describes the contemporary situation :

"Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale told in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. This is the reason too why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us and have fled to places where our hands cannot yet reach, the Kashmir, Benares and other places. And there the antagonism between them and all foreigners receives, more and more nourishment both from political and religious sources".

The barbarity of the early moslem invaders in India shocked even the Arab intellectuals. For example, Shaikh Bu Ali Sina, a respected physician and biologist refused to come to India with Mahmud, whose plunder and loot, he felt, was destroying Indian science. European history would have perhaps followed a similar dreadful course, if there were no united Christian front in the religious wars and if the Moslem invasions of the Iberian peninsula were not finally stopped at the battle of Tours in 732 A.D. In India, the Moslems faced an opponent which was militarily weak and thus vanquishable, but culturally strong and hence not easily proselytisable. The desperate situation generated only hatred ; the rulers and the ruled refused to learn from each other on educational and scientific matters.

The Pathan rulers did not completely destroy Indian trade and industry ; Bengal and Gujrat continued to remain as important centres for manufacture of silk and cotton goods. Repeated invasions (like that of Timur in the 14th century) however prevented any resurgence of Indian economic prosperity. The invaders systematically destroyed not only temples but also centres of learning containing scientific books. There is little wonder that when Babur conquered part of India, he remarked that there was no educational institution of repute in the country !

The Moghuls had firm grip on Indian politics for more than two centuries. Yet they did very little to improve educational standards in the country. Education continued to be classical in the main and divorced from the scientific spirit which had recently emerged in the Moslem countries and Europe. No doubt, the Moghuls appreciated and patronised painting, music and architecture etc., and exceptional people like Akbar and Dara Shikoh went so far as to be interested in the world religions and comparative theology ; but none of them took any advantage of their contact with the Moslem world outside India, which was producing scientists of repute.

Patriotic feelings have prompted Indian historians to call Akbar as 'the great'. But, the time has come when we should dispassionately evaluate his career and policies with particular reference

In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to education and science. Akbar was certainly the best of the Moghul rulers and his efficient administration and liberal outlook towards religion deserve praise. But as a monarch, he was never free from egoism, and believed that, "a monarch should ever be intent on conquest. otherwise his enemies rise in arms against him" ('Happy Sayings', Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl. English translation, vol iii. p. 399). In martial spirit, he was not radically different from Aurangzeb. He was kind to the Hindus, but not to the independent-minded Hindu rulers like Rana Pratap. Whether he sincerely desired to synthesise Hindu and Moslem culture is debatable.[1] The more important criticisms are that : he never planned political unification of the country, did precious little to check the naval supremacy of the Portuguese (when his female relatives wanted to go to Mecca for a pilgrimage in 1575, Akbar had to take assurance for their safety from the portuguese) and devoted little attention to the improvement of educational standards and science in India. The last criticism needs some amplification.

Akbar was well aware of Portuguese superiority in naval architecture, artillery, astronomy, medicine, etc.—but he was more interested in theology ! About 1578, Haji Habibullah was sent to Goa with instructions from Akbar to bring back European articles and commodities. Haji brought back many interesting articles, but special admiration was bestowed on an organ 'played by a European sitting inside'. Akbar sent an invitation letter to the Portuguese office at Goa to send "two of your learned, men, who should bring the books of the law, and above all the Gospels".

Abul Fazl writes in Ain-i-Akbari (book ii Ain 25) about the educational standard during Akbar's regime :

"The boys should be required to read books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of the government, medicine, logic, the theological (ilahi), the mathematical and p (riyazi and tabi'i) sciences, as well as h all of which may be gradually acquired". V Smith boldly and perhaps rightly asserts t school in India during the Moghul period such an ambitious programme. There was no scientist of repute at that period. None famous Moslem scholars of the foreign co (like the mathematicians and astronomer Ulug-beg madrasah of Samar Kand —the M rulers were aware of these schools and the lars) were invited to teach in Indian sc Akbar himself was not ashamed of his ig to read and write, and his sayings includ maxim :

"The prophets were all illiterate. B should therefore retain one of their sons in condition". ('Happy Sayings', Ain, Vol. 385).

In this respect, Aurangzeb deserves praise ; at least, he was regretful, unlike about the inadequacy of his education. describes how Aurangzeb rebuked his teacher Molla Shah for not having taught anything about European history and geo or Western science. Aurangzeb felt that emphasis on classical education based on was unnecessary and that the degradation Asian countries was largely due to imperf incomplete education acquired by the In spite of these laudable sentiments, Au could not do anything to improve educa standards in the country due to the storms which were created by his own re fanaticism.

We need not overlook what might be the brighter sides of the Moghul reign. scale productions of shawl continued at K and also cotton cloths at Gujrat, carpets a and delicate fabrics at Sunargaon in Beng government earned huge revenue from ex these commodities. But very little ef made to alleviate the poverty of the i workers, to prevent the economic exploita them, or to help them improve their skill. Ali Mardan Khan's remarkable an engineer (his work on the Ravi canal and on the Shalimar Gardens) and the tural fancy at Tajmahal are usually cited glories of Shah Jahan's reign. But it clearly understood that "this glory was at the cost of large suffering to the peas

1. In his newly proclaimed religion, Din Ilahi, he assumed the powers of religious authority with the hope of becoming a monarch-cum-pope and prophet. He once said, "the very sight of Kings has been held to be a part of divine worship". Father Pinheiro writing from Lahore on Sept. 3, 1595 mentioned that in the city, the royal sect had many adherents, but all for the sake of the money paid to them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

artisans of the country", as the famous traveller Bernier put it.

The reasons for lack of dynamism in mediaeval India were deep-rooted. One of the basic reasons was the adverse balance of trade between the West and East, including India. Right from the beginning of the Christian era till the 18th century industrial revolution in Europe, the West was dependant on Asia and particularly India for many consumer commodities. The monopoly of the Arabs in trade and navigation made the Europeans desperate since to them trade was as important as agriculture. The entire West spent concerted efforts to discover alternate routes to India. These restless efforts had to be (and indeed were) backed up by positive encouragement to the pioneers of science and technology who flourished in different European countries.

On the other hand, the Chinese and Indian economy were agrarian and self-sufficient[2] There was very little necessity for international trade. Even the domestic consumption of commodity articles manufactured in India was largely restricted to the emperor and the wealthy men of the country, and thus the domestic trade was very small in volume.

Bernier reported that in Delhi there was no middle class of people in between the extremely wealthy and the miserably poor. This is understandable since most of the national wealth was concentrated in the bullions and treasures hoarded by the Moghul emperors, who had proverbial lust for gold and silver. When Akbar died in 1605, he left behind 40 millions of pound sterling (equivalent in purchasing power to about 10-20 times as much money at the present time) ; and yet, a very negligible fraction of the revenue was spent on education and agriculture, the industries in Bengal and Gujrat were starving for lack of capital and famines were rampant and widespread. The military conquests, arson, loot and plunder of the Moghul and Maratha armies successfully exterminated whatever was left of Indian industry and technology (Shivaji's plunder of the industrial centre of Surat exceeded ten million rupees).

Land-holders, aristocrats property-owners and merchants played significant roles in promoting and patronising science and technology. Studies on Western history as well as Indian history during the Gupta period have revealed this truth. During the Moghul dynasty however, one of the most significant and notorious rules was that the land and other properties of a person could not be inherited by his descendants and after the death of the person, the property would be usurped by the emperor who was the only legal owner in the country. This monstrous lack of social security killed all initiative and even the wealthiest did not think of promoting education or industrial ventures in the society—since he thought that these acts would hardly benefit his descendants after his death. The monarchial autocracy was in its full play. The element of fatalism in Indian thought must have originated only in the mediaeval ages. At a time when democracy was slowly emerging in the western countries and the merchants, craftsmen and scholars were bringing social and industrial revolution in Europe, Indian people in general and the "remarkably efficient" technicians in particular were at the mercy of ruthless autocrats and exploiters who never understood the spirit of scientific and technological progress.

The famous historian, Jadunath Sarkar, remarked that "Aurangzeb rather quickened the destructive forces already in operation in the land ; he never realised that there cannot be a great empire without a great people". But, is not this remark applicable to some extent to most of the rulers of mediaeval India not excluding Akbar and Shivaji ? Is is not true that the concept of Indian nationhood never crystallised for a thousand years after the 8th century A.D. ?

The vastness of the Indian sub-continent was

---

2 The Chinese who invented paper, gunpowder, printing and the mariner's compass were intelligent but thought like the Indians that their civilisation was perfect and economy complete. Chien Lung, one of the emperors in the 18th century told the Western ambassadors that it was unworthy of them to try to partake of the benefits of Chinese civilisation, but the Chinese did not accept the Western civilsation ; "China possesses all things in abundance, and we do not want your products". As a contrast, the Japanese people, never suffering from any superiority complex of the above kind, were conscious of the economic need of international commerce. They were also the first in Asia to realise that commerce could not be improved without Western science and technology.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

perhaps a factor against lasting national unity without which political stability and optimum growth of scientific education and research could not be expected. India and China were pre-occupied with land and neglect of Sea (unlike as in Japan or England) made these two powers easy prey for vigorous maritime states. But the additional and more important factor in the case of India was that the country happened to be the scene of bloody rivalries of hostile cultures.[3] (The evil of communalism still plagues this sub-continent.) Due to the internecine wars, India had become so weak, not only culturally but also militarily, that the Italian traveller Manucci, who visited India during Aurangzeb's reign, affirmed that "30,000 good European soldiers could easily sweep away the authority of the Mughal and occupy the whole of his empire". This remark was proven within fifty years after Aurangzeb's death (1707).

A study of the Japanese socio-political condition which heralded the birth of modern science in that country is extremely rewarding particularly because it offers a striking contrast with the Indian scene. Like England, Japan has been geographically small and well-demarcated by the Sea from the neighbouring continent. The country did suffer from civil wars but at the threat of European expansionism, quickly regained political cohesion. Never suffering from superiority complex, the Japanese people were always eager to learn and being dependant upon and ex... maritime trade, quickly appreciated the im... of commerce based on science and te... Sakuma, one of the scholars in the ear... century wrote :

"How is it that Western Countries ha... able by devotion to learning to increa... national strength to such a point that ev... country of Confucius has fallen victim ... assault ? It is because foreign learn... rational and Chinese learning is not." Fu... the pioneer of modern and pragmatic edu... Japan preached the gospel of science and ... ism in his widely read book, 'Gakumon n... me' or 'Encouragement of Learning'. To... the efforts of the Japanese scholars and s... Emperor Meiji democratised the country, ... national trade and industry and with the ... foreign scholars, accelerated the pace of ... tion of science in Japan.

A study on history of science in ... countries clearly points to one great ... nation wishes to remain economically p... and foremost in the contemporary world, ... make concerted efforts for promotion of ... and technological advancement in the ... After the golden age of the Gupta period, ... forgot this lesson, at the cost of untold ... degradation. Raja Rammohun Roy, the ... modern India, regained this historical p... and initiated another golden chapter in ... science.

References :

1. Nilakantasastri, K. A., *History* ... Part II.

2. Bernal, J. D., *Science in Histo...* Publication, 1957.

3. Sansom, G. B., *The Western W... Japan*, The Cresset Press, London.

3 Apart from the perpetual conflict between the Moslems and the Hindus and Sikhs, the tension between the two Moslem communities : Shia and Sunni also mounted. In 1700, Aurangzeb vanquished the Shia empire of Bijapur. Along with the economically prosperous capital of Bijapur, half of its population was extinguished ; the intellectual and the industrial life of the state was thus effectively annihilated.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEHRU'S PHILOSOPHY FOR THE TRIBAL PEOPLE OF INDIA

By P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

Introduction

...his grievous loss at the passing away of late ...me Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru is shared by ... walks of life in India, more especially ... the tribal people. He used to grace our ...ional celebrations such as Republic Day, In...pendence Day, etc., with his august presence. ...People from the hill areas come in flying colours ...r giving dance recitals in connection with our ...tional festivals every year. These indigenous ...ople lend colour and gaiety to the celebrations. ... them the loss of Panditji will be insurmount...le. They mourn for him, for he will not meet ...m any more, visit them in their camps at Tal...ra Garden, entertain them at his residence ...d will not dance with them. They have lost ...ir greatest friend, who liked their dances, ad...ed their simple ways of living and praised ...ir time-honoured institutions.

'We are all Adivasis'

Panditji was all against the caste-system of ...ia. He did not like people being labelled as ...rijan, Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe, De...ed Caste, Criminal Tribe, etc. Such is ...inst the spirit of our Constitution. He dec...: ". . . This distinction of hierarchy of ...es has to be abolished and uprooted from our ...iety". He abhorred casteism, communalism, ...cialism, and other such *isms*. He asks : "Who constitute these categories of Adi...sis? I have not been able to solve this ...zzle. In my opinion all of us are Adivasis. ...I do not like this distinction. We are all ...divasis".

"To call some people primitive and to think ...rselves as highly civilized is basically a ...ong approach. . . . But I am sure that to ...ink of the tribals and non-tribals as people ...alitatively different is wrong. . . . But this ...rrier of 'so and so belongs to Scheduled ...ste should go".

Deep attraction

Panditji's association with the Adivasis is as old as his association with Bapu. His love for the Adivasis may be traced to Gandhiji's early days in Sevagram where were a sprikling of Gonds. He says : "Sometimes I used to go to a village of the Gonds. . . . If I had more time, I would have gone to your villages, met you all and conversed with you all".

Besides his contacts with the Gonds, Santals and other tribal people of India, his visit to the Northeast Frontier Agency area helped him to know intimately about the tribal folk of India. What was his cause of attraction to these simple people ? The answer will be found in his speech at the opening session of the Conference of Tribes and Scheduled Areas held at New Delhi on June 7, 1952, in the following words :

> ". . . . I had felt very strongly attracted towards the tribal people of this country. That attraction was not the attraction of the seeker after curiosity about odd customs and the like. It was not even the attraction of the doer of good, who wanted to go and do good to other people. It was just the attraction of feeling happy with them, of feeling at home with them and liking them without any desire to do them good or to have good done to me."

The main reason of attraction was : ". . . I have found in the tribal people many qualities which I do not find in the people of the plains and the cities and many other parts of India, and these qualities attracted me. . . . The tribal people are a virile people".

We miss the fine sentiments expressed in the following words of Panditji in an anthropological study of any particular tribe of India :

"What appealed to me about all these tribal people was not only their physique and health and straight-limbed bodies but their frank demeanour. They looked one in the face and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

were not afraid or inhibited, men and women alive altogether they struck me as a fine lot of which any country can be proud. . . . Indeed it is quite absurd to call them backward. An average crowd of some of these tribes would probably be more advanced in many ways than an average crowd elsewhere in India".

The Right Approach

To win over the tribal people is not an easy job. They have their own idiosyncrasies. Anthropologists wait for months together for establishing rapport. But Panditji had his own ways for winning them over.

During the early days of Sevagram Mira Behn sought the advice of Bapu when she felt some difficulty in getting a response from the local inhabitants. Bapu's advice was : "*We have got to teach these people and the way to teach is to help*". "But help", she tells us, "in Bapu's language did not mean pouring out money in passing charity. It meant living in the midst of the people, watching them in all the little details of their daily life, entering into their simple hearts and understanding the workings of their limited, and often embittered, minds. Then after gaining insight, to devise ways and means of helping the people to help themselves". Panditji followed the Father of the Nation in his approach to the less advanced people of India. The approach was not pedantic. He says :

". . . I approach this simple folk in a spirit of comradeship and not like some one aloof who had come to look at them, examine them, weigh them, or try or make them conform to another way of life".

An elliptic statement of this kind has been explained by Panditji himself in the following words :

"The approach to the tribal people should be one of learning from them and having learnt, to try to help and co-operate. There is a very great deal to learn from them, especially in the frontier areas. They are an extremely disciplined people, often much more democratic than most others in India. Without a constitution and the rest they function democratically and carry out the decisions made by their elders or their own representatives almost without exception. Above they are a people who sing and dance to enjoy life : not people who sit in changes and shout at each other and civilization. *I would prefer any day to nomad in the hills* to being a member exchanges or being made to sit there en to those frightfully ugly noises that the civilization we want the tribal to have ? I hope not. I am quite ultimately the civilization of the tribal song and dance will last when stock have ceased to exist in this country countries".

Time and again he has emphasised way of approach to the tribal people Any other line of approach is likely to in trouble and chaos. His advice is :

"If you approach the tribal people affection, go to them as a liberating as a friend so that they may feel come not to take away something but to give them something, that is integration. But if you feel you have impose yourself, to interfere and come way, to try to change their methods to take away their land, to push some businessmen there who will exploit it is all completely wrong. The less we this type of integration and consolidate the tribal areas, the better".

Dangerous approaches

Panditji despised and deprecated followed by the British administrators the Adivasis of India. Their retrograde is called "Museum approach". The tish anthropologist-*cum*-administrators bal areas propounded such a policy, which is that the tribal people of India preserved in their pristine purity, shadow of contamination from the plains logical specimens or museum show-pieces wonder" writes Elwin, "that the tribes ready deeply conscious of his own grows more and more depressed, energy hopeless. The world is too much for he forgets his own great qualities, his ditions, his right to a gay and happy

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Now we very much feel the deleterious effects of such an isolationist policy. Panditji smarted under such a humiliating policy. He avoided the extremes and followed the middle path. He says:

"There are generally two ways of approaching the problem of the tribal people. One might be called the anthropological approach of treating these people as museum specimens to be observed and written about and not as living human beings with whom one could work and play. The other approach is of rather ignoring that they are something special and different and trying to absorb them into the normal pattern of society elsewhere. Both these approaches are wrong. It is an insult to them to treat them as specimens for anthropological examination and analysis except in the sense that everybody is more or less an anthropological specimen. One might not realise it but one could be examined in that way. The other way, the forcible assimilation and even allowing sometimes normal factors to operate, would be wrong. This is what I mean by normal factors. Suppose you don't protect their lands. I have no doubt unscrupulous people from outside will go and take possession of these lands. They will take possession of the forests and interfere with the lives of the tribal people if normal factors are allowed to have a free play. Therefore, we must give them a measure of protection in their areas so that no outsider can interfere with them except with their consent and goodwill. . . . ."

One pertinent question may be asked at this juncture, why, then, the people of NEFA, Andaman & Nicobar Islands and other tribal areas are kept as 'museum specimens'. He does not want any deliberate genocide. The answer to this question was given during the debate in Parliament in March 1963:

"It is wrong to say that we want to keep the people of NEFA as museum specimens. That has never been our policy. Our policy has always been based on this fact: that with anyone, more especially the tribal people that to win them over, one has to proceed on well-thought-out plans, to affect their minds and emotions... Wherever they (the tribal peoples) come in touch with others more advanced, they have often been almost destroyed. That has been the case in the South Sea Islands, and everywhere. Therefore one has to proceed with great care. . ."

Special treatment of NEFA

Our North-western and North-eastern borders are exposed and subject to Chinese invasion. The people of the North-East Frontier areas deserve special treatment. The goodwill of the tribesmen of these areas is no less an insurance than our own preparedness to face any eventuality. In fact 'we cannot allow matters to drift in the tribal areas or just not take interest in them. In the world of today that is not possible or desirable'. On his return from NEFA, in 1952, Panditji declared:

"I would say that all this North-East Border deserves our special attention, not only of the Governments, but of the people of India. Our contacts with them will do us good and will do them good also. They add to the strength, variety and cultural richness of India. As one travels there, a new and vaster picture of India comes before the eyes and the narrowness of outlook which sometimes obsesses us, begins to fade away. One feels that India is not just one particular part which we might know intimately, but something infinitely more a meeting place of all manner of races, languages and cultures".

What does an Adivasi demand?

Before Independence, the Adivasis did not ask for self-determination, but they asked for security of land tenure, freedom in the pursuit of thir traditional methods of livelihood and perpetuation of their customs, manners and traditions. They cherished protection of their lands, customary way of life from exploitation, and provision for sanitary, medical, educational and social services. Generally, the British administrators did not pay any heed to their hopes and aspirations. They held that no tribal regards education as a gateway to a larger culture of which he knew nothing. Education was regarded rather as a way of wasting the time of little boys and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

girls who ought to be out helping in the agricultural fields.

Gandhiji was not against medicines and education, but he believed in first things first. In conformity with the wishes of the Father of the Nation, Panditji formulated his policies. In his inaugural address at the Third Tribal Welfare Conference held at Jagdalpur in March, 1955, he explained his policy in the following words :

"The Adivasis of this country should learn, be educated and cultivate their lands and see that our country progresses. We want that your customs, traditions and religion should not be interfered with. Some people say that they should be changed. But I do not like it. I want that such arrangements should be made that you should decide for yourself how you would like it to be. Your own organization should remain, songs and dances should survive and at the same time you have to work for the progress and prosperity of the great country of ours, i.e., Bharat . . . . We all have to march ahead and to progress."

Panditji was in favour of improving the primitive agricultural methods of the Adivasis wherever improved methods could be introduced. In his address to the students of Mahatma Gandhi Adivasi Janata Vidyalay of Bombay State on 7th February 1960 he said :

"Thousands of farmers are coming to Delhi to see the Agricultural Fair, but the young Adivasi farmers from Bombay State who have come to meet me today are being given training in improved methods of agriculture. I am very happy to know that arrangements are made to train them in scientific methods of agriculture."

Panditji welcomed medical relief to the tribal people. In fact medical relief is a desideratum in some of the areas where there are chronic diseases among the hillmen. He once said :

"We need some health relief work and cottage industries and the like—simple things which fitted in—but one had always to keep in view the fact that we are going there not to interfere with their way of life but to help them to live it."

He was all praise for the missionaries who did pioneering work in respect of education among the Adivasis. But he did not like missionaries indulging in political activities. He looked the spread of Christianity with grave as 'in opposing or abandoning some the indigenous Christianity has sometimes antly thrown the baby out with its bath (F. W. Harding).

Panditji was anxious that the tradition of the people should be preserved wanted that they should advance, but they not lose their artistry and joy in life culture that distinguish them in many results should not be judged by statistics amount of money spent, but by the human character that is evolved. He says

"It is obvious that the tribal area to progress. Nobody wants to keep museum specimens. It is equally obvious they have to progress in their own way do not like something alien to be upon them. No individual can grow surroundings, habits or customs. we going to reconcile these two considera

He has given the answer elsewhere following words :

"They (Adivasis) are our own and our work does not end with the of so many schools and so many dispe and hospitals. Of course, we want sch hospitals and dispensaries and roads that, but to stop there is rather a de of looking at things. What we ought to to develop a sense of oneness with these a sense of unity and understanding involves a psychological approach."

Certain don'ts

Panditji did not like casting the in the maelstrom of Indian politics. Th be no attempt to uproot the tribal peop their surroundings ; they must not be grow soft and thus lose some of th qualities.' Gandhiji disliked Adivasi child coming urbanised and entering the alread flowing army of educated unemployed.

He was against over-administration areas. He criticised outsiders, in his spee the Gauhati Session of the Indian Congress held in January 1958, who sorts of fancy and faked goods to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

people and polluted their taste. He wanted prevention of mill-cloth going to the tribal areas, as their colourful, home-made, and durable textiles will die away. He says :

"I have learnt with horror of cheap textiles and other totally unnecessary articles being imported into the NEFA and sold at some Marwari shops which have been opened. We must not encourage the tribal people to get into bad inartistic habits which normally follow in the wake of what is called civilization."

"We do not encourage traders going there and exploiting the people and spoiling all their taste by selling cheap articles normally neither tasteful nor good, uprooting their tribal habits without giving them anything new."

Panditji looked with horror at the introduction of market economy among the tribal folk of India as tribal economy tends to go out of its gear. The indigenous liquor consumed by them is nutritious ; but introduction of foreign liquor will tell upon their health.

He sounded a note caution in the appointment of officers in tribal areas. He did not want officers who 'sit in an office for a few hours a day and for the rest curse his luck at being sent to an out of the way place'. He says:

"It is better to send a totally uneducated man who has passed no examination, but who goes in friendship and affection to these people and lives with them. Such a man will produce better results than your highest intellectual who has no heart or understanding of the problem. The man who goes there as an officer must be prepared to share his life with tribal folk. He must be prepared to enter their huts, talk to them and eat with them and smoke with them, if necessary, live their lives and not consider himself as something superior or apart, and thereby gain their confidence and respect and then advise them."

Panditji did not like that we make the tribal people of India as second rate copies of ourselves. They have perpetuated their personality from time immemorial whereas we are suffering from a split personality. He say :

"I am not at all sure which is the better way of living, the tribal or our own. In some respects I am quite certain theirs is better. Therefore, it is grossly presumptuous on our part to approach them with an air of superiority to tell them how to behave or what to do and what not to do. There is no point in trying to make of them a second rate copy of ourselves."

Panditji did not like any clamping down of compulsion in respect of languages, but he wished that we encouraged their languages, as has been done in Russia by Lenin, Stalin and their successors. To win anyone is easy through his language. Only the missionaries knew it well.

The problem before us

The tribal problem of India has been engaging the attention of the Government of India ever since we attained Independence. The problem before us is how to rehabilitate these simple peoples, how to provide them with advantages of modern civilization without disintegration of their own culture, and how to make them feel that they are part and parcel of India. Panditji has analysed the problem in the following words :

"The problem is to understand these people, make them understand us and create a bond of affection and understanding between us. After the achievement of Independence the basic problem of India taken as a whole is one of integration and consolidation."

To make this concise statement a little more elaborate we may refer to his own following words :

"The first problem we have to face there is to inspire them with confidence and to make them feel at one with India and to realise that they are part of India and have an honoured place in it. This can only be done by allowing them to retain their own cultural traits and habits and leaving them to develop along their own lines without any compulsion from outside. The problem . . . . is to make the people feel that they have perfect freedom to live their own lives and to develop according to their wishes and genius. India to them should signify not only a protecting force but a liberating one. Any conception that India is ruling them and that they are the ruled, or that the customs and habits with which they are unfamiliar are going to be imposed upon them, will alienate them and make our frontier problems more difficult."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Adivasis and Freedom Movement

Most of the Adivasis have hitherto remained aloof from the main stream of national life. Except the Nagas, who have gone to the extreme, the rest of the tribal population of India have not become corrupted by the vices of party politics. The message of Indian Independence has not reached them. As the people are less politically conscious, it stands in the way of their integration. Panditji has lucidly analysed the point in the following words :

"For half a century or more, we have had a struggle for freedom in this country, culminating in the achievement of Independence. That struggle itself, apart from the result, had a liberating tendency. It raised us and improved us and hid for the moment some of our weaknesses and other qualities. We must remember that this experience of hundreds of millions of Indian people did not extend to the tribal areas. It did affect somewhat the tribes in the central parts of India but in the frontier areas, say, of Assam, it did not affect them at all, or did not affect them much, partly because those areas were cut off from any approach in the old days and partly for other reasons.

". . . . But apart from that we were not allowed to go (there) by the old British authorities, so that our freedom movement did not reach those people . . . . The essence of struggle of freedom, which meant raising some kind of liberating force in India, did not reach those areas, chiefly the frontier areas which are the most important tribal areas. The result is that we have been psychologically prepared. In fact they were prepared the other way by the British officers or sometimes by the missionaries who were there. The missionaries did very good work there and I am full of praise for them, but politically speaking, they did not particularly like changes in India. In fact, just when changes were coming in India, there was a movement in north-eastern India supported by many foreigners there, to encourage those people of the North-East to form separate and independent states. How it was considered practical or feasible from any point of view, I do not understand."

He was confident that integration is taking place among the Adivasis, 'but pushing [illegible] or large number of outsiders does [illegible] integration.'

What Adivasis should do

The right way of paying our respe[illegible] Panditji is not by naming some old stre[illegible] him, or by building memorials for him wi[illegible] and mortar. He does not need any such [illegible] rials or cheap ways of expressing our sen[illegible] The right way of paying our respect to hi[illegible] follow his footsteps. What did Panditji ex[illegible] Adivasis ?

"I hope" he said in March 1955, "[illegible] keep up this art of yours and will make [illegible] progress in it. I want that, in our [illegible] songs and dances should develop much m[illegible] people should do their work happily [illegible] should not think that you have to leave [illegible] songs and dances. They are not bad. [illegible] "Wherever you live, you should live in [illegible] own way. This is what I want. You [illegible] decide yourselves how you would like t[illegible] Your old customs and habits are good [illegible] want that they should survive. . . . W[illegible] that you should be educated and sh[illegible] your part in the welfare of our country. [illegible] "But they should always think in terms o[illegible] If that fundamental and most essential [illegible] forgotten, India will be nowhere".

Self-determination

Panditji was of the view that every [illegible] community of India has the right to determ[illegible] manner in which its internal admini[illegible] should be conducted. Articles 25 and 2[illegible] Constitution of India incorporate this fund[illegible] right. It does not mean that they have [illegible] fullest freedom in political affairs. It m[illegible] that distinctive cultural groups must ha[illegible] nomy. He was not in favour of standar[illegible] of India. Addressing a public meeting at [illegible] on 21st December, 1945, he declared:

"This fact (that a community is a [illegible] scopic minority) however, does not [illegible] the community should be ignored. It [illegible] smaller a community and if it is a [illegible] community and a cultural group, more

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

should be taken in protecting it. Larger communities are capable of protecting themselves. It is important that the State should give it every protection and encourage it in every way."

Addressing a students' meeting, he said on the same day :

"I feel that when India is free the Government must take interest in these (tribal) peoples and encourage them in every way to develop in their own lines and not to have a mixed kind of development. I hope a free India will endeavour to make special efforts to help them but not in a spirit of superiority that is because I find that we are not superiors in many respects. *I do not want to standardise India.*

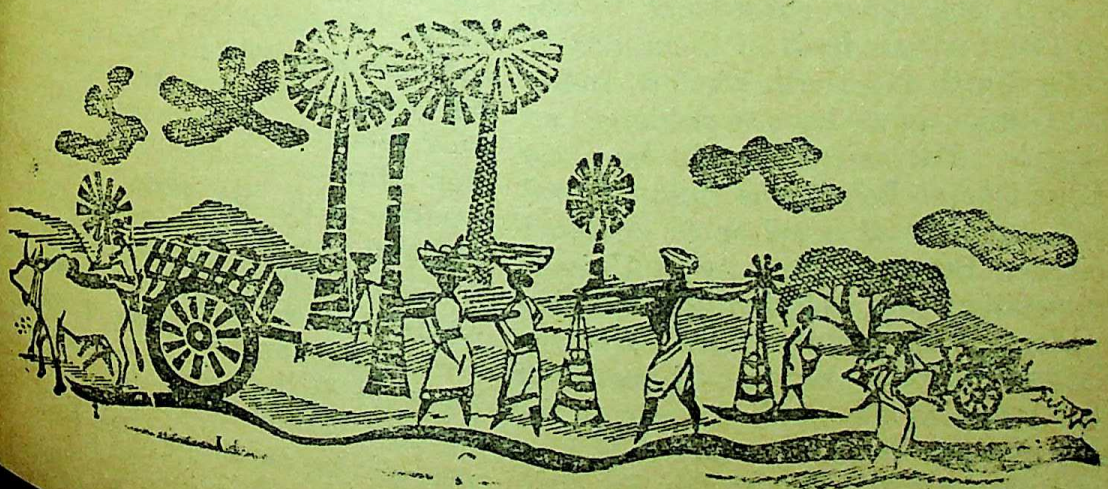
"I should like in a future India unity of efforts and co-operation and not compulsion. India is bound to be a federation of autonomous areas to develop their culture in their own way. I want India's culture to be of a variegated type. Every cultural group must have certain autonomy to develop its culture according to its own genius."

He was very firm in his policy in this respect. He reiterates his views in 1958 in the following words :

"The Government of India is determined to help the tribal people grow according to their own genius and tradition ; it is not the intention of the Government to impose anything on them".

Conclusion

We have not tried to present Nehru's policy towards any particular tribe here. The rough sketches given above are some of the basic lines of approach cherished and practised by Panditji. His policy was, in short, pragmatic and not doctrinaire.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GIPSIES—FORGOTTEN CHILDREN OF INDIA

By JATINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE M.A., B.L.

A mysterious people, untamed and nomadic, the Gipsies have wandered to almost every country in the world. Most of those who still lead a wandering life, have kept the same physical characteristics as the early tribes,—wavy dark hair, large black or brown eyes and dark skin, but, the settled tribes have gradually come to look more like the people of the countries where they live.

The word 'Gipsy' seems to be a misnomer. They did not originate from Egypt. One and all, they have Indian blood. They continue to use Indian words. Over 3000 Romany words have been collected to prove their claim to India. Linguistically that the gipsies migrated from India has been supported by Europe's six top-most gipsologists. They welcome an Indian and greet him thus "Tu Main, Ek Rakt" i.e., 'you and I have the same blood!

There are several theories on how and when their ancestors migrated from India and, under what circumstances. Some scholars believe that the earliest migrations could have been at the time of Alexander's invasion of India in the 4th Century B.C. Others believe that this was forced upon their fore-fathers by the numerous invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni in the eleventh century A.D. and other subsequent invaders, who captured hundreds of thousands of slaves from North and North-Western India.

The Gipsies have been considered an ethnic puzzle. They were thought by some to be Egyptians or Bohemians from Central Europe, a lost tribe of Israel or an off-shoot of Manichean Persians. But recent University expeditions at Karakorum, a region lving between the south of the Western Himalayas and the western branch of Kunlun range to the north, confirms the scholars in their conclusion that this race cut itself off from the rest of the Sanskrit-speaking people and, emigrated in two waves to Persia. They were a low race, but distinguished as musicians, trainers of horses and, as workers in and silver. The length of their Persia seems to have been very comble, where apart from their musical their ability to train horses and dexterity as metal workers made useful refugees. It would seem their long sojourn, the race hardened into five main tribes, which been maintained till now, in spite of modern nomenclatures.

Fresh waves of persecution further mass-exodus through Syria Armenia, where they separated, one going through the Caucasus into and Russia, and the other through into Turkey, where again a further occurred. A large group pushed wards into Rumania, Hungary and and, the second group crossed the Crete and settled in Corfu. Contemporously with the big exodus from Pe group went down through Arabia the shores of the Red Sea, through P into Egypt, where they remained considerble time. Later driven Muslim invasions, they crossed Libya along the north African coast Spain. They arrived in England and, also migrated to other States of By the early part of the nineteenth they penetrated into the North Republics.

No race, not even the Jews, suffered so much persecution Europe, especially in Germany, England and Spain. They were with dogs, hanged by the thousands by Herr Hitler.—28000 in one place in the second World War, despite proven Aryan blood. The British

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

French Parliaments had passed cruel laws to extirpate them and, the German rulers were perhaps the most ruthless. Yet there are six million gipsies in Europe and America. Russia is the only country where they were never persecuted. When somebody asks the Gipsies whether they would return to their land of origin, namely India, they would reply, "We would return to India over the ashes of Europe". In saying so, they give vent to the tribal belief that there would be complete destruction of Europe in War.

There is a good deal of fatalism in Gipsy philosophy. No Gipsy ever worries about the inevitable. They all regard misfortunes as part of their 'Karma'. They have four rules for life: always help brothers, never harm brothers, always pay when you owe, although not necassarily money, and never be afraid. Not to laugh is the greatest sin among the gipsies, greater than any other. The educated gipsies think they are Dards of India, an Aryan people speaking Sanskrit. They further consider much of their language is Sanskrit, the rest of the words are taken from the many lands they traversed.

The rules of the gipsy code remind us of the Laws of Manu. No gipsy can tell a lie to any member of his race. Gipsy laws prove the high moral foundations of gipsies before they quitted India. Adultery and infidelity of a woman are punished severely by exclusion. An adulterous husband is punished more rarely. Man and wife remain true to each oher, especially when they have children. The husband expresses his great love for his wife by giving her at intervals a good thrashing and, she accepts this as a natural expression of his love. The marriage ceremonies are simple. The marriage is often settled by the parents. Among the nomad gipsies, a child is born in the most unceremonious manner without a doctor's help and, seldom with the assistance of a mid-wife.

The gipsies are the masters of immortal music. They are ultra-conservatives with a passion for everything Romany. It is said they brought from India songs and dances. Firdousi, the author of Shahnama, mentions the gipsies as great exponents of music. In Scotland the Gipsies danced for King James, and France at the court of the youthful Louis XIII. Moliere speaks of the gipsies as good musicians and adept dancers. The gipsies used to entertain the various royalties in Europe. Gipsy song, like all the music of the Orient, has developed the art of embellishment to a high degree. In 1825 A.D. a gipcy Bihari was called to Vienna to appear before the Hapsburg Emperor. The charm of the man was such that the noblest ladies of the court strove to gain his favours. Marie Louise, a princess of Italy, and the Czarina of Russia were fascinated by his playing.

While still about three millions of the gipsies live in caravans, the other half in Europe are now having settled lives in modern flats. They have radios, pianos, and even cars. There are gipsy writers, editors, poets, doctors and lawyers too. The respective governments are doing a great deal to improve their economic condition.

Gipsies have thousands of European and American admires, as they are regarded as the best musicians and, their women have superb charm and beauty. They were favourites with the royalty and nobility in Europe, specially in Russia. Many writers, poets and musicians in Russia are proud of their gipsy origin. Moscow has a special gipsy-theatre, having the finest gipsy artistes.

Racial, linguistic affinities and past history and association apart, exhibition of Indian films has made the gipsies homesick. Nehru, Rajkapoor and Nargis are three popular names among Gipsies in Europe. They have read many books on India. In America and Europe, they have read Nehru's "Discovery of India" but, they complain "How is it Nehru says nothing about us—the forgotten children of India?"

—0—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indian Periodicals

UNDERDEVELOPED WORLD HEADING FOR FAMINE IN SEVENTIES

Can the Trends be Reversed Betimes ?

The Commerce of Bombay has rendered great service to the underdeveloped world by collecting and reproducing the full text of Dr. Raymond Ewell's address, last September, to the American Chemical Society, Chicago, under the above legend. Dr. Ewell, it should be mentioned, is Vice President for Research, State University of New York, Buffalo and his address aroused worldwide interest and anxiety. The food problem in underdeveloped countries,—India being one of them,—continues to be aggravated by the population explosion and Dr. Ewell's dire prophecy that the most devastating famines in history would visit the underdeveloped countries by turn between the years 1970 and 1980, unless measures were immediately taken to avert them, should engage the attention of policy-makers without delay. According to Dr. Ewell's study India, Pakistan and China would be the first among the victims followed shortly afterwards by most of the countries in Asia and Africa and, by 1980, Latin America :

The world is on the threshold of the biggest famine in history. Not the world we live in, but the underdeveloped world, the three poor continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The populations of these continents are growing rapidly, and the production of food in these continents is lagging behind the population growth. This is the problem in a nutshell. This is the greatest and most nearly insoluble problem in the history of the world. And it is almost here.

If present trends continue, it seems likely that famine will reach serious proportions in India, Pakistan and China in the early 1970's, followed by Indonesia, Iran, Turkey, Egypt and several other countries within a few years, and then followed by most of the other countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America by ... Such a famine will be of massive ... tions affecting hundreds of millions, ... sibly even billions, of persons. ... happens, as appears very probable, ... be the most colossal catastrophe in ... It will be a completely new situation ... world's history—not enough food ... billions of human beings inhabiting ... surface of this globe. This is the M... sian Doctrine finally coming true after ... years.

The political and economic ... quences of widespread famine in ... Africa and Latin America are certain ... massive and far-reaching. It seems ... that stable Government can be main... in countries where a high percentage ... population is literally starving. This ... believes that the Food|population ... will be the over-riding problem of the ... quarter of this century. This ... seems likely to reach such enormous ... portions even by 1975 that it will dwar... over-shadow most of the problems and ... xities which now occupy our atten... such as the threat of nuclear war, com... nism, the space race, racial problems, ... employment, Berlin, Viet-Nam, the ... Cyprus, Cuba, etc., etc.

Constant Birth Rates

Now that we have looked at the ... picture, let's look at some relevant facts. ... populations of Asia, Africa and ... America are now growing at rates ... per cent, 2.4 per cent and 3.0 per cent ... year, respectively. These are the ... growth rates in history, and the ... growth are still increasing. These ... population growth rates are ... referred to as the "population ex...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

—and it really is an explosion. A rate of 2.3 per cent per year gives a doubling in 30 years, a rate of 3.0 per cent per year gives a doubling in 23 years. The basic cause of the population explosion is the rapid drop in the death rate in Asia, Africa and Latin America since 1945 as a result of the introduction of penicillin, D.D.T. and other modern medical and public health practices into these areas. Birth rates have stayed practically constant, but death rates have dropped.

Therefore, the population explosion is a new phenomenon—it has been a real explosion only since the end of World War II. Population growth rates were much lower before World War II, for example, 1.2 per cent in Asia and Africa in the decade 1930–40, and 1.9 per cent in Latin America during the same period. Before 1930 they were even lower. In fact, population growth rates over 1 per cent per year were very rare anywhere in the world prior to the 20th century.

The population growth rates cited here will increase the population of Asia (excluding China and Japan), Africa and Latin America from 1.4 billion in 1960 to 1.8 billion in 1970 and to 2.3 billion in 1980. These are minimum figures in my opinion because the population growth rates are still increasing. This means an increase in population in these three continents of 900 million people in only 20 years. This is a stupendous figure—900 million is a lot of people and 20 years is not much time in which to try to solve the many problems involved. 900 million more people will bring with them.

At the same time, the production of food in Asia, Africa and Latin America has remained constant for the past three or five years, and there is no social or economic development on the horizon that seems likely to increase food production in these continents enough to feed 900 million more people by 1980. In Asia, the production of grain has remained constant at about 150 million tons since 1960 so that the **per capita** production of grain has declined from 16 ounces per day to 15 ounces per day during the past three years. In Latin America, the production of grain has remained constant at about 42 million tons since 1958 so that the **per capita** production of grain has declined from 21 ounces per day to 18 ounces per day during the past five years. Africa has had a small increase in grain production so that **per capita** production has remained constant at about 15 ounces per day for the past seven years. Grain is, of course, not the only food in these three continents.

If these trends continue for a few more years, famine will inevitably result. And this would be famine on a scale never before experienced in the world's history. There have been many famines in history involving millions of people, but none involving hundreds of millions. Moreover, in past famines many people have died of disease as well as starvation, but now modern medicine will keep people alive even though starving, and they will still compete for a share of the inadequate food supply. Not only will the forthcoming famine be widespread, affecting hundreds of millions of people, but it will be persistent and get worse year by year, unless ways and means are soon found to increase agricultural production. It is hard for us sitting in rich, comfortable, overfed America to realise that the greatest disaster in the history of the world is just around the corner. The efforts now being put forward to try to avert this disaster are much too small to cope with a problem of this magnitude.

Two Possible Answers

According to Dr. Ewell there are only either of two answers to the problem : reduction of the population or increase of agricultural production or both at the same time. Since reduction of population by increased death rates is not socially acceptable, the only alternative is to reduce the birth rate. There is also immense scope, especially in these underdeveloped regions, for increasing agricultural production. For instance, the yield of rice per acre in Italy (3240 lbs. per acre) is 3½ times larger than that in India (900 lbs per

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

acre), 3 times larger in Japan and nearly twice as much in China. Denmark's wheat yield (4130 lbs. per acre) is nearly 5 times that of India, Japan's 3½ times and U.S.A's twice as much. But even supposing it were possible to attain to these optimum levels of food production in the underdeveloped regions, if adequate and effective measures were not taken to check the present rate of exploding population growth, a dead end would, again be reached soon enough. A two-pronged attack on the problem from both the birth-rate end and the population growth-rate end simultaneously and with concentrated force, would seem to be the only answer :

What is the answer ? What is the solution ? There are obviously two possible answers : (1) Reduce the population growth rate or (2) Increase agricultural production, or both. Reducing the population growth rate means reducing the birth rate since it is not socially acceptable to increase the death rate. In fact, birth control is the only answer in the long run. Improved agriculture could conceivably take care of the expected increases in population for 20 or maybe 30 years, but beyond that it would be impossible. Birth control is being actively promoted by Governments and by private groups in most countries in the world today, but it is moving slowly in Asia, Africa and Latin America and seems unlikely to cause any marked decrease in the birth rate before the 1980's. But ultimately birth control is the only answer.

Population Data—1960-1980

	Rate of growth	Population (millions)		
		1960	1970	1980
Asia (excl. China and Japan)	2.3%	907	1,153	1,462
Africa	2.4%	255	323	410
Latin America	3.0%	211	284	381
Totals	2.4%	1,373	1,760	2,253

Production of Grain
(Million metric tons)

	Actual	Needed to 16 oz. Per per da
	1960-61	1970
Asia (excl. China and Japan)	149	
Africa	40	190
Latin America	42	51
Totals	231	54
		295

Fertiliser Consumption
(Million metric tons plant nutrient)

	Actual	Needed to 16 oz. grain per per day
	1960-61	1970
Asia (excluding China and Japan)	1.4	9
Africa	0.7	3
Latin America	0.9	3
Totals	3.0	15

Increasing agricultural productio therefore, the only real possibility of a ing world famine in the 1970's and 198 is technically possible to double or triple agricultural production in Asia, and Latin America through the use of fertilisers, more irrigation, better varieties, more pesticides, and other im ed agricultural practices. For exampl yield of rice in Italy is 3,240 lbs. per a Japan 2,800 lbs. per acre, in China 1,6 per acre, but in India only 900 lbs. per For another example, the yield of wh Denmark is 4,130 lbs. per acre, in Japa lbs. per acre, in U.S.A. 1,610 lbs. per but in India only 850 lbs. per acre. basic food crops, such as corn, p beans, peanuts, cassava, bananas and cane show similar pictures. Many co such as Pakistan, South Africa, Ethiopia and the Philippines have crop as low or even lower than India. Thi

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

comparison of crop yields gives an indication of the potential for increasing crop yields in the low productivity countries.

Of the various technical factors, increased use of fertiliser offers the best possibility for a quick increase in agricultural production. It has been established by many field trials in many countries that application of fertiliser will give large increases in yields even if other technical inputs such as seed varieties and water are left unchanged. For example, the F.A.O. Freedom from Hunger Campaign reported some increased yields as follows:

In Turkey, 120 kg. plant nutrient per hectare on corn gave 85 per cent increase in yield.

In Lebanon, 52 kg. plant nutrient per hectare on wheat gave 101 per cent increase in yield.

In Ghana, 44 kg. plant nutrient per hectare on rice gave 52 per cent increase in yield.

In Ecuador, 45 kg. plant nutrient per hectare on potatoes gave 71 per cent increase in yield.

Similar results have been obtained in field trials in many other countries. These increases in yield were obtained using locally available seed varieties. Much greater increases in yield could have been obtained if use of improved seed varieties had been combined with increased quantities of fertiliser. In order to obtain the high yields of Europe, the United States and Japan, it is necessary to develop improved seed varieties but this takes years of painstaking research. Ultimately improved seed varieties will have to be used widely in Asia, Africa and Latin America to meet the food needs, but this will be a slow process, and it seems likely to have a massive effect in the 16 years between now and 1980. One very promising development has been the establishment of the International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations in 1962.

Fertiliser, the Best Hope

One of the most insistent immediate needs in agricultural planning is to programme for adequate availability of fertilizers. The western world, especially the countries under the European Economic Community, have demonstrated amply the value of fertilizers in rapid stepping up of agricultural yields to an almost infinite extent. In course of a review of a book on the problems of population by Walter Baade in these columns, we had already noticed how much farther increasing use of fertilizers in agricultural production can carry a country and Dr. Ewell's address especially underlines the urgent and immediate need for launching crash programmes in fertilizer production. The present world production is estimated at approximately 30 million tons which includes some 25 million tons produced by the Western World and the U.S.A. together and another some 4 million tons by the Soviet Union. By 1980 total production should reach approximately a 100 million ton mark, but that should not be enough. This is an aspect of the problem which is discussed by Dr. Ewell in details and which should engage the urgent and immediate consideration of policy-makers of all underdeveloped countries :

However, fertiliser offers the best possibility of a substantial increase in agricultural production between now and 1980. The other technical inputs in agriculture probably cannot be brought into action on a sufficiently massive basis seen enough to play a major role. Improved seeds, increased irrigation, pesticides and all other technical inputs must be utilised to the fullest extent possible, but yet it should be recognised that the principal means of raising agricultural productivity in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the critical next 16 years will have to be fertiliser.

How much fertiliser will it take ? What facilities will be needed ? How much will it cost ? How will the fertiliser be distributed and applied to the soil ?

As a minimum goal, let us assume we want to increase agricultural production enough to provide 16 ounces of grain per day per person in Asia, Africa and Latin America in 1970 and also in 1980. For the 400 million additional population in 1970,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

this would require 15 million tons of plant nutrients in all three continents, compared with consumption of 3 million tons in 1960-61 and probably about 4 million tons in 1963-64. To feed the 900 million additional population in 1980, 30 million tons of plant nutrients would be required. These figures were calculated on the basis of (1) 8 tons of grain yield per ton of plant nutrient, and (2) two-thirds of fertiliser would be used on grain, one-third on all other crops. The overall tonnages of 15 million tons in 1970 and 30 million tons in 1980 compare with total world consumption of 30 million tons in 1962. Also for comparison, the current big Soviet fertiliser push has a target of 16 million tons of plant nutrients in 1970.

In order to emphasise this point further, I am willing to put myself on record that if Asia, Africa and Latin America are not using quantities of fertiliser approaching 30 million tons by 1980, they are almost certain to be engulfed in widespread famine. The consequences of the population explosion have been discussed and analysed in theoretical terms for a decade now, but the time for theory is nearing an end and the time for action is here.

Therefore, the problem is how can the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America obtain a supply of 15 million tons of plant nutrients by 1970 and 30 million tons by 1980. Domestic production of fertiliser in all three continents is about 1.5 million tons in 1963-64 and a good estimate for 1970 production would be 3 to 4 million tons. Production in 1970 might be increased to 5 to 6 million tons by a new crash programme of fertiliser plant construction, but generally speaking it is already too late to increase production greatly in 1970. Therefore, it appears to this writer that most of the fertiliser needed by Asia, Africa and Latin America in 1970 will have to be imported from the industrialised countries. Some countries would have the foreign exchange to buy the fertiliser they need through commercial channels, but most countries would have to rely on foreign aid.

For the longer term in 1980, most countries should plan to become [self-sufficient] in fertiliser [production], at least the larger countries. In round numbers, fertiliser plants cost about $1 [billion] per 6 million tons annual [production] finished fertiliser (on plant nutrient [basis]). Therefore, enough fertiliser plants to produce 30 million tons of fertiliser would cost about $5 billion—10 per cent of the cost of putting a man on the moon. If 30 million tons of fertiliser were produced and used in Asia, Africa and Latin America, it would be a giant step towards solving the world food problem in 1980. Historians of the future may remark on whether it was more important to have worked towards putting a man on the moon during the 1960's or to have worked towards averting the world famine of the 1970's.

Fertiliser Production

Total world fertiliser production [will] be approaching at least 100 million tons plant nutrients in 1980, compared with 30 million tons at present. The Western World (including Japan) is now producing about 25 million tons and will probably increase to 50-60 million tons by 1980. The Soviet Union now produces about 4 million tons and they are planning for 30 million in 1980. Asia, Africa and Latin America will need 15 million tons in 1980 which hopefully they may get from their own production or from the Western World. Red China is less than one million tons now, but they are reported to be planning a large increase.

The aggregate canstruction cost [of] billion per 6 million tons of plant nutrients was based on a N-P_2O_5-K_2O ratio of 2-1-[1]. This was selected as the ratio that Asia and Latin America appear to be heading towards, although Africa has a somewhat different pattern. Therefore the 30 million tons postulated for 1980, would be divided 16 million tons N, 8 million tons P_2O_5 and 6 million tons K_2O. Also, the aggregate construction cost is based on these estimates:

Per 100,000 tons N—$20-25 million

Per 100,000 tons P_2O_5—$8-12 million

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Per 100,000 tons K_2O—No processing required.

Per 100,000 tons mixing capacity—$1-1.5 million.

The fertiliser and fertiliser plants needed by the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America will largely have to come from the industrialised countries, including the United States, Canada, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Soviet Union and Japan. In fact, these will have to be largely given to these countries for the simple reason that they don't have any money. The value of the fertiliser would be roughly $150 million per million tons of plant nutrient in the 2-1-1).75 ratio mentioned above. Therefore, if 10 million tons of fertiliser was given to the needy countries in 1970, this would be $1.5 billion worth. Such a foreign aid programme could be carried out through a series of bilateral agreements or it might be carried out more efficiently through a multilateral programme. Such a programme could be carried out through an International Fertiliser Supply Agency set up to handle the distribution of foreign aid fertiliser for the industrialised countries.

Likewise the fertiliser plants would have to be given to the needy countries in the form of foreign aid. As noted above, about $5 billion worth of fertiliser plants are needed by all the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in 1980. The product from $5 billion worth of plants would have an annual market value of about $4 billion.

Even after the quantities of fertiliser we have been discussing became available, there is still a big educational job ahead to get farmers to use the fertiliser. This would require an extensive and intensive propaganda campaign together with adequate economic incentives. The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America (except Japan, of course) do not have enough agricultural specialists of their own to over such a programme. Therefore the Western World and Japan would have to supply thousands of agricultural specialists if an intensified fertiliser programme were to be successful.

We have been considering some far reaching and very complex problems. I am sure that greater use of more fertilisers is the most promising approach to solving the world food problem, at least in the relatively short term of 10-15 years. Without a great deal more fertiliser the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America are going to be hungry in the 1970's. Thomas Malthus has had many deprecators in the past, including Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchev, but it looks as though he may be proved right after all—thanks to the modern medicine men.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Foreign Periodicals

International Co-operation Year

Hallowell Bowser, General Editor, writing editorially in the 'Saturday Review' under the above caption, underlines the significance of the programme and the possible areas of co-operation even between countries which may be otherwise opposed to one another in political or other fields. The idea, it would appear, was a contribution to Current World thinking by the late Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Prime Minister who, while addressing the U.N. General Assembly, said—"The essential thing about this world is co-operation . . . . Perhaps it would be a true picture if the co-operative elements in the world were put forward and we were made to think that world depends on co-operation and not on conflict."

One of the most exciting and original projects ever undertaken by the United Nations is the current International Co-operation Year, which was proposed by the late Pandit Nehru.

In 1961 the Indian Prime Minister told the U.N. General Assembly, "The essential thing about this world is co-operation .... between countries which are opposed to each other in the political or other fields... Perhaps it would be a truer picture if the co-operative elements in the world were put forward and we were made to think that the world depends on co-operation and not on conflict."

The General Assembly responded by designating 1965 as a year in which the U.N.'s world-wide co-operative programs would be publicized and ideas for new programs solicited.

Like the memorable International Geophysical Year of 1957-58, on which it is to some extent modeled, the ICY has been conceived more as a prelude and first step than as a static celebration whose cutoff point will be the end of 1965. But even if the U.N.'s ICY committee confines ... to publicizing international programs ready in being, its task will be a re... one. For modern civilization is ... extent not generally appreciated, pred... on a skein of co-operative transac... arrangements that underlie and are l... independent of the crises that r... political surface.

Take, for instance, the Interna... Telecommunications Union, which h... one form and another been in effect f... entire century. The ITU, a U.N. spec... ed agency with 124 member nations, re... ates the world-wide flow of telegraph, ... phone, and radio-TV activity. If the ... power to allocate radio frequencies ... route telegraph and telephone circuits ... to be suspended, a horrendous outb... crossed signals and babbling voices ... soon be visited on the world. An... might end up by reverting to the pra... common just over a century ago, of ... telegrams from hand to hand ... national borders.

But as it is, the ITU has only re... worked up a brilliant plan for integ... all the communications media, inc... submarine cables and satellites, into ... tral, unitary system. This system ... among other things, make possible ... telephone dialing between any two ... in the world. Though opponents of ... dialing will probably greet this dev... ment with limited enthusiasm, this ... integrated communications system ... likely to stand as one of the great tec... triumphs of our civilization.

Such world-bestriding projects ... ITU's unitary communications sys... nicely counterbalanced by the U.N.'s ... homely, localized team effo... example, in Syria—a land long plag...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

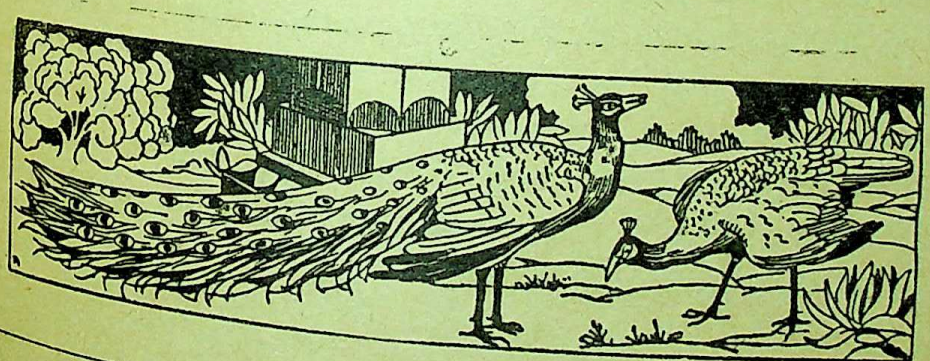
water shortages—a U.N. team made up of experts from many different countries dreamed the Jezireh region for several years ered finally located underground concen- trations of water extensive enough to irri- gate 250,000 acres and support a population of 100,000. Similarly, teams of mineralo- gists have located lead and zinc deposits in Burma and coal and iron ore in Pakistan, and these finds open up the prospect of sharply increased industrial growth.

Another remarkable accomplishment which the ICY will be publicizing is the chain-link approach to world problems—that is, the art of bringing the resources of perhaps a dozen agencies to bear on a parti- cular problem. Thus, in a region that is being upgraded industrially, separate inter- national agencies will assay the locality's natural resources, recommend concentra- tion on a particular industry, supply funds to build a factory, teach workers to read and write, train factory technicians locally and if necessary send them abroad for ad- vanced courses, and in some cases arrange for a final phase-over into widely dispersed private ownership of the project.

One of the most promising features of the ICY is the determination of its sponsors to develop entirely new non-political, non- military approaches to international co- operation. When, later this year, a White House Conference on ICY is convened, the U.N.'s ICY committee and the various non- governmental agencies active in the ICY hope to report on dozens of constructive new international-cooperation proposals—ranging from the field of world health to the field of international sports.

Despite its impressive official backing, the ICY's ultimate fulfilment depends on the interested average citizen: on the edu- cator who tells his classes about ICY; on the Sunday school teacher whose young- sters prepare an ICY exhibit; on the busi- nessman who talks to his service organiza- tions about the importance of the ICY con- cept to world trade.

Anyone hesitant about promoting ICY should be mindful of President Johnson's remarks when he proclaimed 1965 as Inter- national Co-operation Year: "I believe that the true idealists.... are those who bear the dream of new ways for international co-operation. You will befrowned upon.... Some will call you a crackpot.....But what greater ambition could you have, and what greater satisfaction could come to you, than the knowledge that you had en- tered a partnership with your government that had provided leadership in the world, that had preserved humanity instead of destroying it."



Printed and published by Kalyan Das Gupta, Prabasi Press Private Limited, 77/2/1, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta-13.

Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ramananda Birth Centenary Commemorative Issue

The next issue of the *Modern Review* in lieu of its normal June, 1965 number, shall be a special commemorative issue dedicated to the memory of its founder the late Ramananda Chatterjee, on the occasion of the centenary of his birth which falls on the 31st of May, 1965.

The issue will, apart from a brief biographical assessment and some contributions from eminent writers on the significance and value of his contributions to the contemporary history of our country, mainly include a selection of the late Ramananda Chatterjee's own writings on a wide variety of subjects, suitably selected, edited, collated and presented. The bulk of the issue shall be well over 160 pages and there will be a number of art plates of significant historical interest.

This centenary issue of the *Modern Review* is expected to be of a quality which would be regarded as representative of the composite culture and history of our country over the last one century and would be a valuable work of reference to serious students of the political, economic, social and cultural history of the times.

Regular subscribers of the *Modern Review* will, naturally, receive a copy each of this issue without any additional charge. Others may have copies at the normal price of a regular issue of the *Modern Review*. Schools, Colleges, Public Libraries and other institutional public organizations will, in addition, be entitled to the normal rate of discount on copies of five or more ordered at a time.

77-2-1 Dharamtala Street
Calcutta-13

Manager,
The Modern Review

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE PRABASI

INDIA'S LEADING BENGALI MONTHLY

Advertisement Rates For Single Insertion

	Rs. P.
ORDINARY POSITION	
Ordinary Full Page	100.00
" " Half-page or one column	60.00
" " Quarter page or half-column	35.00
" " One-eighth page	20.00
Page next to and or opposite contents	125.00
Ditto half-page	75.00
Ditto quarter-page	45.00
Ditto one-eighth page	30.00
SPECIAL POSITIONS	
Full Page facing second page of the cover	150.00
Full Page facing third page of the cover	140.00
Full Page facing last page of the reading matter	140.00
Full Page facing back of the Frontispiece	155.00
Ditto half-page	80.00
POSITION WITHIN READING MATTER	
Full Page	180.00
Half-page	95.00
Quarter page	50.00
1 col.	30.00

Space within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

COVERS	Rs. P.
First page of the cover (1"x6")	190.00
Second page of the cover	200.00
Third page of the cover	175 00
Fourth page of the cover **(One-colour)**	225.00
(Bi-colour)	275 00
(Tri-colour)	350.00

SUPPLEMENT size 8"x6" (to be Printed and supplied by the advertiser)

8 pages (or 4 slips) ...	400.00
4 pages (or 2 slips) ...	250.00
2 pages (or 1 slip) ...	50.00

MECHANICAL DETAILS & OTHER PARTICULARS

Type area of a full page	8"x6"
" " " half pgae	4"x6"
Number of columns to a page	2
Length of a column	8'
Breadth of a column	3"
Type area of half-column	4"x3"
" " " quarter-column	2"x3"

Electros and screen blocks (65 screen) are accepted.
Matrices or unmounted blocks are not accepted.

PRABASI PRESS PRIVATE LIMITED
77/2/1 Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13

THE MODERN REVIEW

Subscription : Payable in Advance.

Annual — Inland	:	Rs. 15.00
" — Foreign	:	Rs. 24.00
Half-yearly—	:	
— Inland	:	Rs. 8.00
— Foreign	:	Rs. 13.00

(Advance Payment. Rates are inclusive of postage)

On V.P.P. order—V.P.P. Charges—extra

16 Single Issue :
Inland : Rs. 1.25

Cheque on Banks outside Calcutta are not accepted.

If regular subscribers do not renew their subscriptions and/or send stop-orders in due time, the next issue after the expiary of their current subscriptions, will be sent per V.P.P. —assuming their willingness to continue.

Complaints of non-receipt of any issue of the Modern Review—must reach our office by the 15th of the month in question—and in all cases the *Subscriber Number must be quoted.*

Terms for News Agents :—On application : (minimum 5 copies of the Modern Review per month—should be ordered. Special Rates for 20 or more copies per month—on advance payment.

Manager
THE MODERN REVIEW

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

29.5.65
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
THE MODERN REVIEW Price : India and Pakistan Re. 1.25 P. Registered No. C
Subscription—Ind. & Pak. Rs. 15.00, Foreign Rs. 24.00, Single copy Rs. 2.00 or equ

CITY BOOK SOCIETY

THE PIONEER PUBLISHERS OF ILLUSTRATED JUVENILE LITERATURES

Books of Late Jogendra Nath Sircar entertained & enlightened the Children of Be

&

Enthused Lakhs of Non-Bengali Children to learn Bengali.

Hasi Khusi I
99th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Hasi Khusi II
38th Edn. — Re. 0.80
The two most outstanding books to learn Bengali)

Mojar Galpa
25th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Asare Swapna
18th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Ranga Chhabi
31st Edn. — Re. 0.80

Khelar Sathi
27th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Chhabir Bai
25th Edn. — Re. 0.70

Bane Jangale
9th Edn. — Rs. 5.00

Galpa Sanchaya
5th Edn. — Rs. 4.50

Khukumanir Chhara
17th Edn. — Rs. 3.50

Chhabi -O- Galpa
19th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

Chhotoder Chiriakhana
7th Edn. — Re. 1.87

Hasi Rasi
33rd Edn. — Re. 1.40

Chhotoder Ramayana
36th Edn. — Re. 1.12

Chhotoder Mahabharat
36th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

CITY BOOK SOCIETY

64, College Street
Calcutta-12

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

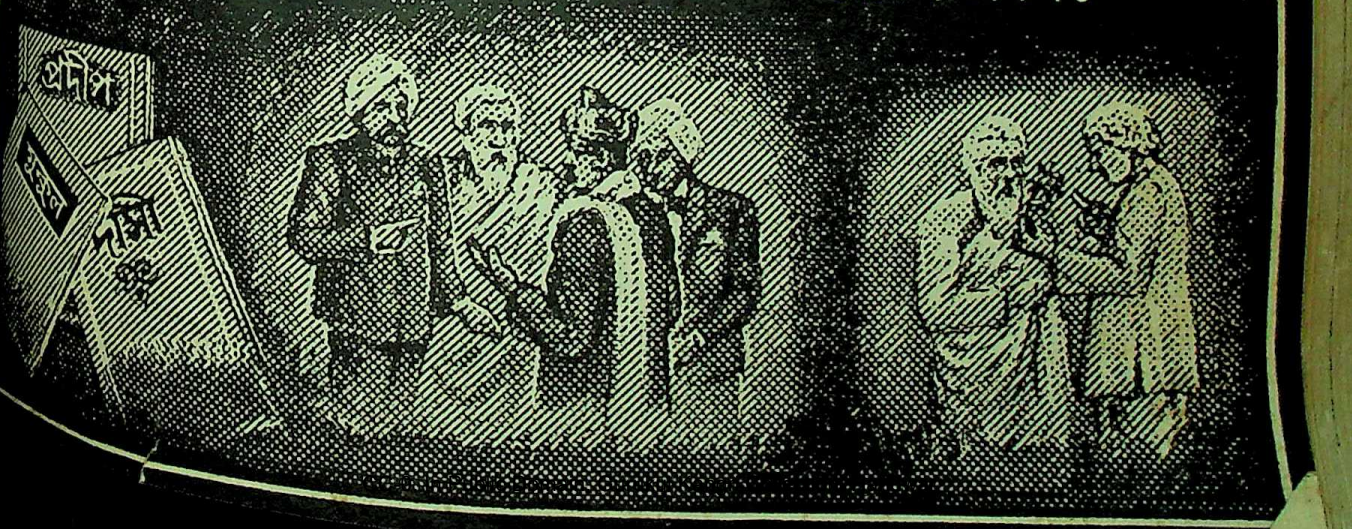
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



THE MODERN REVIEW

RAMANANDA CENTENARY NUMBER

MAY-1865 SEPT-1943



Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOR

PRINTING

WITH A DISTINCTION.

Contact the

PRABASI
PRESS
PRIVATE LD.

We print in 3 LANGUAGES

ENGLISH

BENGALI

DEVNAGRI

❋

for more details—Contact the

MANAGER

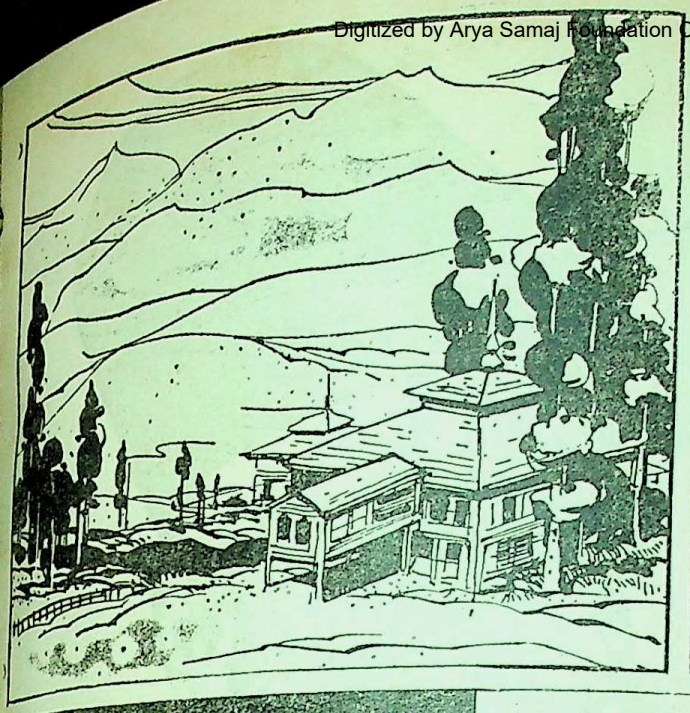
PRABASI PRESS PRIVATE LD.

77-2-1 Dharamtala Street,

CALCUTTA—13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri





WEST BENGAL offers holidays to suit every taste

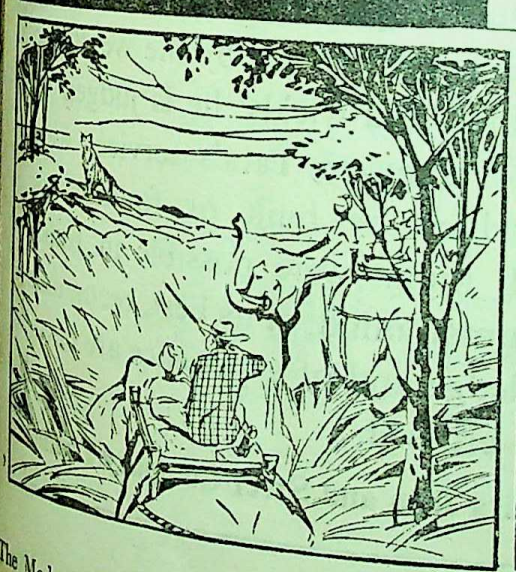
West Bengal offers a rich panorama of beauty, ranging from the mountain grandeur of Darjeeling to the captivating seascape at Digha beach; from the luxurious Tourist Lodge at Durgapur to the calm, restful serenity of Santiniketan; from the marvellous silks and exquisite ivory-work of Murshidabad to the earthy clay modelling of Bankura...and finally the thrilling, throbbing blend of old and new at that treasure-trove of history, cosmopolitan Calcutta.

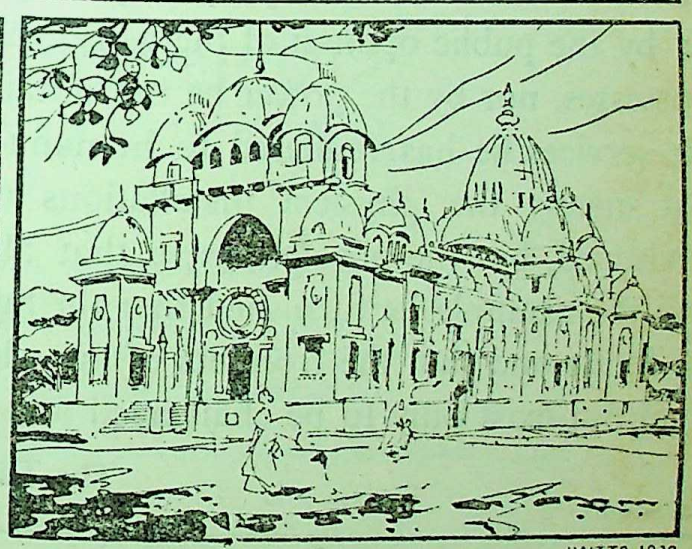
Truly, West Bengal offers holidays to suit every taste!

Contact

TOURIST BUREAU

GOVERNMENT OF WEST BENGAL
3/2 Dalhousie Square East, Calcutta 1
Telephone : 23-8271



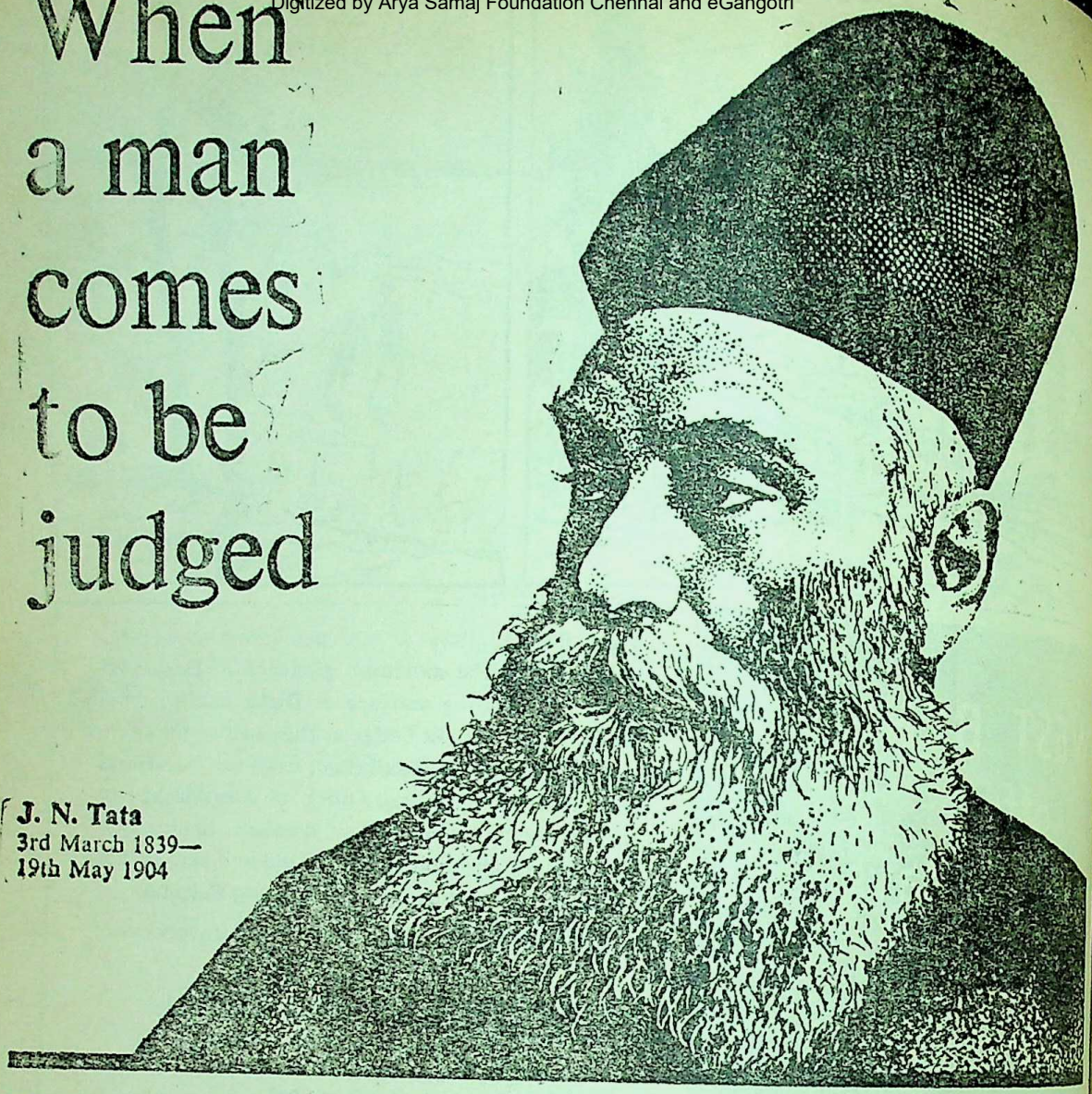


JWTTB 1938

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When a man comes to be judged



J. N. Tata
3rd March 1839—
19th May 1904

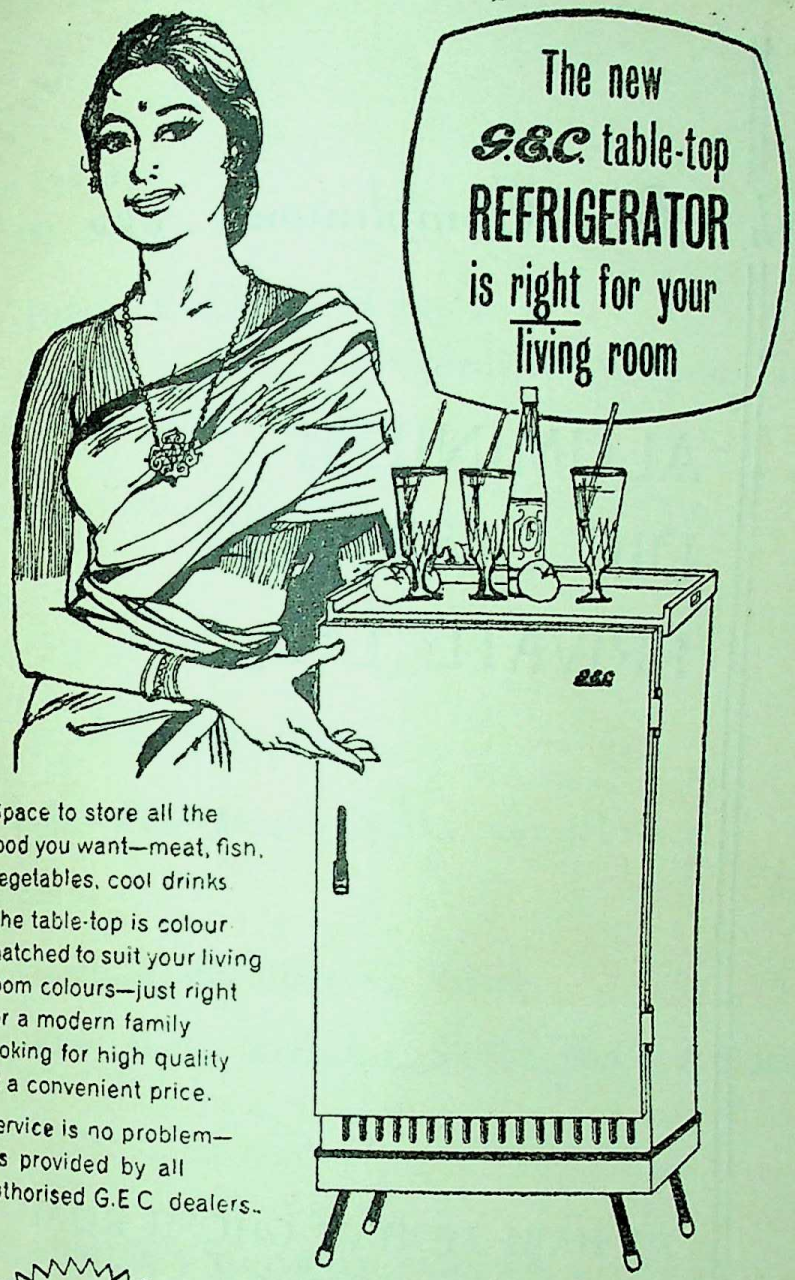
When a man comes to be judged by the public opinion of his own country or by the public opinion of the world, he is judged not by the wealth he possesses, nor by the power he has obtained and wields; he is judged by the services he has rendered to humanity. Jamsetji Tata's services were not merely the physical installations which he built or founded or envisaged, but the proof he gave that all things were possible in India, and the example he furnished that the human mind, at its best, recognises no limits and that the frontiers of knowledge and of experience are never final but exist only to be challenged and crossed.

The Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited

JWT-TN. 2347

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



* Space to store all the food you want—meat, fish, vegetables, cool drinks
* The table-top is colour matched to suit your living room colours—just right for a modern family looking for high quality at a convenient price.
* Service is no problem—it's provided by all authorised G.E.C dealers.

Rs. 995/-
LOCAL TAXES EXTRA

Kalpana GEC/R5

Table-top, Salador and Stand are extra accessories.
Sealed unit guaranteed for 5 years.
Available at authorised G.E.C. dealers:

THE GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY OF INDIA PRIVATE LTD.

TRADE MARK G.E.C. PERMITTED USER—THE GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY OF INDIA PRIVATE LIMITED

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

With Best Compliments of

ALUMINIUM
DIE CASTINGS
PRIVATE LTD.,

*

7/1 HARI MOHAN GHOSH ROAD
GARDEN REACH
CALCUTTA-24.

*

Telephone : 45-5378

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A Tourist Heaven : Visit Madhya Pradesh

During your holidays,
COME AND SEE:

* The Famed Khajuraho Temples —
  The Highest Watermark of Medieval Sculpture and Architecture Poem In Stones
* The Great Stupa of Sanchi
* Mandu—
  'The City of Joy'
* The Proud Gwalior Fort
* The Milk-White Marble Rocks near Jabalpur
* Pachmarhi—
  M.P.'s Health and Summer Resort

A number of other places Trekking, Sight-seeing and Shikar

MADHYA PRADESH OFFERS A CHOICE
For Every Taste and Inclination

Contact
DIRECTORATE OF TOURISM, BHOPAL, (M.P.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Extensive international trade is essential for the development of national economy. A country's foreign trade largely depends on efficient banking service.

With a network of correspondents at all important trade centres of the world the United Bank is equipped to render adequate service and give expert guidance in matters of foreign trade.

MORE FOREIGN EXCHANGE



FOR THE NATIONAL PLAN...

United Bank of India Ltd.

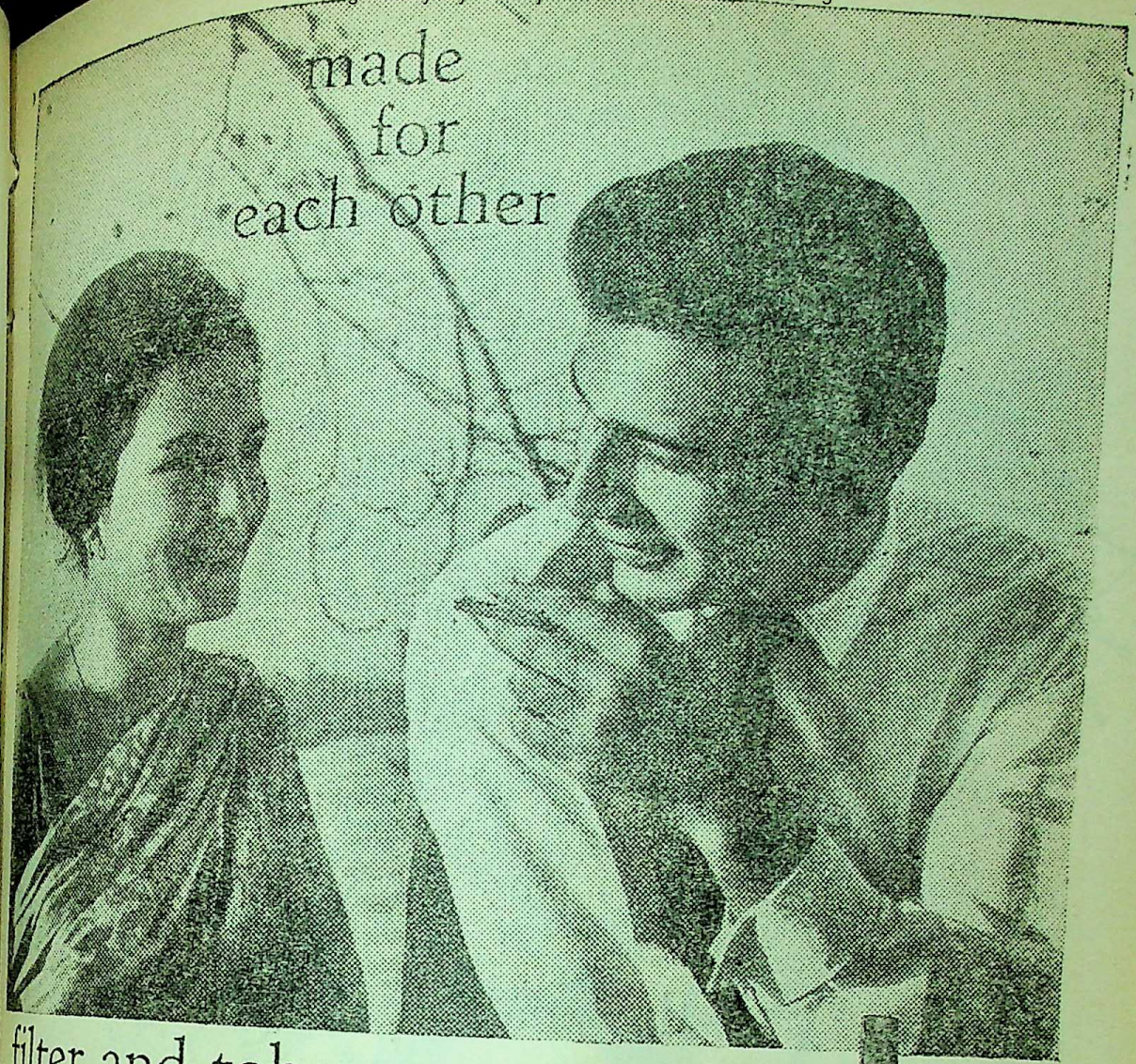
Regd. Office : 4, Clive Ghat Street, Calcutta-1.

FDS/UB-13

THE BANK WITH SERVICE PLUS

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

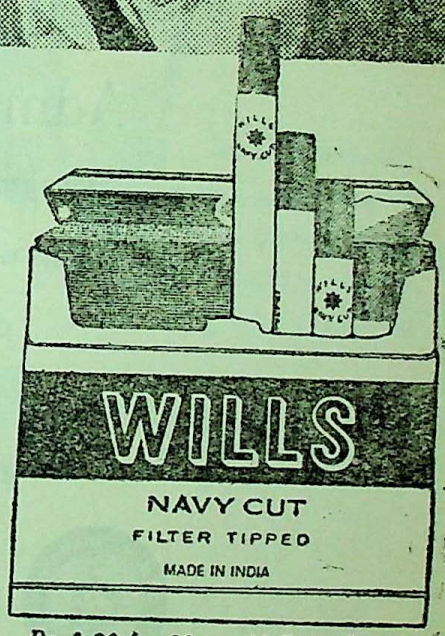
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



filter and tobacco
perfectly matched

What tobacco men call marriage—the marriage of the right tobacco with the right filter—is what makes Wills Filter Tipped extra special. A filter cigarette as good as Wills is not just a good cigarette with a filter at one end—it is a good *filter cigarette*. The fine tobaccos in Wills are specially blended to match the filter, enhance the taste.

That is why you will find Wills Filter Tipped so satisfying. So many discriminating smokers already have.



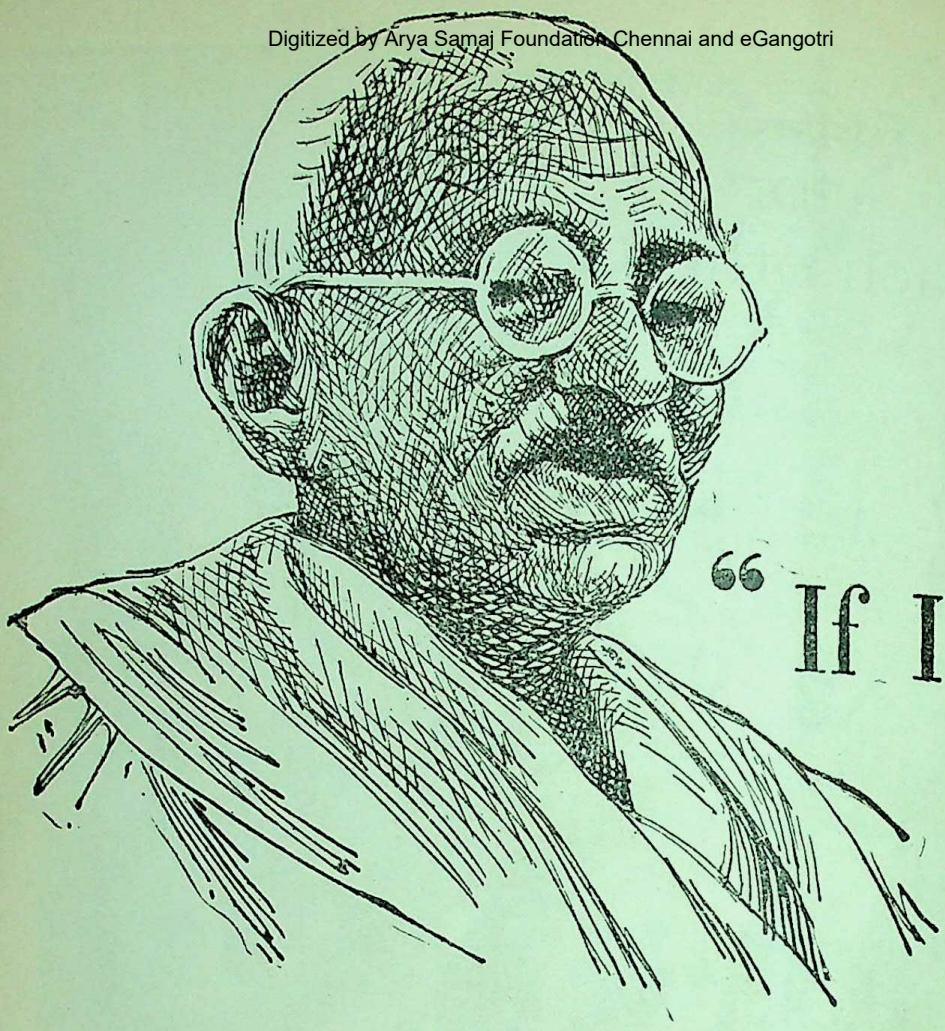
Rs. 1.20 for 20 *60 Paise for 10*

they're great...they're Wills

IWTWF 2422-A

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



"If I were at the head of the Railway Administration I would advise the railway management to tell the public that unless they purchased tickets, trains would be stopped and they would resume journey only if the passengers willingly paid the fares due."

— Mahatma Gandhi

INDIAN RAILWAYS

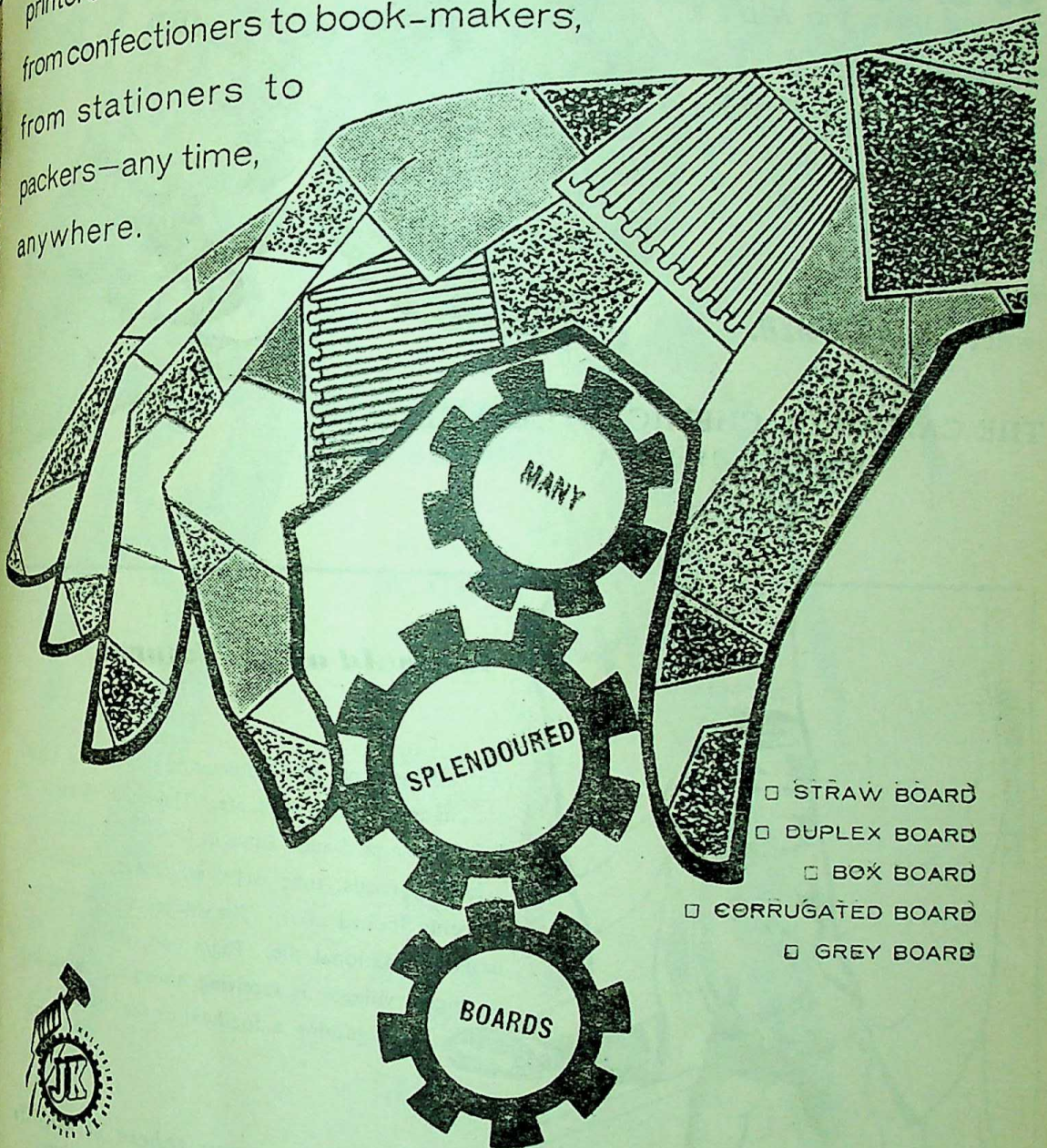
EASTERN RAILWAY

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

J. K. Boards serve people in various trade and industries — from book-binders to shoe-makers, from printers to cigarette manufacturers, from confectioners to book-makers, from stationers to packers—any time, anywhere.

Kalpana 581.



- STRAW BOARD
- DUPLEX BOARD
- BOX BOARD
- CORRUGATED BOARD
- GREY BOARD

STRAW PRODUCTS LTD ■ 18, RABINDRA SARANI, CALCUTTA-1 ■ FACTORY : BHOLA ROAD, BHOPAL

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

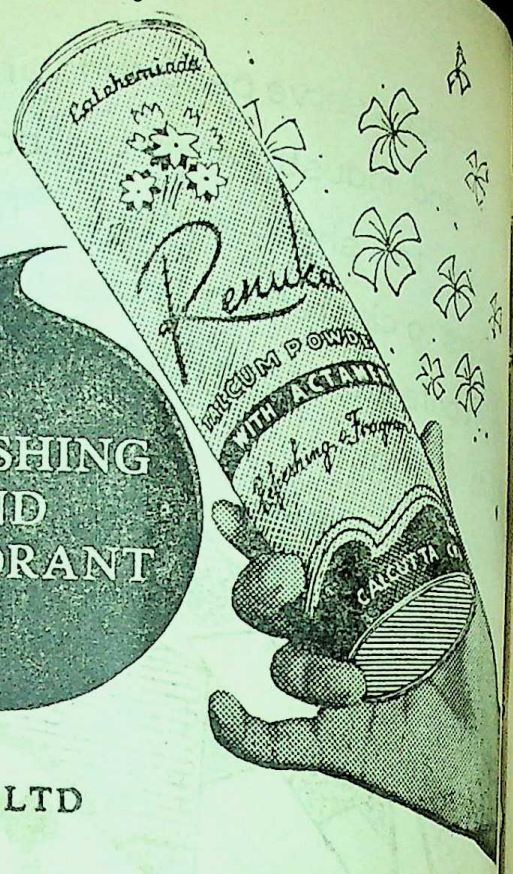
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

STAY FRESH ALL DAY LONG WITH

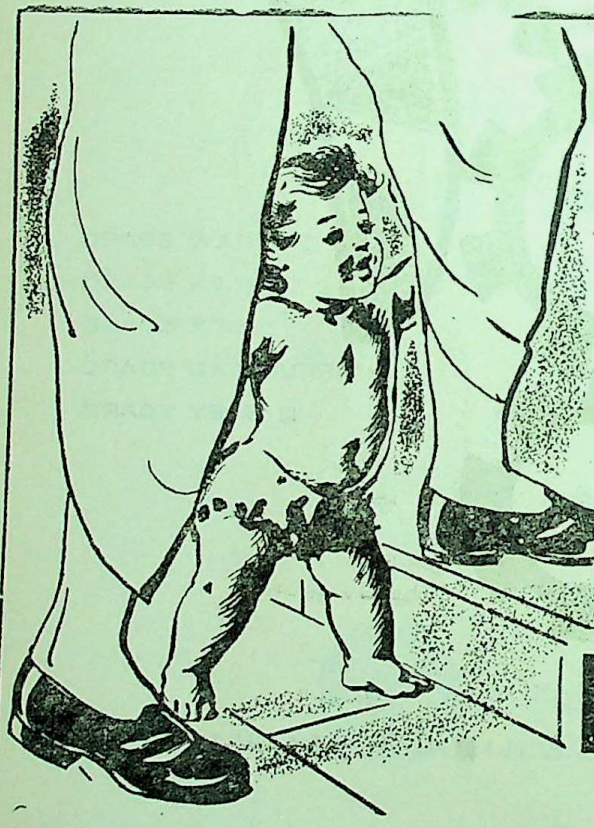
RENUKA
TALCUM POWDER

Pleasantly perfumed Renuka Talcum Powder with **ACTAMER** removes bacteria which cause perspiration odour. Only Renuka Talcum Powder has **ACTAMER.**

REFRESHING AND DEODORANT



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO. LTD
CALCUTTA -29 INDIA



foothold on the future

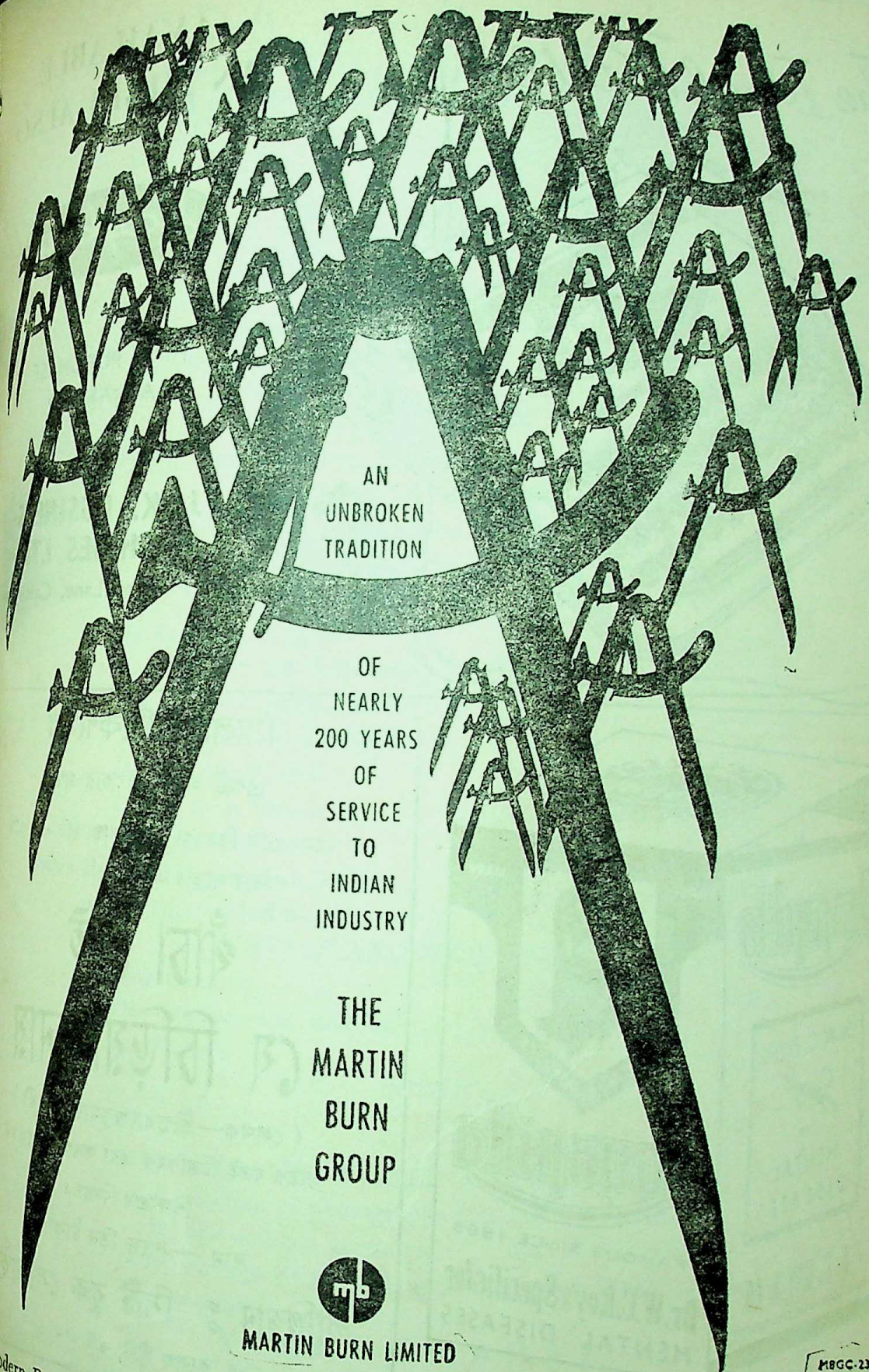
The working of the Community Projects is rapidly changing our rural life. Thousands of acres are being reclaimed and brought under cultivation. Cattle health, roads, tube wells, schools and hospitals are being looked after. The villages are becoming active units of national life. Right now, one out of every eight villages is receiving attention. Rural India is gaining a foothold on the future.

TEA *In every sphere of activity, a nice cup of tea is the best reviver.*

Issued by Tea Board

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

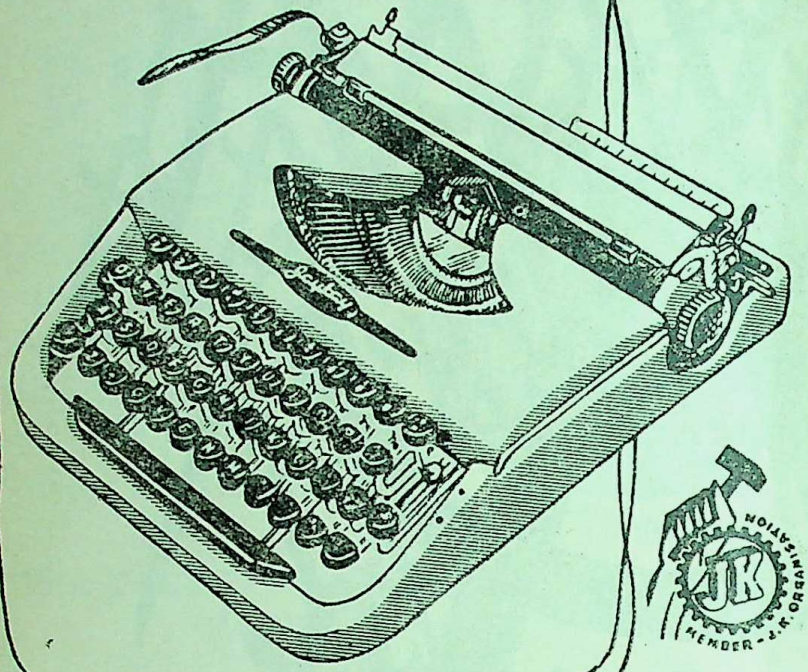


MBGC-23

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Ideal Portable



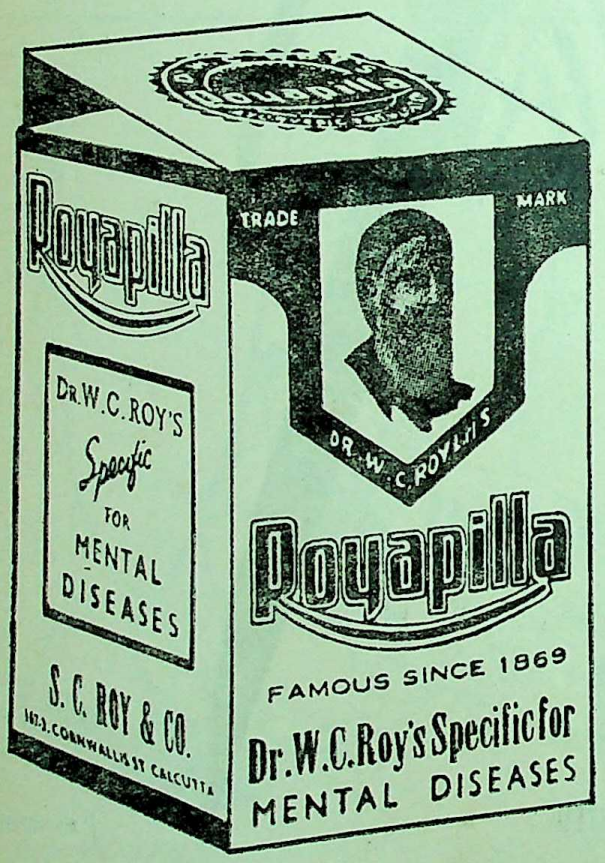
AVAILABLE IN HINDI ALSO

Gaykay

HIRE PURCHASE ARRANGED

J. K. BUSINESS MACHINES LTD.
2, Mangoe Lane, Calcutta

PRO/JBM-8



সিলেক্ট পাব্লিকেশন্সের

একটি অপূর্ব্ব উপহার-গ্রন্থ

অনেকগুলি তিনরঙা পাতাজোড়া ছবি এবং প্রায়
পাতায় পাতায় একরঙা ছবি সম্বলিত

খাঁচা নেই
যে চিড়িয়াখানায়

(লেখক—শ্রীসুধাংশুকুমার চৌধুরী)

গল্পের মতই চিত্তাকর্ষক এবং জন্তুজানোয়ারের
শিক্ষাপ্রদ বিবরণ।

দাম —সাড়ে তিন টাকা।

প্রাপ্তিস্থান : সিটি বুক সোসাইটি

৬৪, কলেজ স্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা-১২

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rabindranath Tagore

Boundless Sky

A collection of Tagore's short stories, novel, drama, essays and poems. Rs. 14.50

Chitralipi

Collection of paintings and drawings in two volumes with introductory notes by the poet.

Volume 1 : 18 plates Rs. 20.00
Volume 2 15 plates Rs. 18.00

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

My Boyhood Days Rs. 3.50

ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES

The Centre of Indian Culture 1.00
The Co-operative Principle 1.50
Crisis in Civilization 1.00
Letters from Russia 4.50
Mahatma Gandhi 3.00
The Religion of an Artist 1.00
A Vision of India's History 1.50

NOVELS AND SHORT STORIES

Four Chapters 3.00 ; 4.50
The Runaway and other stories 4.50 ; 6.00
Two Sisters 3.00

POETRY

Poems 5.00

25 PORTRAITS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE

A selection of photographs (1873-1941) including the first and last portraits. Rs. 7.50 ; 10.00

A list of Tagore's works in English, Hindi & Bengali will be sent on request.

VISVA BHARATI

5 Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta-7

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WEST BENGAL GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

English

1. **Conch-shell Industry**
   —A type study
   Rs. 7.50 np.
2. **West Bengal Third Five Year Plan**
   Rs. 5.50 np.
3. **Archaeological Discovery in West Bengal** — A Bulletin of the Directorate of Archaeology West Bengal No. 1– Rs. 2.50 np

Bengali

1. **Banglar Utsav**
   —Shri Tarinisankar Chakravarty
   Rs. 1.25 np.
2. **Banglar Shikar Prani**
   —Shri Sachindranath Mitra
   Rs. 3.00 np.
3. **Banglar Loknritya O Gitibaichitra**
   —Nrityabid Sri Moni Bardhan
   Rs. 2.90 np.
4. **Chitre Bharater Itihas**
   Rs. 4.62 np.
5. **Gandhi Rachanabali**
   1st part & 2nd part
   Each part—Rs. 5.00 np.

Local Cash Sales Only

Publication Sales Office
New Secretariat Buildings
1, Hastings Street,
Calcutta-1

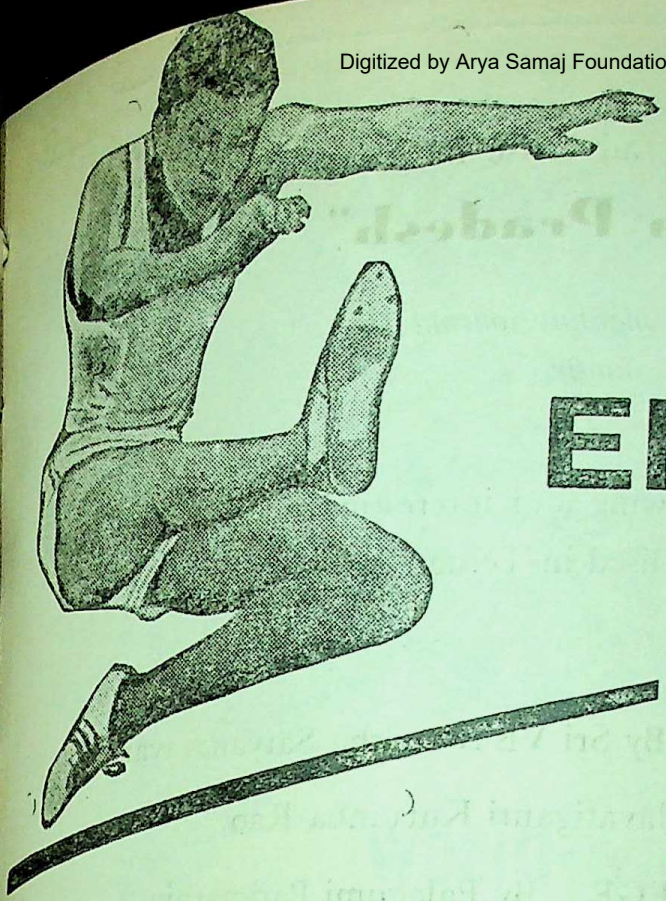
Mail Orders

Publication Branch
West Bengal Government Press
38, Gopalnagar Road,
Alipore, Calcutta-27.

WB (P) Adv-D 3038/65

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



A RAPID
PICK-ME-UP
FOR
WORN-OUT
ENERGY

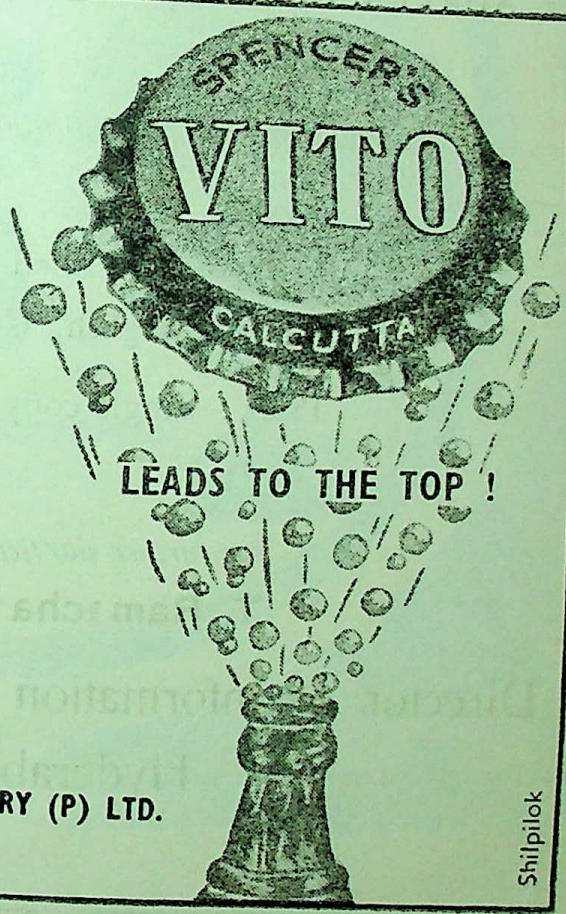


ENERGON

Energon is a palatable restorative tonic for persons of all ages and in all seasons. It increases appetite, aids digestion, stimulates the nervous system, removes physical and mental exhaustion and restores health.

BENGAL CHEMICAL
CALCUTTA BOMBAY KANPUR





LEADS TO THE TOP !

SPENCER AERATED WATER FACTORY (P) LTD.
CALCUTTA-14

Shilpilok

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Read & advertise in

"Andhra Pradesh"

—an illustrated monthly journal for every family

Don't miss the following four interesting novels now being serialised in Telugu edition

* MIHIRAKULUDU By Sri Vishwanatha Satyanarayana
* ISWARYAM By Kodavatiganti Kutumba Rao
* BRATHIKINA COLLEGE By Palagumi Padmaraju
* ADAVI MALLE By Kum. Vasi Reddy Sita Devi

Circulation now over 80,000 copies per month

Published in
Telugu, English, Urdu & Hindi

Price : Single copy 25 paise only

For further particulars write to

T. Ramachandra Rao

Director of Information & Public Relations,
Hyderabad

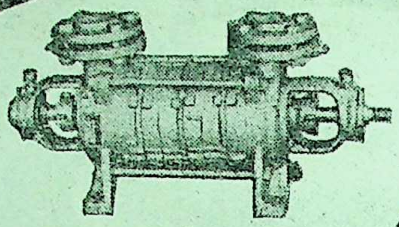
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

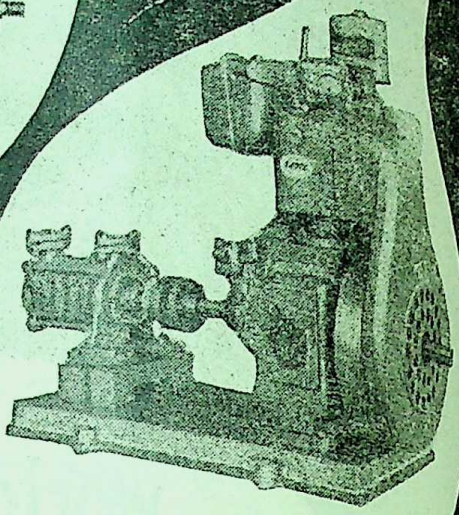


CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

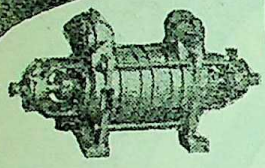
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



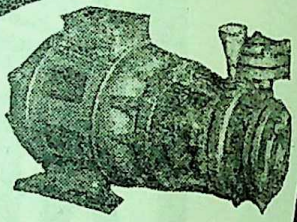
B.E. — Sihi Multistage self priming pump for Industry & Boiler-feed.



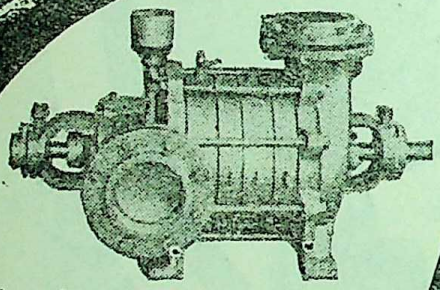
B.E. — Sihi
Engine driven self-priming pump for General duties.



B.E. D self priming pump for domestic water supply.



B.E. — GEC Monoblock for agriculture.



BE'M' Multistage Centrifugal Pump for Mining Irrigation and Boosting Pressure in Water Mains.

BRITISH ELECTRICAL & PUMPS (PVT) LTD.

4, Dalhousie Square East
Calcutta-1.
Phone: 22-7826.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

RAMANANDA BIRTH CENTENARY NUMBER

June, 1965

CONTENTS

	Pages
FOREWORD ..	1
FACSIMILE OF COVER PAGE : Vol. I No. 1 ..	3
FIRST ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN Vol. I No. 1 ..	5
Introductory Note	
Facsimile of the First Page	
ON JOURNALISM AND THE JOURNALIST : ..	21-35
Writings of Ramananda Chatterjee	
Introductory Note	
(i) Editorial Policy ..	22
(ii) Journalism in India ..	23
(iii) The Place of Journalism in Society ..	34
RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE : A BIOGRAPHICAL ASSESSMENT —K. N. ..	36-75
LETTERS TO AND FROM RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE : ..	76-86
(i) A message from M. Romain Rolland ..	76
(ii) Two letters from Mahatma Gandhi ..	77
(iii) Letters to Rabindranath ..	82
(iv) Letters From The Editor (from Europe) ..	84
HOMAGE : ..	87-96
(i) Ramananda Chatterjee—R. R. Diwakar ..	88
(ii) Ramananda Chatterjee—Harekrushna Mahtab	89
(iii) A Unique Aspect of Ramananda Chatterjee's Journalism—Prof. O. C. Gangoly ..	91
(iv) Ramananda Chatterjee—Deviprasad Roy Chowdhury ..	93
INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR EMANCIPATION ..	97-153
Writings of Ramananda Chatterjee	
(i) Civil Disobedience ..	98
(ii) This is not Self-Government ..	104
(iii) The Unity of India ..	113
(iv) Nation Building and the Critical Spirit ..	118
ON GREAT MEN : ..	124-153
Writings of Ramananda Chatterjee	
Introductory Note	
(i) Rabindranath Tagore ..	125
(ii) Jawaharlal Nehru ..	152
HOMAGE : ..	154-159
(i) Ramananda Chatterjee—Hiranmoy Banerjee	154
(ii) Ramananda Chatterjee—Bidhu Bhusan Sen Gupta	157

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SELECTIONS FROM EDITORIAL NOTES BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

	Pages
I ON POPULATION AND FOOD :	
Introductory Note ..	160-168
(i) Lord Curzon on Famines in India ..	161
(ii) The "Over-Population" of India ..	163
(iii) Are Poverty and Famine in India caused by Over-Population ? No. ..	165
(iv) Man Power Needed ..	166
(v) "Too Few Children" ..	167
(vi) Buying up a People's food ..	167
(vii) India Government's Evasion of Food Problem ..	168
II ON AN INDIAN LINGUA FRANCA : ..	169-179
Introductory Note	
(i) What is Implied in Making Hindustani India's Lingua Franca ..	170
(ii) Objection to Sanskritized and Persianized Hindustani ..	172
(iii) Is it Shameful not to have an Indian Lingua Franca ? ..	172
(iv) Will Hindustani Oust the other Provincial Languages ? ..	174
(v) "Hindi", "Hindi" ..	176
(vi) The Study of Hindi in Madras Presidency ..	177
III ON AGRICULTURE AND THE AGRICULTURIST	181-186
Introductory Note	
(i) Extension and Improvement of Agriculture ..	182
(ii) Collectivization of Indian Agriculture ..	183
(iii) Constructive Work for Kishan and Labour Leaders ..	184
(iv) Milk Problem in Bengal ..	186
IV ON CIVILIZATION AND MORALITY ..	188-190
Introductory Note	
(i) Individual and Collective Morality and Honour ..	189
(ii) Defective Civilization ..	189
(iii) Crime and its Causes and Remedies ..	189
(iv) Man's Animal Heritage and His Spirituality ..	190
V ON SOME INTERNATIONAL PERSONALITIES AND EVENTS ..	192-196
Introductory Note	193
(i) Professor Dr. M. Winternitz ..	193
(ii) Sun Yat Sen ..	193
(iii) An Appeal of M. Romain Rolland ..	195
(iv) Kamal Attaturk ..	

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

Printed and Published by Kalyan Das Gupta, Prabasi Press Private Limited, 77/2/1, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Foreword

In the last will and testament of the late Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, father of the world poet Rabindranath, it is enjoined that no physical memorial by way of a statue, portrait or otherwise, shall be raised to perpetuate his memory after his death. Great in the power of his soul and in spiritual attainments, he felt that unless remembered by his deeds and achievements, the usual kind of physical monuments that are normally used to perpetuate the memory of the great after their departure from this life would be a sorry substitute for the affectionate regard and intellectual esteem of posterity which, indeed, were the most desirable forms of a memorial that any one could wish and hope for.

Much the same thing could be said for the late Ramananda Chatterjee, founder of this journal, who should not need any physical memorial so that posterity may continue to remember him and his achievements in this life. On this, the occasion of the centenary of his birth, we bring out this special commemorative issue of the *Modern Review* and, thereby, seek to present Ramananda Chatterjee for what he was and did for his country, his people and, generally, for humanity as a whole, through his own words presented to the world for the space of well over half a century coinciding with a most significant period of his own country's and the world's history. There is, so far, no adequate biography in English of this great Indian one such is said to be under compilation and is likely to be soon published under the aegis of the Government of India's Publications Division. The most appropriate biography of the man, we believe, should be one which might have been presented by an appropriate selection and collation of his own writings placed in a historically chronological order.

In the present commemorative issue, however, we have endeavoured to maintain a more or less similar scheme of presentation. Apart from the contributions of some eminent writers on the life and work of Ramananda

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and a brief biographical assessment to enable a comprehension of the motivations and achievements in the many and widely varied fields of his endeavour during his life time, we have endeavoured to make a suitable selection of his own writings and present them in a certain order which, we believe, would do for the most appropriate memorial to the great founder of this journal that we could conceive of. It is significant that although written many years ago, some of them as far back as all of half a century ago, most of them, except, perhaps, a few items which have been included in these selections for their obviously interesting historical associations, would still seem to be amazingly relevant in the context of the current, more modern, post-Independence days in India.

It is not our purpose, on the present occasion, to make a presentation of our own estimate of the value of the life and contributions of our late founder. His own words are here to speak for themselves and, we feel, although tempered with an unusual measure of judgment and restraint, they speak with an emphasis on a wide veriety of subjects—on politics and economics, education and culture, art and literature, and a myriad other subjects,—which it would be difficult to adequately emulate, let alone surpass. If in making this presentation, we were able to stimulate anew an abiding interest not merely in the ideals and work of our founder, but more so in the many matters which so deeply concerned him in his life time, we feel we could not ask for nor desire any better homage to his cherished memory.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Volume I Number I

THE MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

JANUARY, 1907

Contents:

Western Literature and the Educated Public o India—The late PRINCE K. W. KNOX JOHNSO M.A. ... 1

Work and Wages—PRINCIPAL HERAMBACHANI MAITRA, M.A. ... 7

Kshudi: A Myth of the Snake-Goddess—JAGADI CHANDRA SEN, B.A. ... 26

The Hindu Widows' Home, Poona—PROFESSOR V. B. PATTABHIAN, M.A. ... 33

Mr. Morley and India's Industrial Future—G. SUBRAMANIA IYER, B.A. ... 42

The Function of Art in shaping Nationality: I —SISTER NIVEDITA ... 48

The Study of Natural Science in the Indian Universities: I—LIEUT.-COL. K. R. KIRTIKAR, I.M.S. (RETIRED), F.L.S. ... 54

The Industrial Problem in India—[illegible] M. V. JOSHI, B.A. ...

The Indian Hand-loom Industry—Pr[illegible] HAVELL ...

Dadabhai Naoroji—THE EDITOR ...

Ravi Verma—THE EDITOR ...

Calcutta—THE EDITOR ...

"Self-reliance" against "Mendicancy"—[illegible] BHAGAVANDAS KESHAVA ...

Maratha Historical Literature—D. B. PARASNIS ...

Sivaji Letters—Prof. JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR ... 61

Reviews of Books ... 116

List of Illustrations ...

ALLAHABAD

Printed at the INDIAN PRESS, and Published by the Editor

Annual Subscription: Inland Rs. 6; Foreign 10s.

Single Copy Re. 1.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Inaugural Issue of The Modern Review

In the preceding page we have reproduced a facsimile of the cover page of the first issue of *The Modern Review*. In the following pages we are reproducing the front page article published in the same issue because it will give the reader some idea of the principles of selection of articles followed in editing the *Review* from its very inception. It is noteworthy that the issue date of the first issue, dated January 1907, was advanced to enable copies to be circulated at the plenary session of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta in December 1906 and, necessarily the bulk of the contents related to that national event.

Nevertheless, the first issue of *The Modern Review* still contained such an amazingly varied selection of articles which was never before seen in this country and which came to be known as a distinctive character of the Paper.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. I JANUARY, 1907 No. 1

WESTERN LITERATURE AND THE EDUCATED PUBLIC OF INDIA

BY THE LATE PRINCIPAL W. KNOX JOHNSON

I BEGIN with one word of personal explanation. Nothing short of an absolute command could have induced me, as a junior member of the University, and one also whose business lies rather with the ink-pot and the pen, to be standing in this place to-day. I will not say more about the circumstances which bring me here, but perhaps the Vice-chancellor will allow me to say, the responsibility, if you are much wearied, is not mine.

However, now that I must stand here, let me say that the subject announced is only an approximation. It sounds so large that many persons may have smiled at it. My purpose is only to say a few words, if possible, which may be of some practical assistance to Indians with an inquiring mind. I have an imaginary Indian in view who has acquired some competence in English, and who may be sometimes inclined to make a closer acquaintance with the modern literature, historical and imaginative, of our West. If I can contrive to say anything of practical use to any single Indian here, I am quite content to be told both that my title is pretentious, and that I am guilty of a rambling and ill-ordered discourse.

Some persons in this room have received a certain key to European thought, that is, the English language—one of the four great modern literary languages. The door, however, which that key can open, the door into the world of modern European ideas in general, remains closed. Wherever this is the case, the original acquisition of English was a mere bread-study, and, so far as the culture of the intellect and the object of a University are concerned, had no meaning. I often think now-a-days that it might be well also, when we have time, as we all really have time, to see what lies on the other side of that closed door.

To-day we are considering modern western literature. By "modern", I do not mean modern in the sense in which everything since the Renaissance is modern;—and we ourselves indeed are still in the Renaissance. We are still in Europe struggling to free ourselves, still marching in our exodus from the last or

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

middle European age. I mean the modern time in the sense of our time. No man can be called educated who knows that time only. But you have your old world and we have ours. And the modern time is that western time with which an Indian should being who desires to acquaint himself with our ideas. We may call this age the 19th Century, if we remember that intellectually the 19th Century did not begin, as we might suppose, in 1801. The 19th Century begins about the year 1750. It begins with the Frenchman Diderot, a vagabond fighting hunger in the streets of Paris. Some historian of literature, I think Wilhelm Scherer, has remarked that it was altogether a bad time for literature in those days. The age of Pope and Addison was gone. The best men knew the struggle with adversity, nearly all of them ate their bread with tears. Fielding, Johnson, Collins, Vauvenargues, Goldoni, Winckelmann, Lessing; it is so all over Europe. But with many of them the 19th Century begins. It begins with Lessing as it begins with Diderot. We find Lessing in those days battling against odds in Leipzig and in Berlin. But most of all does our age begin with Rousseau, whose wanderings in Savoy and Italy and Eastern France had in 1870 just come out an end. How much we begin with Rousseau may be judged from the fact that it was possible for Lord Acton to defend the proposition that Rousseau has had more influence in the world than any writer whoever lived: more than Aristotle, or Cicero, or Aquinas. And in Strassburg, a few years later, we can see the 19th Century well on its way. We can see Goethe there as a student, Goethe, who was to be the great leader of our modern time. We can see him sitting at the feet of so-called Philosophers of History, or speechifying against the old style of French drama, defending Hamlet, reading Rousseau, fiery with indignation that the church had burnt Giordano Bruno for teaching the new astronomy of Copernicus, and already revolving in his mind the legend of Faust as it had reached us from the Middle age.

It is well that we should hear some up-English names. For western culture, such as it is, with its faults, with its infinitely greater excellences, is one. I am aware that one department of it, English literature, is at times severely criticised by Indians. But valid, affect European letters as a whole. The thought of Europe, which is in reality world-thought, can be approached by any one of four languages. It so happens that Indians approach it through English. I once heard a famous writer of France say that it would have been specially interesting if Indians had entered the European circle of ideas by means of either Russian or Spanish. When asked why, he replied that each of these nations has in it much of the East, and therefore, he argued, European thought would have been more quickly and throughly assimilated than it has been now. However that may be, if the language of Indian Universities had been Russian or Spanish, Indians would have been at a terrible disadvantage. They would have been nowhere near the intellectual centre of Europe. They might as well learn Portuguese or Dutch. But each of the approaches, through English, French, German, or Italian, is a broad highway into the city of knowledge, and leads straight to the heart of the modern world.

But we cannot speculate on the contingent Past. What must be understood is that Europe, from the point of view from which Indians regard it, is one intellectual whole. As this is not enough realized at present, I shall mention other than English names. But some of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

these names will be of men whose works are, partly at least, translated into English. For these translations there ought to be a demand in India, although so far, unfortunately, there seems to be none.

Should any lingering doubt remain in the mid of any Indian as to what benefit he would derive from exploring the thoughts of our leading European men, mostly still unknown, I would put before him a preface of Ernest Renan's. It is to one of his latest and ripest books. He is pointing out that in any country it is the character of the highest instruction given which really matters, and which carries with it the intellectual future. All else, he says, is of secondary importance. This is the true source and root of the lower kinds of education, and not contrariwise. The lower education without the highest kind is of little avail. Suddenly he turns round upon his countrymen, and asks, "What defeated Frenchmen in the Franco-German War ?" "Not Moltke !" "not Bismarck !", he exclaims, "but the mind, the high seriousness, the method, the thought of Germany ! It was Luther, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, who fought with us in the Franco-German War !" And so we too can see with Japan belongs to another family of man than ours, but she is aware of the necessity at least to enter and to reconnoitre the modern world. Hence her efficient universities, her successful studies of intellectual things, of knowledge under the European form.

I think, however, we can be full of confidence. Mark Pattison says some where that the beginning is everything. We have introduced the beginnings, sometimes under the disguise, certainly, of the applicable and the advantageous. Fifty years is not very much time.

Chateaubriand says of his generation, "we were caught in the whirlpool at the meeting-place of two different civilisations." So too our Indian students are often

"Wandering between two worlds,
one dead,
The other powerless to be born."

But Chateaubriand also says : "I struck out boldly, and landed on the further shore." I think we can be confident that this agitation of the surface must surely continue to spread in ever widening circles. In time the names not of five or six only, but of all the chief writers of Europe must surely become known. Then we shall see the works of those writers often asked for, and a demand for translations, too, such as does not exist now, for example, at the Public Library in Allahabad.

It is not of much importance what amount we know when we leave our university. Few men know much worth mentioning before they are thirty or even forty ; and then only if the first flame of curiosity with which they looked out upon our world has been kept steadfastly burning. As for scholars, we do not speak of them yet in this part of India to sow the seed of curiosity, the desire to hear of further what is really passing beyond our secluded corner of the world, is at present the humble task of the university. We cannot, save in rare instances, give learning, and that the pursuit of and passion for truth is in Europe also such a thing exists as learning, and that the pursuit of and passion for truth is in Europe also as eager and as sincere, as it is outside our universities in India, or as it ever was in any golden age.

I am constantly asking one question of my Indian friends : "Does this curiosity exist in India with regard to the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

literature of the West?" Their answer nearly always is, "Yes! It exists in a minority, of course, scattered; but far more than you can see." Then again, in a journal of Allahabad which I generally find interesting, *The Hindustan Review*, the matter was treated two or three years ago. The writer, Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, was very positive on this point. He wrote from personal knowledge what I have heard sometimes doubted, but have often been told, that a proportion of the new considerable public which has received an English education is anxious, as opportunity offers, to pursue these things. If this is so, if literature has begun to gain an entrance, the future is secure. The power of literature is in itself and not from any extraneous pushing.

The difficulty is that at present this minority seems to have so little intelligent guidance. There is no sadder sight in India than most of the booksellers' advertisements of English books which assail our eyes in newspapers. I speak of booksellers who deal with Indians. They remind one of the lines scribbled in some jail by a poetical felon:

> If of all words of tongue or pen,
> The saddest are, It might have been,
> Far sadder are those I daily see,
> It is, but it hadn't ought to be.

I have often wondered what the explanation may be of the hard fact that the weekly steamers are bringing to the shores of this country the wrong books. In things of the mind also we seem to have plague and famine in India; a plague of tenth-rate literature and a famine, or at least a grievous scarcity of books of the first order, the books which really imports us to know. A small organisation, a little selection, a distributing society even, guided in the interests of literature—these are not enterprises requiring a giant intellect or a giant capital. Good literature consists of the best books over a long period of time, in the age we are considering, say, fifty years. But we cannot rely on the bookseller only. The ordinary booksellers' business is not to sell the best books of the last 150 years, but all the books without distinction published within the last six months. Now, it is not a bad rule in regarding, unless one has real confidence in one's own judgment, never to read a book outside one's own subject published within the last six months. One will do better only to read the books which are still spoken of at the end of their first six months, or of their first six years.

Now the objection is made to me that the best books are too difficult. I wish everybody in this room could realise that this is a complete misunderstanding. Let us take some specimens of these booksellers' lists. Abstract from them the merely educational or prescribed works,—School Arithmetics, Herbert Spencer, and so on. Next eliminate the technical, banausic books,—books which are no books, but an investment for money, volumes on medicine, engineering, law. Excellent they may be, but they cannot free our minds. I will now read to you what remains, in the very latest catalogues I have seen:—

1. Conventional lies of our Civilisation.
2. Degeneration.
3. Paradoxes.
4. Mrs. Humphry Ward's and Mrs. Lyttleton's translation of the Thoughts of Joubert.
5. Lives of Eminent Engineers.
6. Life of Lord Dundonald.
7. Sir Edward Clarke's Public Speeches.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

8. George Sims' Memoirs of my Mother-in-law.

9. Poems of Sir Lewis Morris.

10. Pictures of the Royal Academy.

And there is also some fiction not worth reading out.

I do now wish to say anything against these books. What we are considering is, the question of difficulty and range. What I say without hesitation is that the persons who are able to read the lies and paradoxes of our civilisation can also read the vital and excellent truths which underlie it, which have given it life and power, and have suddenly, almost, established it all over the world. The lies pass and the degeneration degenerates, but those truths remain. We say again that whoever can read the life of Darwin, or Lewe's Goethe, or the life of Sir Walter Scott, or Carlyle's John Sterling, or the memoir of Tennyson, or even of the Master of Balliol, he could read the autobiographies of John Stuart Mill or of Cardinal Newman or Mark Pattison, or the Letters of Byron or of George Eliot, or of Taine, or of Lord Acton, or the correspondence between Flaubert and George Sand. These are the people who are interesting; they are the men and women who moved in the centre of the stream, they are the very forces which make our time. We shall hear 100 times more from any one of these than from Lord Dundonald. There is no engineer, however eminent, who will teach us as much about what we want to know as these. As to the speeches, I have heard Sir Edward Clarke deliver his speeches; and I confidently affirm to any Indian in doubt that however adapted to their own purpose, they contain for him nothing, absolutely nothing that is of any avail. Whoever reads the poetry of Sir L. Morris will do far better, if he must have a living poet, with Mr. Waston, or Mr. Swinburne, or even a translation of Carducci. But why can we not rather read a dead poet? It is the dead poet whose poetry is really living. The pictures from the Royal Academy are very well, if we have first read—I will not say about the Age of Pericles—but, say, Holroyd's or Symonds's Michael Angelo. Michael Angelo would be a vital portion of the history of the West, and of the march of ideas as a whole. Of George Sims and of his mother-in-law one has simply never heard. I do not know whether Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mrs. Lyttleton have succeeded in mitigating the severity of Joubert. By what concatenation of unfortunate circumstances does a book of this kind come to India to be offered in the stock of a bookseller dealing with Indians! I hope these books are not what are called "remainders." "Remainders," you may know, are those books which have failed, and cannot get themselves sold, and so have to be somehow disposed of elsewhere. No literature requires a greater effort to meet it on the part of the reader —just that sort of effort to meet the literature which our critics so often say is wanting in our university men, where anything European is concerned. Again, it is just that kind of prose which because of the different genius of the language cannot be translated from French to English. It cannot be done. Lastly, Joubert has not the breadth and humanity of the great Frenchmen, in spite of the essay of Mrs. Humphry Ward's uncle, Mr. Arnold. His best thing, I suppose, is the comparison of our life to woven wind. I rather think you have that in Hafiz already.

His next best thing I have seen also

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in Coleridge. I am not going to say one word aganist Joubert. I feel as much as anybody what can be said, and has been said so eloquently on his behalf by Chateaubriand, and by Sainte-Beuve and by Mr. Arnold. It is not a bad thing for a European to have passed by way of the peculiar religious philosophies of a Coleridge or of a Joubert, even if he does not, as he will not, remain there. Joubert also is a mile-stone on that road which every European must travel if he would find a philosophy, an intellectual freedom of his own. Or if he is not a milestone, at least he is like some pleasant tree, which gives us for a moment or two a refreshing shade. But in the Liberation-War of humanity, as Heine calls it, the battleground is always changing; and that battle has long passed by and away from Joubert. And what does Joubert contain for an Indian at Allahabad in the year 1905?

Let us not forget that Joubert lived in a great generation. The 19th Century is a great age of literature, and the generation of Joubert is the most important period in it. Among Joubert's contemporaries, how much simpler for an Indian, because of wide human interest, how much more accessible and fertilising to the mind, are the Conversations with Eckermann, or the maxims of Goethe, or even the table-talk of Coleridge! And as regards translations of that time, we are not restricted to Mrs. Ward and Mrs. Lyttleton. It might be laid down that in the modern world wherever you have a great age of literature, you have a great age of translation also. Our best translations of that generation are among the great translations of the world—Carlyle's Wilhelm Meister. Shelley's translations, Coleridge's from Schiller. In that age all the great men without exception I think, translated, and some of them Coleridge, Shelley, Carlyle, are among the greatest translators we have seen. There are Shelley's fragments form Faust, and his Symposium, and many others of his, for any one who wishes for a window into European literature. The reader of Hafiz surely can also become a reader of the Symposium, which has been called the greatest piece of prose yet written. Then in Carlyle's Wilhelm Meister—has any one who has read, for example, the Burial of Mignon, ever afterwards forgotten it?—with that great refrain calling us back from death unto life, and warning us that earnestness alsone lends to our life something of the eternal. And then again you have there Coleridge's Wallenstein, and his other translations from Schiller, and with them you have Carlyle's Life of Schiller, but I will say this, that from his noble view of literature and of life, an Indian will obtain a hundred times more than he is likely to obtain from Joubert; and also that a hundred Mrs. Humphry Wards will not give us a better introduction to a writer than you will get from Carlyle and Coleridge. The philosophy of Schiller may not be of the most subtle or profound kind, but he is for that very reason far less evasive, less recondite, than Joubert,—far less difficult to grasp for an Indian reader who wishes to see the mind of Europe at its highest and best. If we go to such men as Wilhelm Scherer, or if we go to that splendid Epilogue to Schiller's Bell written by Goethe in the year after Schiller's death—the greatest thing I suppose ever written by one poet about another,—and if we try to find out from them what Germany sees in Schiller, we find it is just this, that he was able, as hardly any other poet, to call men out of the world of sense, the common round the prose of everyday which hems us in. We find that he had such an ardour

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

aspiring faith in the eternal order, and in the good and in the true—despite the apparent evidence of the world to the contrary—as one with that order, that he is able to carry us with him, and to keep our faith from failing in the good and in the beautiful and in the true also. He can do that for us, as Wordsworth can,—another poet influenced by Rousseau.

There is a famous and just criticism of the great Italian dramatist Alfieri which finds in him a narrow elevation. I should not be surprised to hear that a good judge found, at this distance of time, some narrowness as well as elevation in Schiller, when compared at least with his greater contemporary Goethe. Mr. Arnold, who was our greatest English critic since Coleridge, once went to see Sainte-Beuve, the greatest critic of Europe since Goethe. In the course of the interview Mr. Arnold observed that he ventured to think Lamartine is a poet of whom the French think a great deal, though French poetry is even more inferior to English poetry than English prose is inferior to French prose. But Sainte-Beuve replied. "He was important for us." So there are poets, like Schiller perhaps, like Lamartine and Tennyson certainly, of the very first moment in the intellectual history of their own nation, but who are not world-poets, such as in Lamartine's generation were Goethe, and Leopardi, and Byron.

The enthusiasm for translation perhaps never rose so high, in any age of the world, as it did in those days. What has been said of Latin literature is very true of that generation of giants in the 19th Century. The great men translate more and not less—they are still more receptive than the smaller men. You have splendid translations then, as we also have in our own days. In that age Keats wrote the noblest tribute ever penned to the power of translation over an imaginative mind, and so high did the wave rise, that we actually read those very strange and difficult remarks in Eckermann about translation being a substitute for the original. I venture to think that Goethe has said far truer things on this very subject of translation elsewhere. Goethe represents one extreme as Dante represents the other. Dante tells us that all translation of poetry is impossible. And that also has its truth. For Indians, I would say "yes"! Read all the good translations: but remember two things. The first has never been given its true importance. I do not know indeed where to find it stated. What we get from a translation depends really far more on the quality of our own minds than on what reviewers always discuss, namely, the quality of the translation. The criticism of Hamlet in Wilhelm Meister is written from a translation. The West-Eastern Diwan was inspired by a translation. When Keats reads a translation of Homer, we have his great sonnet, and when a speculative mind like Kant reads one, we have, at least, to judge from Professor Wallace's biography, some appreciation. But on another kind of mind, such as Mr. Herbert Spencer's, if you will look at his remarks on the Iliad in his Autobiography, a translation from a translation, where you and I shall throw the book out of the window. We all know how much Goethe received from Sakuntala; but he read a translation of translation: and that Shakespeare fed his spirit on Plutarch, but he also read that matter at third hand. "We receive," as a great translator said of Nature, "but what we give."

It is impossible to say beforehand what is transferable into another language and form. The muse of translation is shy and way-ward. We can translate Wilhelm Meister, and we cannot, now that Shelley

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and Coleridge are dead, translate Faust. But very many of the good things in modern literature are really translation —translation, that is a poet understands it, where not literalness but fidelity, is the aim. There are hundreds of examples. Take Arnold's lines on Goethe :—

He was happy, if to know
Causes of things, and far below
His feet to see the lurid flow,

and so on. These are really translation. Or again, could the most famous thing in Faust have been written but for the 102nd Psalm ? But, more striking than mere passages, take whole poems. I will take one of the great things in modern literature. I will take Tennyson's "Ulysses." Dryden, who is one of the authors who have written best on this subject, would have placed "Ulysses" in his third class of translations, a very good class too, as he says,—that of imitations. In "Ulysses" nothing has been lost. All has been transferred :—all that stirs us, all that is heart-shaking, in the 26th canto of the Inferno. And we can say without fear that the Indian reader of our men, like Gray, Milton, Tennyson, Arnold, William Watson, will constantly be imbibing from them some thing of the older classical European spirit also. For Indians fortunate enough to have leisure, the second thing to remember in reading translations is what Goethe says in another place : "Translators are like go-betweens or match-makers : they arouse an irresistible desire to see the original which they have described." The best service of all which a translation can do for us is to make us buy a dictionary and a grammar of the original. Even a very moderate and indeed almost elementary knowledge of the original language enables a reader to obtain vastly more from the translations than he will otherwise. It initiates him at least into the spirit, the incommunicable atmosphere or texture which every language possesses which is an essential element of its thought, and which in every language defies all translation.

All this however is a digression, and I make such a digression because my aim is practical. I would, if possible, attempt to urge Indians to something like an acquaintance with European books. I now wish to contest the criticism which I have myself most often heard brought forward against our English literature—namely, that it is too "materialistic". I suppose this means too much occupied with merely outward things. Now I want to ask, does this criticism really arise, in any instance, from the study of our English books and minds as a whole ? Or does it not sometimes result from too close an analysis of the lies and paradoxes only ? English literature does not mean, whatever your booksellers may tell you, only Macaulay and Herbert Spencer, and Mr. Kipling, Degenerations, lies and paradoxes do not compose the whole. In the English mind there is Bentham, and there is also Newman in the English mind. And there must always be two such strains in the mind of every great nation, because the very reason for which a nation is called into being is not to live, as Joubert says Plato lives, in the thin regions of the upper air, but to deal with the transitory daily world appearances. Its genius cannot be only the genius of the fire and the rainbow and the dew, the genius of a Shelley or a Coleridge or a Wordsworth. Unless you have that mingled genius you will never have a nation at all. But every man in Europe who cares for these things knows also that no peoples in our modern period can speak of today have produced so many and such splendid types of that exalted genius which deals with the inner

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

eternal world of reality as Germany and England. And I say that you will find in the really typical minds of England, in her Tennysons and her John Stuart Mills, that two strands of reason inextricably woven together. What are the books, and who are the men, that have influenced the present generation of thoughtful Englishmen?—there are still some thoughtful Englishmen.

They are books like Sartor Resartus, Emerson's Essays, "In memoriam", Arnold's Poems, Arnold's Essays, Marius the Epicurean. They are men like Wordsworth, Coleridge, Newman, Ruskin, Arnold. Then who will point out to us the materialism, if you mean by materialism neglect of the inner life, in men and books like these?

The man who has made the present generation of Englishmen is Arnold; and in literature there is only one Arnold, Matthew Arnold. The present generation would not, of course, bind itself to everything which Mr. Arnold said. The philosophers, Mr. Bradley from one side and Professor Sidgwick from another, fell upon him, with somewhat misplaced asperity, and the battle, I think, in his last days went certainly against him to the going down of the sun. Like many other great teachers, Emerson, for example, Mr. Arnold had no very complete or logical system. But it will be found on inquiry that his greatness consists less in any one aspect of his work, than in the whole of it taken together;—in his influence. It will have to be remembered with regard to these unsystematic men,—Carlyle also, on whom everybody now is severe,—what Goethe says about Dideort, that after all the highest office of mind is to call our mind. Mr. Arnold was in England what Renan and Taine were until thirteen years ago in France, a guarantee that the things of the mind also would have a hearing. We can now see the intellectual condition of France, despite her academy and her brillient men. We can now read in the last great English contribution to European letters—and it is an important and valuable contribution—judgments, about Renan and Goethe for example, which any one of us might be ashamed to repeat here. Now, while Mr. Arnold was alive, writers were afraid, whatever they might think, to publish such foolish things, not because they cared for the ridicule of Europe, but because Mr. Arnold's gentle irony was enough of itself to freeze these caprices in the bud. However, unfortunately, Mr. Arnold is now dead. The awkward squad of biographers keeps firing over his grave: but it nevertheless remains a place of pilgrimage in England to very many in our generation who care for the things of the mind. Biographers will not soon desecrate his grave as they have Sainte-Beuve's and Carlyle's. You will no doubt suppose that Mr. Arnold is buried in Westminister Abbey, beside, Tennyson and Browing. But it is not so. We now bury the interpreters of thought in Westminister Abbey; but not always the thinkers of the thought themselves,—George Eliot, Carlyle, Ruskin. We can read in a great French poet, "I do not desire your kind of fame.—Why should I go down to posterity with your magnates, and your actors, and your politicians?" But deans and chapters do not prevent Mr. Arnold's grave by the Thames at Laleham from being as I have said, a place of pilgrimage in our generation. Yet who will undertake to point out to us the materialism in Arnold, and none in the men who have made the best thought of England as it today is—then what does this charge of materialism against English literature mean?

The only other matter concerning this list to which I shall now refer is that Indian booksellers seem to offer to the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indian public a certain quantity of contemporary fiction. Now as a general rule the fiction of our day—certainly the fiction we see offered in India,—is worthless. The writers mean well, but they cannot help it. "In morality the good-will is everything; but in Art it is nothing." Nearly all bad poetry, for example, is the outcome of genuine emotion. We have only 60 or 70 years to live. We shall never have time to read even the best. We are only, as the Greek poet Menander says, out for a walk, so to speak, in universe. Life was formerly long enough: but it is not long enough now. What are three score years and ten? even Plato had already cried out near the end of the Republic. "Faust" in our day complains that life is too short, and art is too long. Life is disproportioned. The breadth of it is too great for the length of it. The breadth of days which is the aim of our culture can only just be attained in the given time, and we seem to leave the stage like Fontenelle, just when we were beginning to know about the world. So the public says to the minor poet, whom Wordsworth allowed, whom Goethe tolerated, "We have nothing against you, your work is meritorious; it is simply that we have no time. When the biologists or the chemists, can give us 600 to 700 years to live, then bring your work again." The public from a sure and just instinct will not read the works of the minor poet, and it rightly will not buy the pictures of the minor painter. But for some reason for which I am still inquiring, it does read, encourages and even buys, the minor novelist. At the beginning of our modern time, Napoleon, lord of the world of action, read and re-read the "Sorrows of Werther" seven times. Kant, who was equally supreme in the world of thought, was only once known to fail in taking his after-dinner walk. What was the cause? He was absorbed in the great romance of Rousseau. Fiction it is which brings together those four master-spirits and sources of our time. But when one sees this fiction, this dull, opaque screen set up between us and literature, one agrees heartily for the moment with every one of the hard things said of novels by thinkers like Thomas Hill Green; and if one happens also to be in bilious mood, one is almost ready, moreover, to maintain that the great novelists of the middle of the century, by exciting this horde of imitators, have done more harm to us than good.

Now let us inquire more closely what it is that is offered to thoughtful men in India, under the guise of the modern spirit in our imaginative and historical literature—general literature. First of all, let us refuse to draw an impassable line between the critical account of pure literature or belles letters and the account of past ideas and actions which we call history. Whoever has followed the widening of the boundaries in both these subjects during the last generation probably feels that now more than ever before their territories overlap. Both history and ordinary literature are a record of the human mind; as distinguished from physical science, which is the description and record of the outer world; and again from Philosophy, Art, and the higher poetry, which aim higher, and are, like Religion, efforts to interpret these two records, and to reconcile us to our place in the order. When we think of the story of man's mind as shown in his groups and in his collective culture, thought, action, we speak of History. When we observe it in more self-conscious moments, as reflected in the mirror of a representative mind, which is therefore called great, we speak of Literature.

For what is a great writer? And in this connection let me refer you in passing to Sainte-Beuve's essay, "What is a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

classic ?" which has been translated by Mr. Butler, and is happily quoted by Mr. Morley in his address on literature. "You should buy the things which have been addressed to popular audiences about reading, in English ; the best I know are by Cardinal Newman, John Stuart Mill, Matthew Arnold, Mr. John Morley, Henry Nettleship, Professors Sidgwick, Tyrrell, Butcher, Jebb, and Mr. Frederic Harrison). But from another point of view, from which we are now considering the matter, the greatest writer is simply he who most perfectly voices the emotion and the reason of the majority, who shows us to its inner deeps the common mind, the time-spirit of a civilisation. Probably you will say that is deeply nature. But by majority I do not mean the majority of his contemporaries. I do not mean that the great writer, shouts with the largest crowd, otherwise Mr. Kipling would be a great wrter, and tomorrow's *Daily Mail* the greatest piece of English literature which has yet appeared. Not the majority of today nor of yesterday, nor of tomorrow, nor of any one land or time, but a majority of discerning minds, the phronimi, those who know, in all the times taken together. There is a sentence from one of the great writers of the world, who lived about the year 400 of the Christian era. His name was Augustine, and his sentence is now become famous in Europe, and memorable to students of our literature, because of its place in the autobiography of Cardinal Newman. In the battle of life that sentence called him from one great regiment to serve in the more crowded ranks and under the more splendid and imposing banner of another. The sentence is, "Only one thing is conclusive, and that is the final verdict of the whole round world." And this applies not only to councils of religions, but we may apply it to the councils of the intellect also, to intellectual ideas, and to the writers who are the voices of those ideas, who are their trumpeters in our ears and awaken us to them.

A writer cannot become great, however distinguished his thought, and however perfect his form, if he expresses nothing more than a secluded personality, like your Joubert for example, or only a small minority of minds. He is a great writer only if he voices what you and I feel also. A writer, it is true, may express his most intimate and intricate who heard it in a bad translation and that the other day in Paris a Frenchmen who saw a Hamlet which I confess I thought ridiculous, a Frenchman who knows nothing, probably, of the Teutonic mind, whose culture is exclusively Southern-European or Latin, has now written what seems to me at least a more profound interpretation of it than anything you will find in Mr. Furness's moods, as Shakespeare does in his sonnets, and pass with that personal baggage unchallenged or only challenged by Mr. Hallam. But what is the reason ? appeal of which is so wide and lasting It is that he also wrote Hamlet, the collection, or in Goethe, or even in Coleridge.

I have mentioned Cardinal Newman's autobiography. It always seems to me that you will never get nearer the heart of an age than in its autobiographies and letters,—not necessarily of the great men, but of the men of the centre, the men who were their age, and who helped to make it. But in this period most of the autobiographers are great men, and thus doubly interesting. They are Rousseau, Alfieri, Goethe, and nearer our own time, Mill, Renan, Newman, Pattison, Ruskin, George Sand. As a general rule, I would say, always listen carefully to every great man, when he talks about himself. He is talking about

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

what he knows; and all his sympathies are inflamed. You may then get to hear something. In the great generation of the 19th Century, they talked incessantly about themselves, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Chateaubriand, Senancour, de Musset, Leopardi. People are more reserved now. But I will venture to say that in the notable 19th Century books from Sartor Resartus down to Amiel and Madame Eckermann and Marius the Epicurean, you will find most of what is called egoism. And who has ever put more of himself and of his experience into his works than Goethe? yet we all call him universal.

To read the biographies also would be one of the best, perhaps the very best way for an Indian to attack modern literature. The works of Mr. Morley for instance on France and the French mind, and for Germany one should begin with that old, out of date, discursive volume, Lewes's Life of Goethe. In Lewes you will follow from the rising to the setting of its star one of the noblest and most serious lives ever lived by any man, the life of "him who sings to one clear harp in divers tones." You will see the ideas of this age taking form, and you will see Napoleon with his armies marching through its pages, and you will hear the cannon of the battle of Jena, and you will see Schiller, and Scott and Manzoni and Madame de Stael,—not a great writer, but a great influence, and though a woman, one of the makers of our time. But it does not matter how you begin. There are 1,000 gateways to the city of Literature. It does not matter so long as you do not begin with that radical error of the 100 best books. There are no 100 best books. Books are good relatively to the reader also. The best 100 books for one man or for one country are not the same 100 books as for another man or another country. The very idea of 100 best books is a misconception. Goethe, as Sainte-Beuve says, was the greatest critic who every lived. A man once asked him a question of this kind. He replied "That is best which stimulates you to activity." When such lists appear you may notice they are generally drawn up by specialists, like Lord Acton, for a special purpose really, or by men eminent in some other pursuit than literature. The man who is really concerned with literature knows these lists are impossible. Besides Lord Acton was a historian; and, though I mention him with reverence, like most historians, he had and pretended to have no feeling for literature. There are lists by men renownd in the worlds of science and of commerce. When they appear I always think of a story that I once heard a great judge tell at Lincoln's Inn. Lord Chancellor Ellenborough was told that Samuel Rogers, the banker-poet, had written another poem. But his answer was: "If my banker even said one witty thing, much more than if he published a poem, I should at once withdraw my banking account." The beginning and end of this matter really is that if you are one of those fortunate persons to whom literature happens to appeal, you will handle all books, or all that you can obtain, and from them you will choose your own.

Literature, then, whether history or pure literature we may perhaps consider as one record, the record of the human mind. The acceleration of intellectual movements is the striking feature of modern times. In nothing perhaps, are we moving faster than in the writing of history. The kind of history we are most familiar with, the narrative of political events, has now less importance. It is sometimes little more than a sort of chronology or framework to assist us in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tracing the story of institutions, and religions, and ideas. Voltaire had begun this new method of history long ago; but the earliest writer I happen to know who has clear remarks on the diminishing importance of politics in history is Renan. It is somewhere in his books on the Future of Science. This book, "Lavenir de la Science" appeared just in the middle of the 19th Century, and should be read by any one really interested in our time. It is one of those books indeed which may be said in itself to mark an age; in this case the age of which Comte had already said "It will be the historical age." So many third-rate French books are now translated that there must surely be a translation of it obtainable. I am sorry to say your copy here in the Public Library is the original. If Indians can read the Philosophy of Joubert, surely they can read a work like this.

Now, of course, Helmholtz, Ratzel, and many other writers have enforced the same thing. We readers of history are very sensitive now to this newer and wider conception of the way in which it should be written. The ideal is perhaps almost impossible to attain. The great general history published in France, we say shows too much of the old merely national, or so-called patriotic, bias. Then there is our great English work designed by Lord Acton. Whoever pays attention to these things will see as each volume appears, severe criticism of that great work, not in England, but in France, Germany, Italy, because it is said that important parts of the history of culture are neglected; and, as each nation complains of every other, that our national bias deflects the aim. So far as I can seem these criticisms are generally mistaken. No history can be written, so to speak, in the air, or entirely for cosmopolitan citizens of the world, because as a matter of fact, they do not yet exist in large numbers. We have not yet moved out finally of the old patriotic, national, age. No one laid more stress than Lord Acton on the conception of history as the history of ideas. I happen myself to have some great histories read and marked by him, and it is always the sequence of ideas, and not the concatenation of political events, which chiefly draws his attention. And again, Universal Histories like that of Ranke—though written only five and twenty years ago—are severely criticised because of an inadequate conception of the civilisations previous to Greece and Rome.

As with the critical view of "history," so with the critical view of "pure literature": its valuation and arrangement. The sense of relativity and succession, what Edmond Scherer so well calls the "defeat of the absolute," the comparative view, governs the whole. You may have heard that former ages pronounced on literature by appealing to the authority of certain fixed laws, from which inflexible judgments and correct formulas for the different kinds of literature were deduced. Whatever corresponded with these models was good: bad. As the rules of this game were purely speculative, so the work also was considered absolutely in itself, and isolated from its real connection with the time, the writer, and the society in which it appeared. Such a view of literature was purely dogmatic. But the French have re-created literary criticism during the century which has passed, so that we now for the first time understand literature and its representation of society. As Germany is the land from which Europe has learnt historical criticism, but always has been the land par excellence of the criticism of literature. As this criticism and method

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

now lie before us, as they have left the hands of Sainte-Beuve, they aim at giving us nothing less than the general march of ideas of the human mind. It is now less the idiosyncrasy of the genius himself which is the centre of interest than his representation of his age. Hence also the great space occupied in the new criticism by writers of the second and third rank hardly noticed before. It is a mistake to suppose that Sainte-Beuve was the founder of this school ; but it is only in him that we fully realise its meaning. Too little of his criticism, I fear, is translated. It is a deep, sinuous and placid river, which winds in and out, and then around the whole kingdom of ideas, and calmly reflects and gives us back the whole.

Now, the modern view of things is that from which most knowledge takes the historical form. We have now acquired an entirely new focus and perspective, from which we see that things are only viewed in their true relations when viewed in succession. If we ask the great men of the modern time, they will all in different words express the same central idea, that so far as literature is concerned, all knowledge assumes the form of sequence in time, the historical form. Now, whether in the West or East, ordinary man can learn historical thing ; and this kind of thing is the essence of the modern spirit. The sense of succession and relativity concerning all past developments gives us a tolerant comparative standard. Our view becomes inclusive : whereas there have been other civilisations and other views which are exclusive, and which say to all outside them and beyond them : "You are bad ; we will not know nor inquire into you." But the modern spirit is curious about all of men's past : it desires to know and accept and get the place in the scale of all. Even in the tribes of the hill and the jungle we see ourselves. The philosopher would not lay hands upon his father Parmenides, and the modern man observes in the savage his own past out of which he came. He does not condemn, nor say to this race or that period "you are bad," that is not acceptable to the spirit of our time. The contemporary Time-spirit yesterday did not exist, and again tomorrow it will not be. When we want to know, then it is not the time for our preferences and exclusions and pitting the spirit of contemporaries against the whole past. We say of all phases and stages of culture : "It is now ascertained that this was produced by such causes. It fulfilled such a function, and in such succeeding circumstances we see it passing away." We have at least, and after a long struggle, learned to accept humanity as a whole, and not only one or two shreds and patches of him which happen to be pleasing here and now. For the first time the world understands its past. When Voltaire laughs at the beginnings, we do not any longer say, "you are an amusing person" ; we say, "you are stupid, and dull, you have not the historic sense, no insight, no feeling for the early world." We hear that archaeology has thrown her ray into "the dark backward and abysm" of time, and we behold men even as ourselves. Eight or nine thousand years ago we can see them, in the "noonday of a late civilisation." The prehistoric has become historic under our eyes. Now when we speak of the Renaissance, we remember also the Renaissance of Egyptian civilisation.

Let an Indian read only one contemporary history, conceived in the modern spirit. Let him read Helmholtz's History of the World. There he will see the earliest records. Their archives are the caves in the ground, and their leaves are the layers of the rocks. He will see

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

civilisations passing before his eyes; each one with its 1,000 customs and usages. He will see every age, even the most transitory, deeming itself eternal, and every age ultimately transformed.

This is the culture of history: this is the modern spirit, this extended and comparative view of things. No one has so luminously expounded it for the ordinary man as Renan in his Future of Science; no one has summed it up so well as Sainte-Beuve, with his "sense of relativity" or as Scherer with his "defeat of the absolute." This it is which marks off our time from all others. "Belief yields to opinion, and opinion itself yields to knowledge." The transparent merit of the 19th Century historians survives the battery of criticism directed against them within the last few years. The romantic historians with their so-called "resurrection" of the Past—even the greatest of them, even Michelet, even his IXth vol.—all are gone. It is the same with the Philosophies of History: the "defeat of the absolute" is everywhere seen. In our time the European states open their archives, and the first explorers of those archives happened to be disciples of Hegel. The great men of the 19th Century, like Ranke, Michelet, Lord Acton, died in the faith that history might be summed up in formulas such as the "development of the spirit whose nature is freedom." But development of freedom, historic missions of certain races, teleologies, solidarity of progress and so on, all these conceptions have disappeared. Out of the general wreck of the Philosophy of History, perhaps only one plank is saved, namely, development. The biologists took it in two, and now the historians rescue themselves upon it and call it also evolution. To the 20th Century historian progress is "change in the direction of our preferences," happiness of the race is an "utterance from the world of emotion," the migration of peoples a struggle for food, and history a path from the unknown into the unknown.

These changing conceptions remind us of the chief defect of history, already pointed out by Faust to Wagner on the threshold of the historic age.

"The Past is a book sealed with seven seals. What we call the spirit of past times is at bottom only our own spirit, in which those past times are reflected."

This exaggerates what we cannot deny, that it is impossible to acquire that absolutely certain objective view of the past which is the aim. There is always an undulation and refraction in the atmosphere of the present, which distort the image. There is a Time-spirit in every age which makes all contemporaries, and of that Time-spirit the great man, even more than any ordinary man, is the slave. But we need not go to Faust or to Schopenhauer or to Nietzsche for a criticism of history; for we had already learnt from Aristotle that there is another truth of a higher kind.

Nevertheless, history is an essential element in our culture, and never at any former time has the world been so interesting as the Indian student of history would find it now. He looks out upon it and sees that the process by which he has come into contact with a European race is only part of a world-process by which the inhabitants of its smallest district have almost suddenly spread their type of civilisation over the whole globe. Suddenly—because the acceleration of movement is the most striking fact of our time. He sees that the very first fact in history is the continual drift and migration of races. The races of men are driven like the leaves in Vallombrosa; since the dawn of history they are like the winds and the clouds and the tides

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

flowing round the globe. Everything is in motion, as Heraclitus said, and from this it follows that we are in one of the most interesting of all possible worlds. The Past of course is still more interesting than the Present, because it is more understood. But to the man who has learnt through education and culture to take advantage of the world, everything is interesting. This is the only man, as the author of Marius so truly says, who has succeeded in life. Ask all the great men what one gets by culture, which is the aim of our education, and what do they say? Condorcet's "grasp of things as they are," Newman's "judgment," Renan's "critical sense," Goethe's "dwelling among permanent relations," Schopenhauer's "saving oneself from the dominion of the hour," Dante's "true point of comparison," the Greek's "common reason of the world"—we shall find they all amount to insight, knowledge of the world as it really is. This alone gives us what Goethe in his works would be found to give, a certain internal freedom. This inner harmony, leading us to action, is the aim of all our culture of the mind. Literature, strenuously pursued, holds this inner freedom for us; and in the literature of no times or lands will you find a more noble detachment than in our European literature of the 19th Century. From one point of view it seems an ineffectual age in Europe. The last of the great philosophers, indeed, brands it as the most despicable age yet known. It has sought, but in spite of the British Association we cannot as yet see very much that has found. One might perhaps characterize it as the age of increasing certainty as to the past, and of increasing uncertainty as to the future. No one great idea masters it: it is not like some of the former great ages we have known in the West, centuries such as we shall never see again, which seemed to lift man from the earth and to make him eternal. But in no age of the world will you find a deeper inner sincerity. The whole literature is a witness to Pascal's saying, that it is only in the truth that we shall set up our rest; and it is this noble spirit of search animating it which constitutes its true greatness. There are two utterances, ever memorable, which might sum it all up. The first is Goethe's, who tells us in one of the immortal lyrics of the world, that man only of all beings realises himself in attempting the impossible. The second is Lessing's, who at the opening of this age, said that the search for truth is a higher good even more than the truth itself. In this quest at least we Indian or European shall find our own souls, and we can leave behind us, as Goethe says Schiller left behind him, the common, and the false, and the everyday.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

On Journalism & Journalists

The following three articles by Ramananda Chatterjee—the first of these a short paragraph—deal with his views of the prerogatives and responsibilities of journalism and the journalist.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

'Editorial Policy' ?

RAMANANDA CHATTERJI

[From The Modern Review
Oct. 1925—P. 473]

"Regarding the charge that *The Modern Review* suffers from lack of 'editorial policy' we can only say that we care only for truth and principles, not 'policy', and we try always to decide what ought to be said, not with reference to what we may have written before, but in the light of the knowledge and experience, we possess at the time of writing. We are not guided by any mechanical adherence to what is regarded as consistency. but by regard for truth and principles."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

journalism in india

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

NOTHING like leather, they say. Once upon a time, so the story runs, a town being in danger of a siege called together a council of the chief residents to fix upon the best means of defence. A mason stood up and a shipbuilder counselled "wooden walls". Last arose a currier and said, "There's nothing like leather." As a journalist I have, of course a good conceit of my profession. Nevertheless, I do not wish to imitate the example of the worthy leather-dresser and observe that, among professions, "There's nothing like journalism."

I may be reminded to the other version of the saw, "nothing like leather," which is understood to mean, "Nothing like leather to administer a thrashing". Journalism is, no doubt, very often used to give people a regular drubbing. But I do not think my fellow-journalists would like to run a race with the knights of the thong or the cane for first place as censors of morals. I say this with all respect for the journalistic genius of whom Morley tells in his Recollections :

A young man once applied to me for work, when I was editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. I asked him whether he had any special gift or turn. "Yes", he said, "I think I have a natural turn for Invective !" "That's capital", said I, "but in any particular line, may I ask ?" "Oh no —General Invective". I found myself yesterday blessed with a wonderful outpouring of this enchanting gift.

Fletcher of Saltoun wrote in his Account of a conversation concerning a Right Regulation of Governments for the Common Good of Mankind : "I knew a very wise man, so much of Sir Christopher's sentiment, that he believed if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation".

An Indian journalist would be considered oversanguine and conceited if, following in the footsteps of Fletcher, he were to declare : "Let me but make all the newspapers and periodicals of a nation, I would not care who should make its laws".

Having said all this to prove that we journalists are not wanting in humility, we may be permitted to claim that our profession is a very useful, very influential, and very honourable one. It is not meant that there are no useless journals, none which have little influence or have influence of the wrong sort, and none which are conducted in a dishonourable manner. What is submitted is that, like other things, journals as a class are to be judged by the best specimens or at least by those which may be regarded as average or normal ones.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Just as capable journalists of high character whose mission is to serve man can do great good, so those newspaper men whose character and intentions are the reverse are a source of great danger to the world. Five years ago, at the annual dinner of the London District of the Institute of Journalists, Lord Hewart, Chief Justice of England, once a journalist himself, said in the course of his speech :

A newspaper has a considerable power, especially for mischief. Suppose that a man has acquired a great deal of money and he puts that money into soap, mustard, tobacco, or any household commodity, his opinions, likes and dislikes are precisely of as much consequence to the civilised world as they were before. If he was a foolish person before, his friends know he is a foolish person still. But suppose that the same man chooses to put his money into double rotary printing mahcines, the merest caprice and whim of that man, by the mere force of this mechanical duplication, may become a danger to the peace of the world.

I say in all seriousness that that is a very formidable circumstance. When you put aside for the moment the dreadful consequences of infinite multiplication—by the double rotary machine—it may now be a quadruple rotary—the merit of the newspaper depends, in the last resort, upon the individual capacity and character of the man who writes. The merit or demerit of that which is given to the public depends absolutely upon the character and the attainments of the individual journalist.

The power for mischief that Lord Hewart spoke of is possessed particularly by widely circulated newspapers in powerful independent countries. In subject countries like India, no newspaper, whatever its influence or however large its circulation, can endanger the peace of the world. But journals in India, particularly those owned and conducted by Europeans, can do great harm to the cause of India's political, economic, educational and social progress. Though Indian-owned and Indian-edited journals cannot cause wars, they can nevertheless foment intercommunal hatred and jealousies and thus jeopardize the progress of the country. It ought, therefore, to be the primary concern of an Indian journalist to study how he can do good to his country and the world. His power for good depends on his character, attainments, and capacity. And the good which a journalist can do is very great indeed. The ways in which he can serve his people and all mankind are the ways in which social reformers, educators, spiritual teachers, and great and good statesmen serve man and in which financiers and industrialists may serve man but often do not. It is for this reason that Wendell Phillips, the American abolitionist, reformer and orator, declared: "Let me make the newspaper and I care not who makes the religion or the laws". When he said this, he had the ideal newspaper in view. Like all other ideals, journalistic ideals cannot be entirely realized ; but we can in any case make strenuous endeavours to come up to them.

It is only in recent years that some Indian journals have been started mainly as business enterprises. Formerly Indian newspapers for the most part used to be conducted mainly with the object of serving the country. I do not mean to suggest that no journal conducted for pecuniary gain can do good to the country, though in starting and running newspapers the sole or chief object should not be money. It is true, newspapers cannot be conducted without money ; but sufficient money can be earned for running a journal without sacrificing moral principles and public good.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The average young Indian journalist who works for money takes to the profession with a high object. His achievement can, however, only be commensurate with his character, attainments, capacity and industry. Whatever his attainments, capacity and industry, he cannot be much of a public benefactor unless he possesses character. He should also be able to work very hard systematically regularly. A journalist need not be without genius ; but however great a genius he may be, he must be prepared for a life of unremitting toil to begin with—call druggery, if you will Readiness is another quality which he must have. He should have all his wits about him. A journalist cannot succeed in his profession if his memory be not very retentive and capacious ; for one cannot command a reference library everywhere and at all times and very frequently there is no time to consult books. At the same time, accuracy must never be sacrificed. Moreover, there are things which cannot be found in any book, which a man learns by using his eyes and ears ; and though a journalist should carry a note-book with him, everything that one sees and hears cannot be noted down immediately.

Journalists should cultivate the habits of considering a question from as many points of view as possible, of judicious impartiality and of calm and balanced judgment. Eloquent and impassioned writing may come after. It is a mistake to think that any one can be free from bias and prejudice without effort. It should be a journalist's constant prejudice, partisanship and self-interest. Though a hero does not court danger and death and though it is not a soldier's ideal to run unnecessary risks, yet it is only a truism to say that an ideal journalist should be quite fearless.

Journalese has been the butt of ridicule of many who are masters of a good literary style. But however much it may be carried down, if a journalist can write clearly, forcibly and tersely, he will be able to gain his object, even though he may not have cultivated all the graces of style.

A journalist may be truly said to have taken all knowledge as his province. It would be difficult to say what kind of knowledge would be perfectly useless to him. The omniscience of editors is a well-worn joke. But though it goes without saying that editors, like other human beings, cannot be omniscient, the more subjects and more things they know, the better fitted for their work they would be.

The chief subject of discourse and discussion in newspapers is politics. Hence politics in the abstract and as embodied is the history and laws of nations and their constitutions and government should be seriously studied by journalists. As we have to do with India, a study of Western politics alone, from the works of Aristotle and Machiavelli downwards, will not do for us. It is necessary for Indian journalists to read Sukraniti, the Arthasastra of Kautilya, the maxims of Kamandaka, the Santi Parva of the Mahabharata, etc. An up-to-date journalist needs to be acquainted with even the latest thing in popular government, viz., the principles underlying the soviet government of Russia.

Circumstanced as India is, we cannot do without a sound knowledge of history, which is a sure cure for national despondency. The history of those peoples in particular which, after arriving at a high stage of civilization and then falling into decay or remaining unprogressive, have again joined in the onward march of nations, is sure to fill us with new life and hope. The history of Japan is well worth study. A somewhat detailed

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

knowledge of the history of our own country is necessary, in order that we may know why and how we have become what we are and how we may be what we ought to be. No true lover of his country wants bloody revolutions. History tells us their causes. A journalist who is a serious student of history may be able to suggest how bloody revolutions may be prevented, and how at the same time ordered progress resulting speedily in a peaceful revolution may be secured.

The last big war and its after-effects have convinced thinking men in all civilised lands that the fates of all peoples and nations are inextricably interwoven. This makes it necessary for all public men and newspaper man to be acquainted with world history and world politics. Indian newspapers and periodicals generally fight shy of the discussion of foreign politics, partly because of ignorance, mainly because of pre-occupation with our own disabilities, grievances, and misery. It would be better if we could feel more at home in international politics. It is true, formally and officially India has no independent political relations with other countries. But informally and non-officially, we can influence and be influenced by foreign nations.

The interdependence of nations would be more evident even to the man in the street (if he knew and would only think of it), in the spheres of commerce, industry, finance, banking, business in general, and economics than in the province of politics. Newspaper men have, therefore, to be in their element in economics and all that is related thereto and included therein.

Like houses, machinery and vehicles, social systems, too, are liable to decay and disruption. They can be mended or renovated to the advantage of society by those who are acquainted with human psychology, moral philosophy and the principles of sociology. Anthropology, the principles of heredity, and the art and science of race culture as related to sociology should also engage our attention.

Progress and improvement are impossible for any people without education. The art and science of education, the relation of the State to education, the influence of Art, Literature, Science and Religion on national character, and how these in their turn are influenced by national character,—these are subjects well worth the serious attention of those who desire faithfully to serve their people. There is not the least doubt that children and, along with them, all mankind have suffered because of ignorance of child psychology. Our loss has been no less because of ignorance of what women are capable of and owing to preconceived notions relating to the sex. Newspaper men should have sufficient up-to-date knowledge to be able to do full justice to the women's cause.

News relating to crimes, arrests, trials, judgments, punishments, prisons, prison-reform, etc., from not an inconsiderable portion of the contents of newspapers. Hence journalists require to know jurisprudence, criminology, and penology.

Editors have to discuss village and town improvement schemes, the respective advantages and disadvantages of rural and urban life, rural and urban sanitation, etc. Our equipment should, therefore, include a knowledge of the history and causes of outbreaks of epidemics, sanitation, town-planning, &c.

Village and town industries (including agriculture), and various vocations and professions are necessary for the existence and progress of society. All kinds of productive activity are attended with some disadvantages or other. Public

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cists ought to be able to suggest and discuss their remedies. This would require an adequate knowledge of these industries, etc. Mining laws, forest laws, etc., should be such as would tend to the conversation and promotion of the interests of the people of a country. To be able to safeguard such interest we require to be acquainted with such laws, particularly with mining laws, in all progressive and democratically governed countries. A knowledge of geology also will not come amiss.

All questions and legislation relating to labours in field, factory and plantation have to be studied by us. The publications of the International Labour Office at Geneva have facilitated such study.

Vitally connected with agriculture and other industries are the problems of Railway transportation and administration, shipping and navigation on the high seas, coastal navigation, inland waterways, motor traction along highways, aerial transport, radio, telegraph, telephone and postal rules and rates, customs duties, transit dues, octroi, terminal taxes, tariff, etc. Great progress has been made in the handling of these problems in the West and in Japan. We should be acquainted with the state of things in all these matters in the most progressive countries. As forming the ground work for such studies, a thorough knowledge and grasp of commercial geography would be of great use.

In politics and in industries, as well as in transportation, larger and larger masses of men are getting involved and interested day by day. Crowd psychology, implying a knowledge of the group mind, should also, therefore, be studied by us.

The duty of journalists is to conserve all that is good in the existing state of things, to revive, if possible, all that was good in the old order, to reform abuses where they exist in order that the good may survive, and to suggest and help in the introduction of what is new for the promotion of the common weal. Progress in any sphere of life is dependent on progress in all other spheres. Hence a publicist who is a genuine and thoughtful progressivist in any sphere cannot but support and sympathise with progress in all other directions. But faith in the possibility of progress in any sphere and all spheres is itself born of faith—it may be unconscious faith—in the certainty of human improvement. That, again, is founded on the conviction—though we may not always be conscious of the fact—that this universe is ruled by an Immanent and Transcendent Spirit Whose will makes for the welfare of man.

Hence, when Wendell Phillips declared that if he were allowed to make the newspaper he would not care who made the laws or the religion, he had in mind, not the ordinary run of money-making partisan or sensational newspapers or the gutter press, but ideal newspapers conducted by persons who, in addition to being statesmen of high character, lofty aims, great capacity and ripe wisdom, are inspired with the faith of the man of God and guided by the light that lightens the world.

No journalist can know everything no one can become a walking encyclopaedia. Some of us have to specialize in some subjects, others have to specialize in certain others.

It has been said above that a journalist need not be without genius. Some very distinguished men of genius have, however done journalistic work. A living example is that of Rabindranath Tagore. Ordinarily, however, journalism does not require genius of a high order, but only the qualities and talents which have been referred to before. Nor should it be taken for granted that a great or a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

successful journalist is to be counted among the immorals. We cannot too clearly grasp or too vividly and tenaciously bear in mind this fact. For, as it is our task sometimes to sit in judgment on even the greatest poets, philosophers, artists, and scientists, we are apt to suffer from a swelled head, considering ourselves equal and sometimes superior to those whom we criticize.

It has been said above that a journalist may be said to have taken all knowledge for his province. But his special function is to make even abstruse and difficult things intelligible to the man in the street. This he has to do without sacrificing accuracy. It is a hard job. But if he cannot do it, he will fail in his duty as popular educator. For his business is not merely with the ephemeral politics of the hour, but with all that makes life worth living. So all knowledge and beauty, all elevating influences, all that makes for power, have to be brought to everybody's doors, in acceptable but not sensational forms.

It is a main part of our duty to report and record what happens. Now, these happenings are of various kinds. Some are good, some bad; some sensational, some quite humdrum. Things which are bad are reported to a far greater extent than things which are good. Criminal news of various sorts and the reports of many kinds of courts make more "interesting" copy than stories of the good that is being done all over the world in innumerable ways. I do not know whether this is inevitable. But perhaps it is possible to narrate even little acts of kindness and courtesy in a charming and inspiring manner. I must confess I do not possess this gift. But others do. We are all too ready to report that one man kicked another and that the assailant was brought before a magistrate, but not the fact that a blind man was led by a little boy at considerable risk to himself across a public thoroughfare along which continuous streams of all sorts of vehicles were rushing. Or take this true little anecdote. A blind old begger woman sat by the wayside with her hand outstretched asking for alms. Many a well-to-do person passed her by, without taking any notice of her. But another old begger woman, who was returning to her hovel, after the day's collection of alms, saw her, took pity on her, and gave her something out of her own all too insufficient store of doles. Or take this other true story. During the last famine year in Bankura, in a small village, a little boy, belonging to a very poor family all whose members had been literally reduced to skeletons, got a little food for himself unseen by his brothers and sisters. But as soon as he had got it, he went to them of his own accord and shared it with them.

As examples of courtesy and kindness are generally not reported, whereas instances of rureness and cruelty are, an impression may prevail that in this world there is more of the latter than of the former and that in human nature the evil predominates over the good. No doubt, if newspapers took to reporting the former, there might sometimes be the danger of ostentation and theatricality in well-doing and some faked stories. But by a process of sifting what is genuine may be separated from what is not. Of many of the donations reported in newspapers, it cannot be said that the donor's left hand did not know what the right hand did. Yet such announcements serve a useful purpose. It should be noted here with pleasure that the organised activities of all public bodies and institutions whose object is to do good are given publicity to by our newspapers

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As between countries, peoples, nations and governments, all signs of strained relations, all sinister surmises and suspicions and scares are quickly published. But the efforts to promote amity between peoples, and all those things which naturally go to draw peoples closer towards one another, do not receive prompt and prominent publication, and most often they are not at all published. The world-public may thus be led to believe that all peoples are only waiting for an opportunity to fly at one another's throats; which may not be a fact. It has often seemed to me that we journalists do not do all that we can to promote friendship between the peoples of the earth. If we devoted more time and space to the literatures, arts, humane and philanthropic activities and the like, of different countries, the peoples of the world might love and respect one another more than they do. This is a kind of work which journals belonging to powerful nations can do better than others. But they do not. If they really want to promote peace, they should do such work.

Our duty being to report what is happening in the world, we should not only record new scientific discoveries and inventions, but also take note of new ideas, thoughts, feelings and impulses and forms of beauty as they manifest themselves in the work of contemporary thinkers, poets, philosophers and artists of different countries. No doubt, it is not so easy to discern the emergence of new thoughts, ideas, forms of beauty, feelings and impulses as to grasp and publish the other things which are our usual stock in trade. But the things which may be called objective or external happenings ought not to be allowed to monopolize all our attention, to the exclusion of what may be styled subjective happenings or events in man's inner world.

Movements and organisations which strike across the barriers of country, race, nation, creed and language have begun to claim our attention. This is all to the good. A time there was when history was understood to mean a chronicle of the rise and fall of dynasties, of dynastic wars due to dynastic ambitions, fights between nations and their kings, etc. A sounder and more comprehensive view of the historian's work has prevailed for some time past. Modern books of history which approach the ideal are histories of peoples—of their culture and civilization, of the evolution of their society, literature, art, commerce, industry, and the like, and their interaction. The historian also notes how there has ben and may be the spread of cultural influence of various kinds, though there may not have been any political and economic conquest and domination.

Italian and French influence was in the ascendant in England long after all traces of Roman or Norman supremacy had disappeared in Great Britain. India influenced many countries which she never conquered. Though a subject country now, her philosophy, religion, literature and art are still influencing mankind. The influence of the English language extends over countries which England never conquered. Not to refer to deeper and more important proofs of the fact, two small incidents may be referred to. One is that a treaty which was concluded between Japan and Russia was composed originally in English and ratified and was subsquently translated into Japanese and Russian. Similarly, recently the Italo-Albanian treaty was drawn up in English.

The change in the conception of history indicated above ought to bring about a change in the conception of our

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

duty as journalists. For newspapers are fragments of the history of our own times.

Ours is a very difficult task. I shall point out the difficulties with reference to Indian conditions. We have to serve and please many masters. The staff of those journals which are owned by capitalists have to serve them. They may not in all cases have to do their bidding directly, but there is indirect, perhaps unconscious, pressure on their minds. But even in the case of those who own their own papers, there are other masters to serve and please. There is the circle of readers, drawn from all or some political, social, religious (orthodox or reforming), or communal sections. There are the advertisers. And last of all, one must not offend the ruling bureaucracy beyond a certain more or less unknown and unknowable point. Having to serve so many masters, we may seek to be excused for not listening above all to the voice of the Master within, speaking through our conscience. But there can be no excuse. Ours is a sacred duty. We must not sacrifice our convictions for any advantage whatsoever. Great is the temptation to play to the gallery; but our task is to mould and guide as well as to give publicity to public opinion. Capitalists who are not journalists but own journals should not interfere with the freedom of opinion of their staff. If they want a particular kind of policy to be adopted, they would be well-advised in choosing and employing only such men as have the same kind of political opinions as themeselves.

The very nature of our work rouses in us the desire to be first in the field. Nevertheless we must hasten slowly and publish news and views and conclusions after due deliberation and examination of all the evidences and arguments available. That requires equanimity, impartiality and self-examination. The spirit of partisanship is one our greatest enemies. It often impels us to take it for granted that those who do not belong to our party must necessarily be wrong to act from wrong motives.

It is obvious that the spread of literacy and education has grately to do with the progress of journalism and journalistic success. Political freedom and economic prosperity are other factors in such progress and success. Religious and social freedom also are indispensible for progress in journalism. Indians are for the most part illiterate, only 82 per thousand persons, aged 5 and over, being literate. India is also a dependent country subject to stringent and elastic laws of sedition, etc. Our religious and social servitude is another obstacle. And, last of all, India is a very poor country. No wonder then that we possess only a small number of journals compared with other peoples who are more educated, more prosperous and politically and socially free. The following tables will give some idea of the position we occupy in the field of journalism. The figures are taken from the Statesman's Year-Book for 1927.

Country	*Population*	*Number of Journals*
India	318,942,480	3,499
Canada	8,788,483	1,554
United States of America	115,378,000	20,681
Japan	61,081,954	4,592
Chile	3,963,462	627

The table shows that in proportion to her population India possesses a much smaller number of newspapers and periodicals that the countries named above, which are all politically free and more educated and prosperous. But the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mere number of India's Journals perhaps gives an exaggerated idea of her progress in this respect. For, whereas in U.S.A., Japan, etc., many newspapers and periodicals have each sales exceeding a million, no journal in India has a circulation of even 50,000. most papers having a circulation of only a few hundreds or a thousand.

Though India has a large population, the multiplicity of languages spoken here, added to the prevailing illiteracy, stands in the way of any vernacular journal having a very large circulation. Of all vernaculars Hindi is spoken by the largest number of persons, namely, about 99 millions of people. But unfortunately all the Hindi-speaking regions in India are among the most illiterate in the country. Moreover, as the speakers of Hindi live in 4 or 5 different provinces, and as owing to distance and other causes, papers published in one province do not circulate largely in others, Hindi papers cannot under present circumstances have a large circulation. About fifty millions of people speak Bengali. Most of them live in Bengal. But owing to most of them being illiterate, Bengali journals also cannot have a large circulation. Each of the other vernaculars is spoken by less than 25 millions, and several by only a few hundred thousands. Some papers conducted in English particularly those owned and edited by Britishers, circulate in more than one province. The British-owned and British-edited papers are prosperous than Indian ones: because the British sojourners here are well-to-do and can all buy papers, and the adults among them are all literate. Another reason is that as India's commerce, trade, industries and transport are mostly in their manufacturing hands, their papers get plenty of advertisements. Our journals cannot prosper and multiply in number unless all our adults are able to read, and unless the commerce, manufacturing industries and transport of our country come into our hands.

Besides illiteracy and other causes, our postage rates stand in the way of the circulation of our papers. In Japan postcards cost four and a half pies, in India 6 pies. In Japan the lowest postage rate of newspapers is half sen or one and a half pie; here it is 3 pies. There are differences in other items, too, all to the advantage of Japan. For this and other reasons, though Japan has a much smaller population than India, the number of letters, postcards, newspapers, parcels and packets dealt with by the Indian Post Office is smaller than the volume of ordinary (as a part from the foreign) mail-matters handled by the Japanese Post Office, as the following table shows.

Country	Population	Mail Matters	Year
India	318,942,480	1,244,425,235	1924-25
Japan	61,081,954	3,806,120,000	1920-21

The invention of type-writing machines has greatly facilitated the speedy preparation of quite legible "copy" for the press. But so far as the Vernaculars of India are concerned, the invention has not benefited their writers much. For, those vernaculars have different kinds of character and alphabets, for all of which typewriters have not been invented. And the machines constructed for some of the vernaculars are not at all as satisfactory and for Raman characters. A great difficulty is the existence in Sanskritic alphabets of numerous compound consonantal letters and the different forms which the vowels assume

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

when connected with consonants. The compound consonantal letters and these duplicate vowel forms could be done away with by abolishing the convention that the vowel (অ অ) *a* is understood in all consonants written without the *hasanta* sign. My suggestion will be clear from the following two examples: instead of writing করিয়া (**করিয়া**) we should write কঅরইয়আ, **কঅরইয়আ** which in Roman characters would be *kariya*; instead of writing ভক্তি (**ভক্তি**) we should write ভঅকতই, **ভঅকতই** which would be *bhakti* in Roman characters.

A far greater handicap than the absence of satisfactory typewriting machines for our vernaculars is the non-existence of type-casting and setting machines like the linotype, the monotype, etc., for our vernaculars. Unless there be such machines for the vernaculars, daily newspaper in them can never promptly supply the reading public with news and comments thereupon as fresh and full as newspapers conducted in English. The vernacular dailies labour also under the disadvantage that they receive all their inland and foreign telegraphic messages in English, which they have to translate before passing them on to the printer's department, which dailies conducted in English have not got to do. Reporting in the vernaculars has not made as much progress as in English, which latter even is here in a backward condition. This fact often necessitates the translation of English reports into the vernacular. I am dwelling on these points, because journals conducted in English can never appease the news-hunger, views-hunger and knowledge-hunger of the vast population of India. Of the 22,623,651 literate persons in India, only 2,527,350 are literate in English. When there is universal and free compulsory education throughout India; this difference between the number of literates in the vernacular and that of literates in English will most probably increase instead of decreasing. Therefore, for the great development of journalism in India, we must depend on its development through the medium of the vernaculars.

Madras has earned for itself the credit of establishing an institution for imparting education in journalism. Fully equipped institution for giving such training should be established at all University centres. As reporting has necessarily to be taught at all such schools, special attention should be paid to reporting in the vernaculars.

Progress in journalism depends to a great extent on the supply of cheap paper, ink, etc. Raw materials for their manufacture exist in India in abundance. If we could supply our own paper, ink, etc., that would be a great step forward. The manufacture of our own printing machinery would also be a great help. Though that is not a problem whose solution can be looked for in the immediate future, we note with hope that the mineral resources of India are quite sufficient for all such purposes.

Photographic materials and everything else needed for equipping process engraving departments are also required for big newspaper establishments. How far India can ever be self-supplying in this respect can be stated only by specialists.

One of the disadvantages of Indian journalism is that the supply of foreign news is practically entirely in the hands of foreigners. Reuter gives us much news which we do not want, and does not give us much that we want. Moreover, what is given reaches us after manipulation in British interests. "The Free Press of India" has recently rendered good service in arranging for news being sent, quickly

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

from London in relation to the Simon Commission. Permanent arrangements for such independent supply of foreign news would remove a much-felt want, though the disadvantage of cables and ether waves being controlled by non-Indians would still remain. Some of our dailies have correspondents in London. There should be such correspondents in the capitals of other powerful and progressive foreign countries.

Indian dailies in many provinces already have correspondents in all the principal provinces, who ought to pay greater attention to their cultural movements and events and vernacular journals than they do, it would perhaps be very desirable for the most flourishing dailies to have among their editorial assistants competent young men from different provinces, who could pay attention to things appearing in their vernacular newspapers also. The German mode of apprenticeship known as *wander-jahre* or wander-year, that is, the time spend in travel by artisans, students, etc., as a mode of apprenticeship, may be adopted by our young journalists also. Of course, they could do so with advantage only if our dailies in the different provinces would by mutual arrangement agree to allow such persons to serve in their editorial offices for fixed periods. Such all-India experience would stimulate our love of India as a whole, broaden our outlook, and cure us of our provincial narrownesses and angularities to a considerable extent.

It would be desirable to have an All-India Journalist's Association and Institute with branches in provincial centres. These should be registered under Act. XXI of 1860. The association may have a monthly journal and draw up a code of ethics and etiquette for journals. Without such Associations, solidarity and co-operation, we cannot aspire to acquire and exercise the influence belonging rightfully to the Fourth Estate. There should be libraries connected with such Associations or with the schools of journalism referred to above. In these libraries, in addition to books, reports, etc., required by the profession complete files of all important journals should be kept. It may be difficult if not impossible, now to procure files of all such papers from the beginning ; but earnest attempt ought to be made.

There should be Journalist's Defence Funds in all provinces, in order that no deserving journalist may go undefended for want of means when prosecuted for sedition, and similar technical offences. A Journalists' Benevolent Fund may also be created for helping the families of deceased journalists under stated conditions.

So far as I am aware, there is no complete and connected history of journalism in any province of India, though fragmentary notes and articles have been written. When such provincial histories have been published, it would be easy to write a complete History of Indian Journalism.

[*The Modern Review*, Jan., 1928, Page 89-96]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the place of journalism in society

"There can be no question that journalism plays a very useful part in society. There are abuses of journalism which give rise to great evils. But we are concerned here with only its right use and proper functions. There is no field of politics, religion, ethics, educatio sanitation, economics, industry, busine literature, art, scientific and philosophi thought, law, fashion, etc., in whi journalist may not have something to sa Therefore, journals may have great in fluence, as some of them undoubted have, and had in past.

"But this should not lead any sensib journalist to have an exaggerated idea the importance of the work done by hi fraternity. What journalists write are the best ephemeral in influence and length of life. And the value of journalist productions cannot equal the products creative genius. What journalists pro duce cannot take rank with genuin poetry, drama, romance, song, music painting, sculpture, architecture, scient fiic discovery, etc. Some artist or poet dramatist may today be obliged by cir cumstances to seek the favour of som editor or other, but twenty-five or fif years hence the editor's bare name alon may survive, whilst the poor unrecogni ed man of genius of today may become a luminary in the firmament of literatur and art.

"It is, of course, very difficult judge for oneself whether one possesses creative genius or not. It is also difficu even for good critics to judge at fir whether a budding poet or artist is de tined to produce things of lasting wo Nevertheless, it may be said in gener terms that those who possess creat genius or the capacity to produce som thing of lasting value—lasting in comparative human sense, for no

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

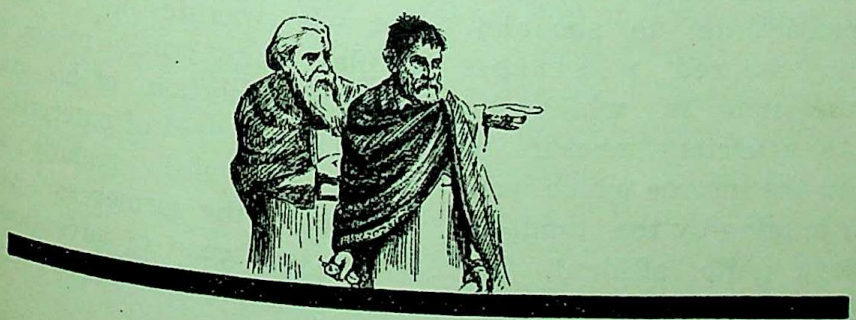
merely human is everlasting—should not, except temporarily in case of need, give to journalism what is meant for a higher vocation.

"This word of caution is not superfluous, for journalism has its attractions and temptations. None of us mere journalists can equal or approach those living in our midst who have some lasting achievement to their credit. But even the youngest and most inexperienced journalist among us may often feel the temptation of posing as superior or at least equal to, say, the greatest statesman or scientist or philosopher among us by criticising them. There is no harm in such criticism; nay, it is often absolutely necessary. But what we should never forget in a fit of vanity that the critic is not equal to the doer in the broadest and deepest sense.

"Another temptation of journalism is that it enables one to give an outlet to the anger and irritation one feels when something wrong happens. What is wrong should certainly be condemned, but it should be remembered that mere condemnation, however necessary, cannot take the place of constructive work and achievement.

"There is also the temptation of crying down or even abusing those whom one dislikes or of whom one is jealous. This temptation should be resisted at all costs. It is said that once upon a time a young man, in search of journalistic job, asked to see John Morley, editor of the *The Pall Mall Gazette*, when the young man was brought to his presence, the great editor enquired what were his qualifications. Young hopeful replied that invective was his *forte*. It may be that invective forms the major part of many journalists' stock-in-trade. But though we may shine in invective, we should never forget that journalism is a high, though not the highest calling, and preparation for it, therefore, involves not only the acquisition of varied knowledge and information, but also the training of the intellect and moral and spiritual self-discipline. Judged by this standard, none of us may be able to pass the test, but there is nothing to loose but everything to gain by seriously placing a high ideal before ourselves."

The Modern Review
Sept., 1925—Page 372-73]



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ramananda Chatterjee

A Brief Biographical Assessment

K. N.

It was a few years after the turn of the century. An Indian, a native of Bengal, who had made teaching his career in life and who had already earned quite an enviable reputation in the profession for his unusual abilities and unimpeachable rectitude of character, announced his decision to break away from the profession of his earlier choice and launch into an entirely new field of enterprise, the professional prospects of which were yet wholly unknown and unpredictable.

He was already fortyone years of age and had rather onerous family responsibilities to shoulder. He had an assured position in the profession in which he had risen to a certain measure of eminence and the income which went with it was, judging by the standards of those days, quite affluent. The decision, therefore, to break away from such an established position, it can be presumed, could not have been very lightly taken.

The decision was, in a manner, forced upon him by circumstances. He was the Principal of a well known college in Allahabad. It was the Kayastha College, founded on the generous bequests of one Munshi Kaliprasad Kulabhaskar. The Committee of Management of the College were a group of mideaval-minded men whose responses to the progressive movements of the day were known to be rather reactionary in attitude. There have often been disagreements and frictions between them and the Pricipal who was himself, an exponent of the new progressive schools of thought in the country. But friendly interventions on several occasions, by Madan Mohan Malaviya, who had already acquired a measure of eminence in the public and educational life of Allahabad, and who used to hold this Principal in high esteem for his abilities and character, always succeeded in averting an open breach. He had already been in charge of the College for well over ten years then but matters came to a head sometime around the year 1906 and an open rupture could no longer be averted.

The man was Ramananda Chatterjee, who was destined, in later life, to play a most crucial role in the progressive evolution of his country's history in a field of enterprise which was very rightly regarded by the friends of the former as a veritable uncharted ocean of adventure. With his reputation, it should not have

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

been very difficult for Ramananda to find a suitable alternative post elsewhere in other educational institutions. He had, however, made many lasting friendships in Allahabad and they desired to keep him in their midst. In their anxiety not to loose him from their midst, they instantly devised a means. The Indian Press of Allahabad was already a well established business enterprise. It had a publications deparment which its proprietor, Chintamoni Ghosh, wished to expand. Chintamoni was an intimate personal friend of Ramananda and used to entertain the highest regard for the latter's abilities. He sent an offer requesting Ramananda to take over the responsibilities of this publications department of his press. The emoluments offered were very attractive, indeed, far more lucrative than he could, in those days, hope to earn as a College Principal. While grateful for the friendly concern of his compatriot, Ramananda, however, had already made his choice and would not resile from it. He was fully prepared to face the uncertainties and the possible privations such a decision might have involved. He would go whole time, and on a professional footing, into periodical journalism. True, there was no established past tradition in this country in this particular field of enterprise. He would, nevertheless, accept the perils of being a pioneer in this field and create his own traditions to guide his hands. The decision had been finally and irrevocably made.

He had already launched the **Prabasi,** a monthly magazine in 1901 even while he was working as Principal of the Kayastha College. At the time he left the College, the **Prabasi** had already been in publication for four years. But it was yet far from being a success on which to fall back for a living. The circulation was not large and the income from the publication did not cover the expenses of producing it. There was, in consequence, a small debt to reckon with at this time. But Ramananda was unafraid. In January, next year, he launched yet another monthly periodical, this time in English, to enable him to command a more universalistic platform than his earlier magazine in a regional language could offer. This was **The Modern Review.** We shall, in due course, as we proceed with this narrative, examine in some brief detail, the role that **The Modern Review** played in he evolution of a free progressive society in the country and its contribution towards placing India on its appointed niche in the map of the modern world.

Early Life And Childhood

Ramananda came of a Bengali Brahmin family of the District town of Bankura in Bengal with a long line of scholarly savants preceding him. Except for his father who, unfortunately, deviated from the scholarly traditions of the family and had, therefore, to accept Government employment as Gaoler of the Bankura Gaol, his uncles and his grandfather and the latter's father

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

before him, were all scholars of reputation and pursued the profession of Sankrit teachers and acquired great eminence in the field. Ramananda was the first in the family to receive the benefits of the more modern English education. He proved himself a very able scholar and even as early as when he was only ten years of age, he succeeded in winning a scholarship at the Junior Scholarship examination. He naturally passed on to the local District High School and when he sat for his Entrance examination—he was just over sixteen years of age—he stood fourth in order of merit and won a scholarship of Rs. 20 per mensem. This scholarship was, indeed, crucial to his career. His father, being ignorant of the use of the English language and as required by the new dispensations of the Government, had lost his job. With all his little savings he ventured into the grains business, but a devastating fire having gutted his chain of godowns, he had been reduced to a condition of near penury. It would have been impossible in the circumstances for his father to have defrayed the expenses of a higher university education for his son in Calcutta and, but for this scholarship, his educational career would have ended at this stage.

It was while he was still in school in Bankura that he came into intimate contact with his mathematics teacher. Kedarnath Kulavi. Kulavi had come into touch with the progressive Brahmo Samaj movement in Calcutta and was already an ardent member of the community. A Brahmo Samaj organization was established in Bankura and Kulavi was its Minister. Ramananda used to regularly visit the Brahmo Samaj on the prayer meeting day and listen with rapt attention to the weekly sermon. He was naturally attracted towards the more progressive social ideals and broader religious procepts of the new Samaj. There was much in his own old orthodox community that hurt the sensitive perceptions of this young man. It was in the Brahmo Samaj that he found sustaining food for his own personal ideals and aspirations. Even while a school student, he organized an adult night school at the Brahmo Samaj hall. He organized a sort of "friends of the respectable indigent" movement and actively helped many families to tide over serious crises in their fortunes. What was more significant was that he and the few friends who worked with him in these enterprises, never depended on charity to carry on their useful work. They would make paper bags and sell them and carry on such other self-help measures within their means and abilities to cover the expenses of these works. They were known to have also organised what in these days would be called a "book bank" to help indigent students with, who could not afford to have their own books.

In another direction also Ramananda shewed promise of an unusual character while he was still at school in Bankura. He had greaat love of poetry and he would especially

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

collect such of them as would contain elements of patriotic fervour and love of country. Even in those early days he collected all he could gather about the story of Ialian regeneration under the inspiration of Mazzini and the leadership of Garibaldi. He would take pleasure in reciting these poems or telling his cronies the story of Italian emancipation, far into the night. These little incidents in his early life, it later transpired, indicated the especial direction of his mind and life later on in his career,

Ramananda was the youngest of six children in the family, the eldest being a sister. His mother was reputed to have been a strict disciplinarian in the family, quiet and unassuming in disposition, but with very pronounced ideas about right and wrong. Of a naturally affectionate nature, she was never known to be very demonstrative, nor had she much time to pamper any of her children. It was really her slender shoulders which had to carry the principal burden of the rather large family. The eldest sister was, however, childless and she was reputed to have lavished all her mother-love upon her younger brothers, Ramananda being the especial favourite on account of his unfailingly sweet disposition. It has already been related that about the time Ramananda was due for his Entrance Examination, his father on account of an accidental fire which gutted the godowns of his newly started grains business, had been reduced to a condition of near penury. This sudden and rather violent change in his circumstances told severely upon his health. It was the mother who was the sustaining element in the family during this period of crisis. Ramananda knew that if he wished to realise his ambition of a higher university education in Calcutta, he must win a scholarship at the Entrance Examination so that he may fend for himself. As he was actually the recipient of a monthly scholarship of Rs. 20 he felt confident that nothing untoward would now be allowed to come between himself and his aspired for higher education.

In Calcutta—Career and Influences

Thus Ramananda set out for the metropolis with confidence in the future along with his friend Pramatha Nath Chatterjee. There was, in those days, no direct rail route between Calcutta and Bankura. One had, therefore, to travel upto Raniganj by foot or bullock cart and take train from there. Arriving in Calcutta, the two friends put up in lodgings where students from Bankura used to congregate. With his scholarship to recommend his case, Ramananda obtained admittance into the First Arts Course of the Presidency College. It was while he was here that he first came into contact with Asutosh Mukherjee. Asutosh's younger brother, Hemanta Kumar, was in the same class with Ramananda, but Asutosh was already being talked about and looked upto in the college as one of its most

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

administered by Pandit Shivanath Shastri also to a much earlier group of his disciples who included such men as the late Bipin Chandra Pal, the late Tarakishore Chowdhury who later became well known as a **sannyasi** under the title of Vrajabidehi Santadas, and others.

When Ramananda topped the list among the English honours candidates of the Calcutta University at the B. A. Examinations of the year 1888 he was, as a matter of course, offered a State Scholarship for higher studies abroad. But he had already vowed to himself that he would not accept any position of profit or gain under the alien British Government of the country and he felt the acceptance of the State Scholarship would amount to a repudiation, if not in letters, at least in spirit, of his self-assumed vow in this behalf and he, therefore, did not hesitate to refuse the offer. He did not even stop to consult his elder brother, who was then employed in Calcutta and used to live in another part of the city, before refusing the offer which was said to have caused a great deal of disappointment to the whole family and not a little mortification to he brother himself.

Apart from Pandit Shivnath, others who appear to have deeply influenced the thinking and ideals of young Ramananda were some of his teachers. Heramba Chandra Maitra, who by his rigid sense of right and wrong and his inflexible loyalties to the progressive social ideals of the Brahmo Samaj which were regarded as almost puritanical in their fanaticism even by his fellow-believers of the Brahmo Samaj, appears, of course, to have exercised the deepest influence on Ramananda's character. But while he was a student of the Presidency College, he had also come into intimate contact with the late Jagadish Chandra Bose and Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ray, both of whom by their broad educational ideals and deep sense of pariotism, appear to have equally influenced Ramananda's thinking.

There have, of course, been several others, mostly leaders of the new Brahmo Samaj movement, who exercised a considerable measure of influence upon the character and thinking of this brilliant young man. He appears to have absorbed the progressive social and religious ideals of the new school of thought and to have even while he was yet a student in Calcutta, thrown himself into the very vortex of their activities.

It was, thus, that we find Ramananda acquiring a prominent position among the members of a small but devoted service organization called the Dassasram. This was a movement for the service of the depressed and the downtroden in society and when Ramananda was called upon to teach the second year classes of the City College after his graduation, we find him sponsoring a new organ of this society, a monthly magazine called the **Dassi**, the responsibilities of editing and producing it inovitably falling upon himself. As far as materials available go to prove, this was, perhaps, Ramananda's earliest adventure, into the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

field of journalism and must, therefore, be regarded as quite an important event in his life. The **Dassi,** naturally, was mostly concerned with the ideals and activities of the Dassasram society; but it also used to contain materials of a wider general interest to a society which had been endoavouring to throw away the shackles of mideavalist life and emerge into a more wholesome and progressive modern age. Shortly, afterwards, he also became associated with a monthly organ of the Brahmo Samaj called the **Dharmabandhu** of which the late Sevabrata Sashipada Banerjee, one of the front rank leaders of the new Brahmo Samaj movement, was both the founder and editor. In Ramananda he found an able editorial assistant and a reliable co-worker and, in course of time, it was Ramananda himself who had to carry the principal burden of the publication. It was almost inevitable that a young man who so ardently gave of his best wherever his services were called for, should also become associated with the old English organ of the Brahmo Samaj called the **Indian Messenger.** This was a weekly news sheet, mainly devoted to the organizational and theological activities of the Brahmo Samaj, and called for a great deal more labour to produce it than a monthly magazine. But Ramananda was seemingly tireless and gave all the time he could devote outside of his work for his classes in the City College to these chains of responsibilities. Another weekly journal with which also Ramananda became almost inevitably associated was the very powerful **Sanjivani** owned and edited by Krishna Kumar Mitra. Krishna Kumar Mitra, a son-in-law of Rajnarain Bose, and who was one of the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj and a devoted political worker. His political sympathies were known to have been with what later came to be known as the Liberal or the moderate school of opinion of which the late Surendra Nath Banerjee was the acknowledged leader in Bengal. But he was a man of inflexible principles and very rigid ideals and was quite fearless in publicly upholding them. It is significant that alhough a liberal in his political views he was, novertheless, one of the earliest victimes in Bengal of that lawless British law, the Regulation III of 1818. It was seldom that Krishna Kumar would wholly rely upon any one for the principal editorial responsibilities of his paper, but when Ramananda came to be associated wtth him in this publication, he felt he could make an exception in his case and many have been the occasions when Ramananda was wholly relied upon to write the weekly editorials of the **Sanjeevani.**

Apart from his activities in connection with the periodicals and newspapers mentioned above, Ramananda had also published primers for beginners in the Bengalee alphabet. These were profusely and ably illustrated and were, perhaps, the very first of their kind ever published in this country. Rama-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

nanda's eldest daughter Shanta Devi writes, the special illustrated editions of the **Sulabh Samachar** which used to annually come out on the eve of the Durga Puja, used to be a special favourite of young Ramananda during his early childhood. It may be mentioned that the **Sulabh Samachar** was the first bonafide newspaper ever published in Bengal. It was a weekly news sheet founded by Keshab Chandra Sen, priced cheaply at one pice per copy (approximately 2 paise in our precent curency) and, during Ramananda's early childhood, was so widely circulated that many copies used to sell weekly even in distant Bankura. Ramananda felt very keenly the barren-ness of the dry text books of his young boyhood days and, at the first opportunity when he was teaching in Calcutta, he brought out a profusely illustrated book of alphabets. This was done primarily, we are told, to enable him to give something more attractive to his own children than he was able to obtain during his young days. Later, a children's illustrated magazine was published called the **Sakha** which, however, had to cease publicaton with the death of its founder and editor, Promada Charan Sen in 1885. Ramananda had long desired to bring out something which would take the place perhaps more adequately and wholesomely that the **Sakha** used to fill. It was not, however, until 1895 that his desire in this behalf could be realized. With encouragement from Jagadish Chandra Bose, Ramananda arranged to bring out an illustrated children's magazine. With characteristic effacement of self, he himself desisted from figuring in the publication in an official capacity. He pursuaded Pandit Shivanath Shastri to lend his name to it as the Editor and its Assistant Editors were Jogindranath Sircar (youngest brother of the late Dr. Nilratan Sircar) and Sm. Labanya Prabha Basu. Ramananda, however, was the principal driving force from behind and all the more well known Bengalee writers of those days from different fields of learning and attainments were regular contributors to the magazine. Its naming, again, was both characteristic and significant. It was called the **Mukul** meaning the young bud, and such eminent writers as Rabindranath Tagore, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Ramesh Chunder Dutta, Shivanath Shastri, Upendrakishore Roy Chowdhury, Bipin Chandra Pal and many others eminent in the field of Bengalee letters were its frequent contributors. As could be expected, the **Mukul** came to acquire a great reputation as an outstanding children's magazine and remained a publication for many years as an organ of the Sunday School attached to the Brahmo Samaj, even after Ramananda had left Calcutta for Allahabad. There is not the least doubt that when the time comes to engage in a dispassionate assessment of the history of Bengalee periodical journalism, the **Mukul** would have to be assigned a very prominent place therein.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

To sum up the first phase of his sojourn and activities in Calcutta, it may well be recorded that although by both family tradition, scholastic attaiments and personal inclination, Ramananda was destined to and had actually embraced, the teaching profession, his constant endeavours had been, even at this comparatively earlier phases of his career, to step well beyond the limits and confines of the ordinary academician's life and carry his endeavours out to a wider field of enterprise. This was, essentially, a period of experimentation and explorations as the eventual evolution of his career would clearly prove. He was basically a teacher. But the lack of educated enlightenment was so illimitable and all-enveloping, academic efforts alone, necessarily confined as they must remain within severely circumcribed vistas, would be an unconscionably slow and inadequate process and would leave the vast majority of the community steeped in the gloom of unreason and superstition. Even among the comparatively few in the community who could claim to be literate, those with an enlightened mind and progressive thinking were far rarer still. A wider field and a broader horizon appears to have been the constantly desired objective for which Ramananda endeavoured to reach out even from his earliest days in Calcutta.

At the same time, however, his family responsibilities have been growing. He had very little additional income besides what the City College had been paying him. His emoluments from the City College had, in the meanwhile, increased to only Rs. 140 per mensem and he was finding it difficult to cover his bare expenses with the burdens of a growing family to support within this small amount. His preceptor and sponsor in the City College, Heramba Chandra Maitra, felt that unless the College were able and willing to raise his emoluments, it would be difficult to retain his services for the College. Unfortunately, however, the College authorities, in spite of the strongest recommendations from Prof. Maitra, would not or could not agree to give him a further rise. It was, therefore, inevitable that Ramananda would be obliged to look for a more lucrative employment elsewhere. Soon after, he received the offer from the Kayastha College of Allahabad for the post of its Principal and he decided to accept it. Thus closed a most fruitful decade of sojourn in Calcutta for Ramananda. These ten years in the metropolis may, with reason, be considered the most formative period of his life. His activities during this period, many-faceted as they have been, had already acquired, as we have seen, a prominent journalistic bias and which may, therefore, be said to have very largely determined the principal fields of his endeavours later on in life.

Allahabad—Teaching and Journalism

Ramananda left Calcutta in September, 1895 for Allahabad. He had paid an earlier visit to the city in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1892 when in December of that year he went there as delegate to the annual plenary session of the Indian National Congress. His boyhood friend, Hem Chandra Chatterjee was then employed in Allahabad and with the former, Ramananda saw while on a sight-seeing expedition, the Kayastha Pathsala, which was then a High School and had not yet attained the status of a College, for the first time. It is said that Ramananda had then remarked to his friend that if this were elevated to the status of a College, he would, if given the opportunity, like to serve the institution. He did not, of course, know then that his wishes in this behalf were to be realized a few years afterwards.

Even after his arrival in Allahabad, Ramananda continued to carry the responsibility of editing and producing the **Dassi.** Circumstancial evidence available indicate that he resigned his editorship of the **Dassi** a year later, possibly in October, 1896. His successor was Gobinda Chandra Guha. Rabindranath's celebrated monthly magazine **Sadhana** discontinued publication in November, 1895. Dassi also ceased publication two years later—a year after Ramananda relinquished responsibility—in 1897. Ramananda felt that the discontinuance of these two periodicals left a gap in the cultural and social life of the community which needed to be properly filled. We find that in December, 1897, a new monthly magazine making its appearance under Ramananda's editorship, called the **Pradeep.** Its publisher was one Baikuntha Nath De, who was possibly also its proprietor, although no definite evidence in this behalf appears to be available. Writing later on the event, Rabindranath Tagore observed :

"When Ramananda Babu first brought out the **Pradeep** and, a few years later, also the **Prabasi,** his courage and achievement filled our minds with wonder and admiration. Heavy in bulk, profusely illusrated, varied in its contents, we never imagined that such a valuable publication could ever be produced in the Bengali language." Writing in the foreward to its first issue, Ramananda observes :

"From a perusal of the notice of publication of the **Pradeep,** the question may naturally arise, why yet another monthly magazine in Bengalee ? Our answer is that no one can claim that there are too Bengalee monhly magazines which seek to serve all varieties of needs and tastes. The type of magazine we wish the **Pradeep** to be is yet not in publication in the language. That is the principal **raison de etre** of this new publication. That does not mean that we claim that we would do something unprecedented, or that the **Pradeep** shall be the best magazine ever published in Bengalee and that all other existing publications in Bengalee will fade into insignificance in comparison. Our endeavour, however, shall be to make it something new, something different, in a small way and within the limits of our small abilities. It might, perhaps, be more spectacular

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

if we were to hang out a list of all the subjects that might be reckoned as fit for human endeavour and claim that we would deal in this periodical with all these. We do not, however, wish to be extravagant in our claims, and are therefore unable to follow the traditional methods in this behalf."

That Ramananda's ideals of journalism were something different, something more significant, was already amply demonstrated in his handling of the publications he was earlier associated with. Even in such official Church organs of the Brahmo Samaj as the **Indian Messenger** and the **Dharmabandhu** he used to frequently write about the larger social and political problems, the problems of education and those of the sexes etc. In the **Dassi** which was the accredited organ of a service society, he used to publish poems, stories, scientific discussions and a variety of other subjects creating a broad and popular cultural platform. When he launched the **Pradeep,** he set out to enrich it with variety to an extent which was not possible within the comparatively limited scope of the publications with which he was earlier associated. There was not a field of human thought which would not find space in this new magazine. It used to be further enriched with half-tone illustrations never before attempted by any other Bengalee monthly periodical. The **Pradeep** also pioneered a wholly new field of journalistic endeavour, the publication of biographical sketches of eminent personalities. It was not only those among the eminent who were dead and gone whose character sketches would be drawn on the pages of the **Pradeep,** but also among the livng who, by their achievements and greatness would seem to have deserved public recognition while being also public examples, whose biographical sketches would be published. Thus, the editor himself wrote and published short biographical sketches on the life of Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose, Dr. Gopal Bhandarkar, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, Sardar Dayal Singh, Acharya Prafulla Chandra Roy, Sir Syed Ahmed, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye and others. Biographical sketches authored by other writers on the life and work of such persons as Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, M. G. Ranade, Ananda Mohan Bose, Mahendra Lal Sirker, Dinabandhu Mitra and a host of other eminent Indians were also published in the columns of the **Pradeep.** Among celebrated international personalities, life sketches of Max Mueller, Elizabeth Barret Browning, John Stuart Mill, Tolstoy and others used also to be published. In a word, the **Pradeep** created such an impact on the social and cultural life of the community and put forth such a broad platform of endeavour and achievement which was entirely unprecedented in the field of Bengalee periodical journalism of those days. Eminent persons used to be contributors to its columns and it appears that it was through the **Pradeep** that the beginnings of a lifelong friendship which was deeply

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

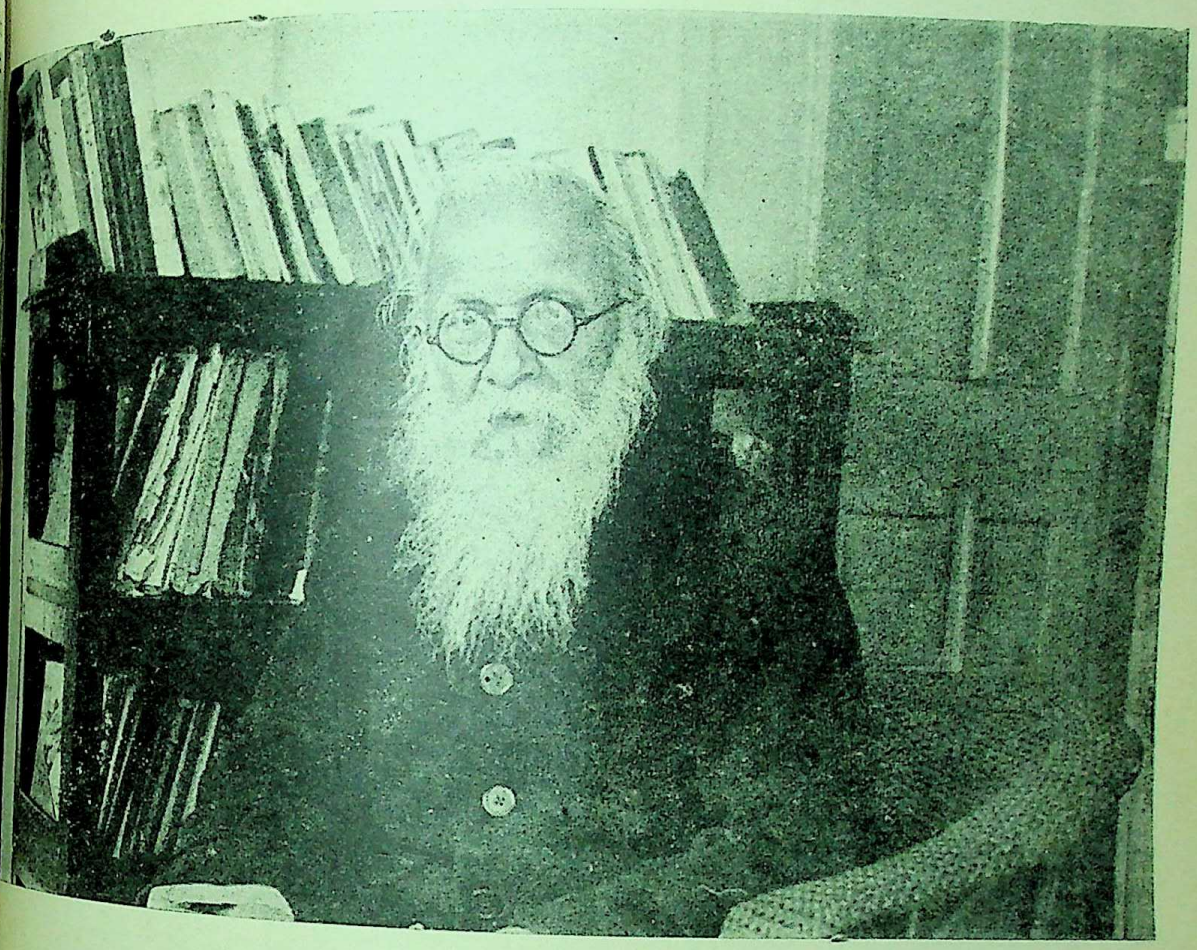
personal as it was publicly and nationally fruitful, were occasioned between Ramananda and Rabindra Nath. Rabindra Nath was, of course, a frequent, if not quite a regular contributor to its columns. Ramananda was, at this time, the Principal of the Kayastha Pathsala College and it was some measure of the extraodinary abilities of the man that he was able to adequately shoulder this very heavy editorial responsibility in addition to his work for the College.

As in regard to the **Pradeep**, so with the Kayastha College under his administration, Ramananda set out to achieve something significant. To him the acme of sound college administration was not that the prescribed syllabi of studies should be strictly conformed to, or that the students of his college should be able to demonstrate significant results at the university examinations. To him the measure of a successful college administration was the creation of alert and progressive minds and vigorous characters so that the products of his college were adequately equipped to contribute to the evolution of an ethical and progressive society. Such an attitude of the mind was significantly different from the traditional patterns of college administrations of those days (not much difference in outlook in this regard appears yet to have been generated even these days, full seven decades after Ramananda first went out to take charge of the Kayastha College in Allahabad) and it is not surprising that he should find himself frequently in a positi... where the members of the gover... ing body of his College were unab... to appreciate or agree wtth his poi... of view on questions relating to th... administration of the College. In deed, disagreements and friction... frequently arose and, but for the friendly intervention of Pand... Madan Mohan Malaviya who had then already acquired a measure o... eminence and leadership in Allaha... bad, his connection with the College might have been severed much earlier, perhaps, than when it actual... ly happened. Indeed, it was the cleavage between his progressive and more universalistic out-look and the narrow, sectarian and mideaval thinking of the members of the Collegge Committee, that ultimately led to this rupture a little over ten years after he first took charge of the College.

It has already been mentioned that the foundation of the Kayastha Pathsala was based upon a general bequest by one Kaliprasad Kakbhaskar, a member of the Kayastha community of Allahabad whose will also enjoined the founding of a periodical magazine devoted to the cause of the Kayastha community. Accordingly, an Urdu monthly called the **Kayastha Samachar** was already in publication when Ramananda first went out to Allahabad. Later the College Committee decided to issue an English companion to this magazine and Ramananda was called upon to take charge of its editorial responsibilities. The English periodical, also named

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

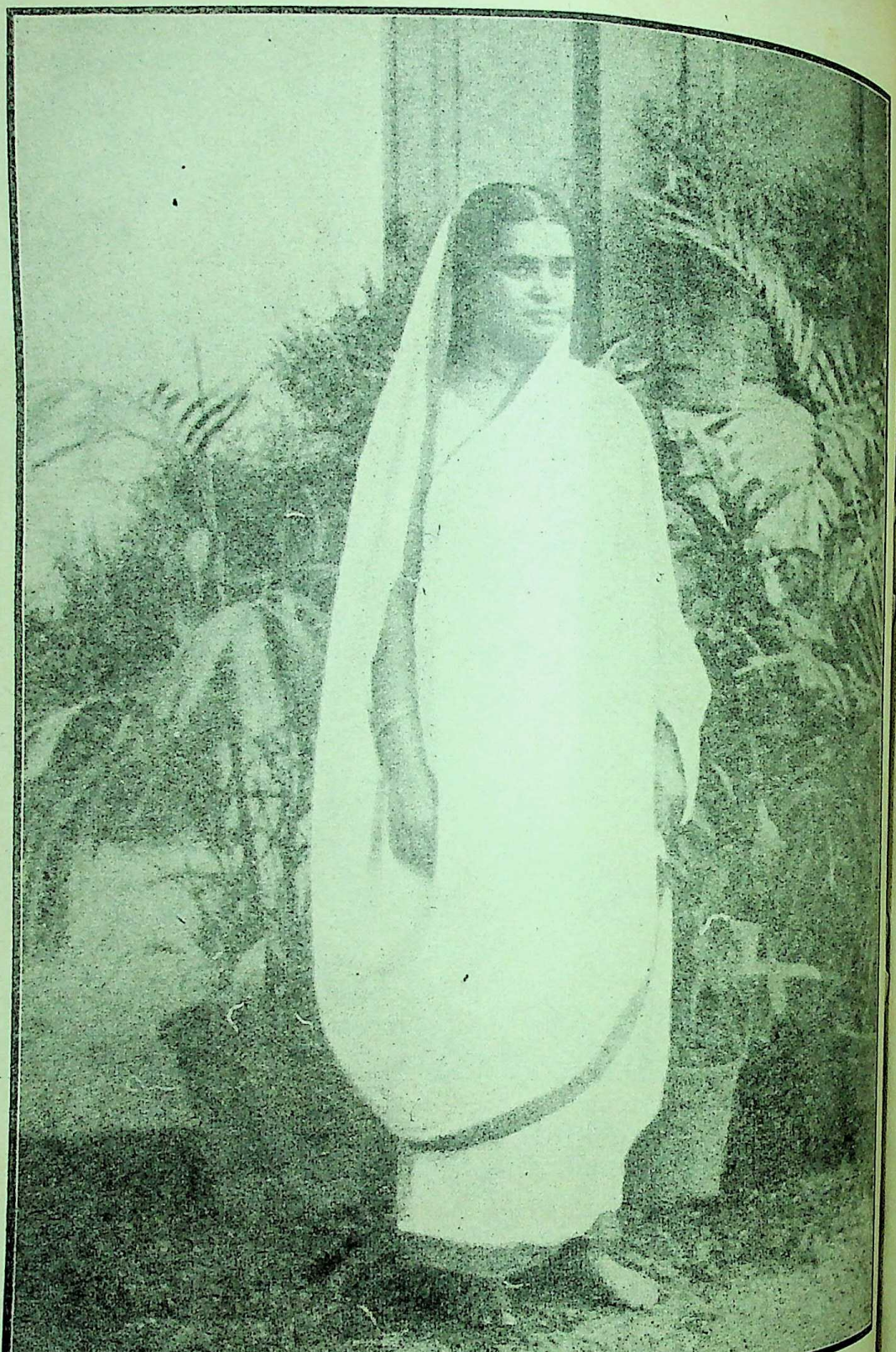
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Ramananda Chatterjee
(At the penultimate stage of his life)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Manorama Devi—wife and helpmeet in the truest sense

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kayastha Samachar, was first issued under Ramananda's editorship in 1899. A year later Ramananda relinquished his responsibilities in respect of this magazine as he was unable to continue to devote so much time to it without detriment to the interests of the College which he considered rightly to be his primary responsibility. It is also possible that the fact that the magazine was mainly dedicated to the cause of a narrow caste denomination may have influenced his decision in this regard. Even as a school boy, Ramananda had come, when he came into his early contacts with the Brahmo Samaj through his mathematics teacher, Kulavi, to regard caste and other sectarian obligations as narrow and retrogressive. Later when he joined the Brahmo Samaj after he came to Calcutta for his higher university education, he became intimately associated with all the broad social programmes of the Samaj. Besides, under the tutelage of Pandit Shivanath Shastri he had long ago vowed to all within his means to break through the narrowing distinctions of caste. In the circumstances, it may well be imagined that he could not have felt very happy over his enforced association in its editorial capacity of a denominational magazine of the nature and character of the **Kayastha Samachar.** At his own instance, therefore, Sachchidananda Sinha of Patna, who was then practising at the Allahabad High Court Bar, and who was known to be ardent spokesman of the Kayastha community, was requested to take over its charge. Sachchidananda then became its editor in 1900 and had for his assistant Satish Chandra Banerjee. A few years later, the **Kayastha Samachar** under Sachchidananda's editorship was renamed the **Hindusthan Review** and as such acquired a somewhat broader spectrum. Ramananda continued to contribute articles to the **Hindusthan Review** for a number of years afterwards.

The Foundation of the "Prabasi"

Two years after he relinquished charge of the **Kayastha Samachar,** Ramananda launched his celebrated magazine the **Prabasi** in April, 1902. He was still in charge of the Kayastha College, but the **Pradeep** had already to discontinue publication a few years earlier because Ramananda would not agree to attenuate the excellence of the magazine by reducing its cost of production. He was, just then, without any periodical in his charge. The **Prabasi** made its first appearance with a flourish. It was only a 40 page affair of which some 16 pages were given over to the reproduction of a number of picture in half tones. Rabindranath hailed the advent of the **Prabasi** by contributing his celebrated poem, also called Prabasi, to its inaugural issue. Among other writers to this issue were included the poet Debenra Nath Sen, the famous linguist and savant, Prof. Jogesh Chandra Ray Vidyanidhi and others. Rabindranath had then taken over

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

charge of the **Banga Darshan** the publication of which was resumed after a few years' lapse. Welcoming the advent of the **Prabasi** in the columns of the **Banga Darshan**, Rabindranath writes: "Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee has assumed the editorial responsibility of this beautifully produced and illustrated magazine. Its inauguration has been distinguished by the contributions of Poet Debendra Nath Sen. Deceased Kamalakanta Sharma[1] of **Banga Darshan** appears to have been reborn outside Bengal...We suspect that this new Kamalakanta can be no other than our powerful poet... The illustrated essay on the cave paintings of Ajanta has been a delectable fare....."

When Ramananda launched the **Prabasi** his income was very moderate and his family liabilities were already very heavy. It was unlikely that this new publication would be able to pay its own way from the beginning of its career and there would, therefore, be some deficit to cover for which he would himself be liable. Yet he assumed this responsibility because he felt that unless the editor had proprietory rights over his publication, the scope for cleavage with the owner would always be there. His experience while editting the **Pradeep** confirmed him in this view of the matters. His principal supporter in this adventure was his friend, Chintamoni Ghosh, proprietor of the Indian Press of Allahabad. The Prabasi used to be printed at his press and the get up was so excellent, it was doubtful if any of the printing establishments of Calcutta could have turned out such a well got-up publication. Unfortunately, the Indian Press was unable to maintain its Bengalee printing department for long as trained compositors became very difficult to obtain in distant Allahabad. The **Prabasi** made an immediate impact upon the thinking and tastes of the educated Bengalee public and it progressively widened its area of interest to cover every department of human social, political and cultural endeavour with, understandably, exceptional emphasis upon the national lacks and potentialities of our own country.

At the same time his work for the Kayastha College was also going on with full vigour. Although only an Intermediate College, it came to be regarded under Ramananda Babu's administration as one of the most distinguished colleges of the United Provinces and one among the most progressive institutions of the country. As already mentioned earlier, the trustees of the College were not, however, being able to accept the progressive precepts of the principal in regulating the studies of the scholars and the administration of the institution with a great deal of good grace. There have been disagreements and cleavages from time to time and but for the friendly intervention of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, whose social and intellectual leadership in the U.P. had already come to be established, Ramananda might have been obliged to leave the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

college much earlier than he actually did. On the whole, however, his influence and his personality were such that his public position, in spite of the occasional disturbances sought to be created by the authorities of the college, remained undisputed and invincible.

It would be a mistake to suppose that Ramananda's time and efforts were solely monopolized by the college and his publication. Apart from the fact that at this time he used also to contribute to a number of other journals and periodicals, and that he compiled, edited and published a few school texts and some other books, he was also steadily gaining a progressively important place for himself in the general intellectual, moral and social life of the community among whom he lived. In the political field, for instance, Ramananda was Malaviyaji's practically sole co-worker for the Congress movement in the U.P.; the Nehru family had not yet begun to be associated with the political movements of the day. Ramananda, again, was the most indefatigable and outspoken missionary for the spread of education in U.P. His famous article, published in the colums of the **Indian People** entitled the "Murder of the Innocents" severely criticised the then lack of opportunities in U.P. for higher education beyond the elementary stages, was reported to have caused the deepest stir in both official circles and among the public. He was, very naturally, mainly instrumental in reviving the Brahmo Samaj movement in Allahabad; a branch of the Samaj was established here as early as 1868, but its work had become quite moribund and even the normal weekly prayer meetings had also discontinued. Ramananda put new life into the work of the community and later got over Pandit Shivnath Shastri to deliver a series of sermons and lectures on the significance of the Brahmo Samaj movement, which became very popular. Ramananda was also one of the pioneers in setting in motion the early preliminaries in organizing the Bengalee community resident outside Bengal and to help them to keep up the pursuit of their own language and literature. It was on one of the occasions when a Bengalee literary conference was organized that Ramananda was supposed to have come into his first personal contact with Rabindranath. We have already seen that the earliest intellectual contacts between the two centred around the publication of the "Pradeep" but the two had not yet physically met. It was on the occasion of this literary conference that the two met for the first time and which culminated into a life-long friendship which was as deeply personal as it was publicly fruitful.

Considerations of space forbid going into greater details about the many-faceted activities during his more than a decade of sojourn in Allahabad. But it would be wrong not to mention at least in passing that here, for the first time, he had made certain friendships which were destined to play nationally important

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

roles in the progressive unfolding history of the times. Mention has already been made of the deep personal friendship between Ramananda and Malaviyaji, a relationship which was founded on mutual respect and admiration for each other's qualities and personality. Another very important friendship was that between him and Major Baman Das Basu, a retired member of the Indian Medical Service, who has left a large volume of recorded research work for the nation. It was mainly at the instance of Ramananda that Major Basu took up reasearches into certain periods of modern Indian history and the results of which were embodied in a series of publications all brought out by Ramananda in progressive stages. Any study of the early Indo-British history would, it would be readily conceded to-day, remain incomplete unless frequent references were made to Major Basu's monumental work, The Rise of The Christian Power in India. The history of the introduction of English education in the country would, likewise, remain deeply uninformed if one failed to study another stupendous work by the same author called "Education Under The East India Company." These and several other publications were all originally inspired by and later brought out into print by Ramananda Chatterjee. It is easy to conceive that such publications were not likely to have any popular public demand and large and voluminous as they were, the cost of publication was also condiderable at the same time. These were considerations which did not deter Ramananda from undertaking their publication simply because he considered them worthwhile records of a very important period of the country's history in respect of some of the most important of their facets. Another important Allahabad friendship of Ramananda was that with the late C.Y. Chintamoni who became later quite celebrated as the Editor of the **Leader**. Chintamoni first came out to Allahabad to take charge of the journal **Indian People** started a year earlier by the late Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha. Ramananda himself was a regular writer to its columns and its first editor was the late Nagendra Nath Gupta. When Chintamoni first took over charge of the paper, he was yet a callow youth with not a great deal of experience to guide his handling of the responsibility. He was neighbour of Ramananda and used to be a constant visitor to his house, discussing the various aspects of a journalist's duties and responsibilities. In a sense he had his real grounding in the art and science of journalism at the hands of Ramananda and eventually came to be known as among the foremost journalists of the country in later years.

It should be underlined in this context that when he inaugurated the "Prabasi" Ramananda had not yet taken up journalism as his sole or even his principal means of livelihood. On the contrary, it was during the earlier years of its publication very definitely a liability rather than being an asset in the financial

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sense of the term. Nor did he have so much idle time on his hands that he could possibly have entered into this new field of adventure simply to while away his time. We have already seen the many fields of public activity in which he was intimately associated. Besides, he had his college to administer which was, in itself, quite a whole time job. It can be presumed, therefore, that in spite of the financial liability that the enterprise might involve, Ramananda conceived of and organized the publication of the **Prabasi** because in its columns, he felt, would be available the opportunity and the scope for self-expression the need for which, it would seem, was of the very breath of his life. Even much earlier, when he was yet a struggling student in Calcutta, we have found him assuming onerous but entirely honorary journalistic responsibilities on a number of newspapers and periodicals at the same time. The old old saying that "Man does not live by bread alone" appears largely to have been robbed of its true significance in the crumbling values of the present-day life. But with Ramananda this saying applied with an appositeness hardly comparable with most other similar instances. He worked for his bread, as he had to. But he needed something more beside bread alone. His work in other fields of endeavour than his responsibilities in the College provided him with this something else. We have already seen that when he assumed the editorial responsibilities of the **Pradeep** how seriously he went out to make of his new enterprise something different, something worthwhile, something which had no precedent in the field of the then Bengalee periodical journalism. Judging by the contents of the volumes of the **Pradeep** one is amazed by the sweep of its horizon under Ramananda's editorship, something which does not appear to have ever been attempted before in this country. Within the little more than two years this periodical kept on publishing under his editorship, it made such an impact on the cultural, social and intellectual life of the Bengalee community, that no Bengalee home with any pretensions to an educated and cultured background could afford to go on without its monthly copy of the magazine. The inner man in Ramananda, it became immediately obvious, craved expression which the printed page alone could afford him. But the inevitable conflict of views between the financial interests of the proprietor and the constant endeavours of the editor to progressively achieve greater degrees of excellence for his publication, no matter what it might cost in financial terms, ultimately led to a tragic determination of this assignment. From evidence available it appears that Nalini Kanto Gupta assumed the editorship of the **Pradeep** after Ramananda. But the publication does not appear to have survived for very much over a year longer after Ramananda relinquished charge of its editorship.

For some two years after giving up the **Pradeep** Ramananda does not appear to have taken over any new editorial responsibility except for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that of the **Kayastha Samachar** between the years 1899 and 1900. In the meanwhile he had been giving his thought and labours to the organization of the Bengalee community outside Bengal for purposes of common literary pursuits. This was not inspired by any narrow parochial outlook. Ramananda's entire life and endeavours bear eloquent testimony to the wide universalism of his thinking and motivations and it is inconceivable that he would lend himself to something that were even remotely parochial in its outlook and content. But he realized with a clarity which, perhaps, very few among the English-educated community of Indians of those days did, that no one could find fulfilment except through the language which one had imbibed with one's mother's milk. Many of the Bengalee families resident outside Bengal—and U.P. had an especially large contingent of them—had little link with the language and literature of their own people. The result was rather unfortunate. They could seldom become fully integrated into the life of the local community while, at the same time, they remained virtually aliens to their own people. Ramananda coming to Allahabad fresh from Bengal had none of the acquired inhibitions of the Bengali community. He was accepted by and integrated into the local community of the educated and the intellectual without the least difficulties; and they comprised people from many different parts of India speaking different languages and with often different habits and modes of living. With the natural sensitiveness of an imaginative nature, he appreciated the unfortunate predicament of the local Bengalee community who were like a ship without a rudder, carrying on a humdrum existence without any sense of purpose or direction. It was, perhaps, mainly this lack among the Bengalee residents outside Bengal that gave him his initial impetus to launch the **Prabasi**. But his experiences with the **Pradeep** made him wary of the dangers of functioning as editor of some one else's magazine and decided to brave the perils of financial losses by doing so entirely on his own.

But the **Prabasi** as he conceived it, could not have a narrow platform concerned only with the life of the Bengalee community whether resident in or outside Bengal. It had to have a far more universal platform concerned with life as a whole in all its aspects and departments of endeavour. He rightly felt that any community could work for its own fulfilment and consummation by sharing in this broader and universal life. That is why starting as the **Prabasi** did as the expression of a hoby of its founder and not as an instrument of a professional objective, there was nothing amateurish or slip-shod about its publicaion or contents even from the very beginning of its inception. The printing, as already mentioned, had to be excellent; there had to be illustrations of quality, and the contents had also to keep pace by being wholesome and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

purposeful; above all, the publication had to comprehend life as a whole in all the varied departments of human endeavour. Such a publication, in those days, was not easy to maintain; there were so many lacks in technical amenities. Thanks to the Indian Press and Ramananda's close intimacy with its proprietor, printing was, indeed, excellent. But very soon a crisis arose because the Indian Press was obliged to close down its Bengalee printing department for lack of trained Bengalee compositors in distant Allahabad. The techniques of coloured reproduction of pictures was yet in its infancy and illustrations had to suit the available amenities in this behalf. As a matter of fact soon after the **Prabasi** started publication, arrangements had to be made for its printing in Calcutta and for many years until Ramananda came back to Calcutta with his publication in 1908, the **Prabasi** used to be printed in the then well known Kuntalin Press.

The **Prabasi**, as already mentioned, was inaugurated with the turn of the century in April, 1901. During the five years since its inauguration when Ramananda continued to work also as Principal of the Kayastha Pathsala, it came to acquire a status and a reputation in the cultural and intellectual life of the Bengalee-reading community all over the country which was not merely unprecedented in the history of Bengalee periodical publications, but which also, at the same time, remained wholly unrivalled for many decades afterwards. It set a standard of excellence in intellectual and cultural endeavour which even the more famous literary periodicals of those days like, for instance, the **Bharati** or the **Banga Darshan** in its revived phase were unable to attain in the broad sweep of its contents. It is no doubt true that the **Bharati** and the **Banga Darshan**, both for a while edited by Poet Rabindranath himself, attained a quality of literary excellence which was truly unique, but these were literary magazine within the comparatively limited sense of the term, while the **Prabasi** pitched its endeavours on a much more comprehensive and wider sweep. Literature and art were, no doubt, one of the principal subjects of discussion in its columns; but it contained much more,—economics and politics, education and culture, industry and arts and crafts, scientific research and commercial enterprise,—in fact all that constituted life in its broadest and most comprehensive sense, were all subjects in which the **Prabasi** was deeply interested and endeavoured to lead discussions which were both realistic and purposive. It should be acknowledged in this connection that Ramananda Chatterjee was the very first among our journalists in this country who realised the value of art in the cultural and intellectual development of society and from the very first the **Prabasi** made it an invariable rule to feature the work of those of our artists whose productions were considered by it to be worthwhile. Reproductions,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

especially in colour were difficult and expensive, and the **Prabasi** was not an affluent institution. Nevertheless these would be there in every issue of the magazine and which did not a little to train the minds and the sense of the Bengalee readers to gradually acquire a sense of judgment of the inherent qualities of artistic creations and promote an appreciation of them. In the very inaugural issue of the **Prabasi** we thus find a very thoughtful and illustrated article on the cave paintings of Ajanta. This was entirely a new departure in Bengalee periodical journalism and created quite a sensation in the literary and intellectual circles of the country as would be evident from the very appreciative comments on this article by Rabindranath in the columns of the **Banga Darshan** which in its new and revived phase, he had then been editing.

The Modern Review

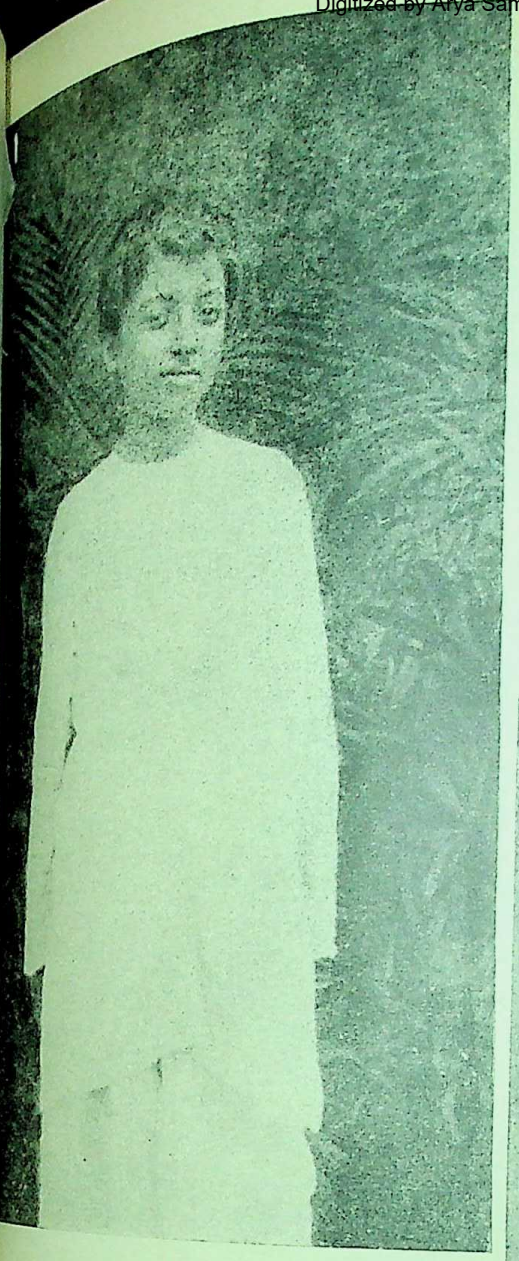
It was no wonder that the **Prabasi** even at its earlier stages came to be recognized as something new and quite distinctive in the field of Bengalee periodical journalism and that all the eminent intellectuals among the Bengalee-reading community should endeavour to find space for their writings in its columns. It would, however, be both wrong and unfair to suppose that although the language of its expression was Bengali, it grew up as a narrow parochial journal. One of the most eminent contributions of the **Prabasi** in those days,—a fact which acquired an increasingly broader sweep as the years went by,—was to take the Bengalee-reading intellectual out of the narrow grooves of parochialism in thinking and expression and awaken him in the wider field of an integrated national life comprising the Indian people as a whole. The **Prabasi** therefore, easily acquired a national status which no other magazine published in a regional language could claim either then or later.

One of the tragedies of journalistic endeavours in this country has always been that unless backed by large financial resources or powerful commercial or official influence they are seldom able to pay their own way. The **Prabasi** was no exception to this general trend and although it came to be recognized and prized as something distinctive and apart in Bengalee periodical journalism even from the very first day of its inception it remained a losing enterprise so far as its finances were concerned. Thus, even five years after its inauguration, that is in 1906, the **Prabasi** was still in deficit and had a small accumulation of debts. One of the principal reasons for this state of the **Prabasi**'s finances was undoubtedly that Ramananda never agreed nor endeavoured to suit the production costs of the magazine to its financial resources or revenues and, thereby, cut down the contents to conform to the size of its revenues.

It was about this time that his periodic cleavages and disagreements

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



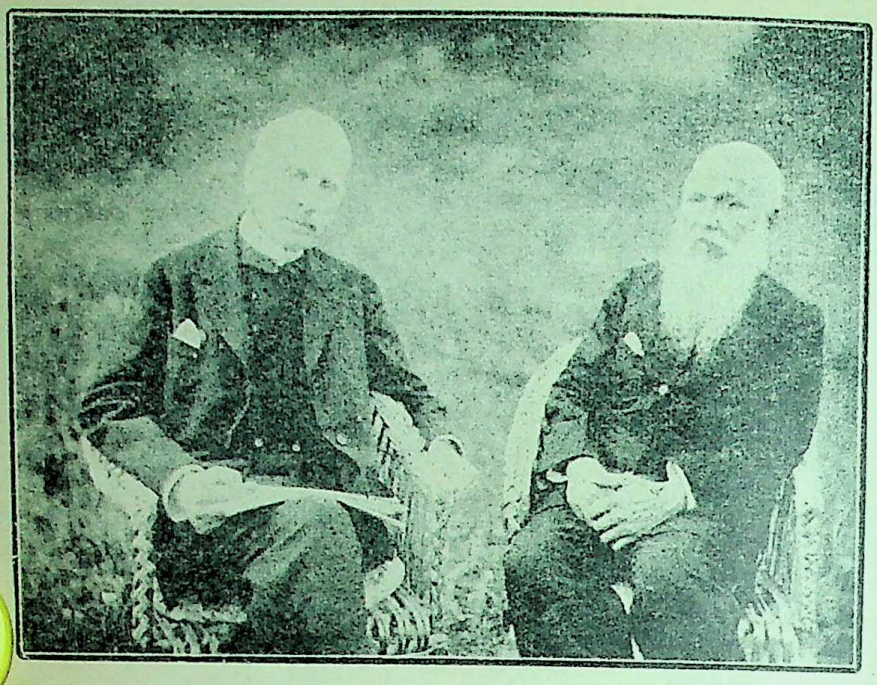
Youngest son Prasad—whose death at a very tender age nipped a promising career in the bud.



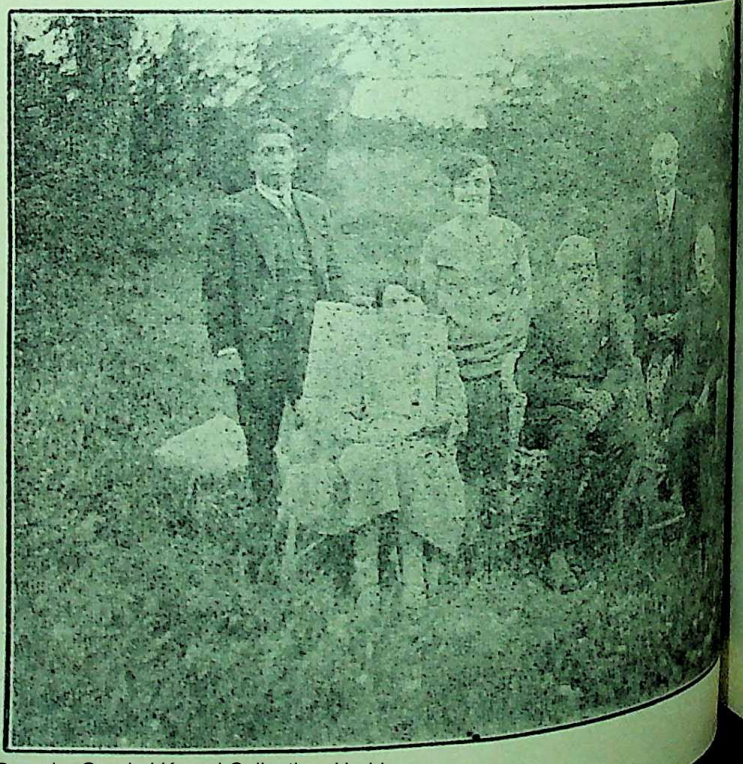
Eldest son Kedarnath—whose sudden passing away a few days ago removed a remarkable figure from Calcutta's circles of intellectual elite—and the youngest daughter, Sita Devi, in their childhood

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Ramananda and the great F... savant, M. Romain Rolland



Ramananda with the Romain Rolland family in France

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with the trustees of his College which, previously, had often been ironed out by the friendly intervention of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, came to a head- He was already a little disgusted with the reactionary attitudes of these gentlemen and was gradually making up his mind to end this constant annoyance by resigning his appoitment in the College. This fresh bout of disagreements confirmed him in his determination and, in spite of the counsels of moderation by Pandit Malaviya and other friends, he finally resigned his appointment. He had then practically no other source of income except what he earned from the College, but his family responsibilities had grown more burdensome. It would have been quite easy for him to find another similar appointment in any other college with the reputation for both ability and probity that he had acquired in the educational field of the United Provinces during his decade of connection with this College. His choice, however, was rather a limited one in this field as most other colleges were either owned or financially supported by the Government and to accept a job in such a college would, he felt, be tantamount to a repudiation of his adolescent vow that he would never serve under the alien British Government of the country. His friiends became concerned and Chintamoni Ghose, the intrepid founder and sole proprietor of the Indian Press, who had long been contemplating expanding the publications department of his press, sent him a tempting offer to take over the responsibilities of this department of his business. To most other men such an offer at such a juncture, and having especial regard to the fact that the emoluments offered were far larger than what he had been earning from the Kayastha Pathsala or even what any other similar institution would normally offer in those days, would, perhaps, be regarded as an answer to a prayer. Chintamoni Ghosh was a shrewd business man and an able judge of character and his offer timed for this juncture though it was, was not entirely disinterestd. He was well aware of the abilities of Ramananda as a publisher and an editor and he also visualized the future prospects of an ably conducted publishing house. But Ramananda had already in his own mind decided what he would do for a career in the future and that did not fit in with the scheme of Chintamoni's offer to himself. It is also possible that he may have felt that coming as it did in the wake of his resignation from the Kayastha Pathsala, the offer was inspired more by friendly concern for his immediate family responsibilties than by those of a matter of fact business deal. Whatever the considrations involved might have been, Ramananda gratefully but firmly refused the offer and made known his intention of widening the sphere of his current journalistic endeavours by launching a fresh monthly magazine, this time in English, to enable him to cater for a truly national clientale.

It is easy to conceive now at this distance from those early years of the current century that such a decision could not have been lightly taken. Ramananda was a man who never shirked his obligations whether they be to his family for whose maintenance he was responsible, nor to others. The prospects of a journalistic career as a whole time professional enterprise were yet wholly unknown and largely uncertain. There were no established past traditions in this field. And yet he had something to give to his people and to the world which he could only successfully bestow through the columns of a magazine such as he had conceived. There is no doubt there were examples of powerful and financially successful periodical journalism of a standing of several centuries in England. But conditions in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the two societies, in England and India, differed fundamentally, and it was not possible to predicate the success of an enterprise in such wholly different environments. All these uncertainties and doubts notwithstanding, Ramananda held steadfast to his decision to launch out yet another periodical journal. He probably estimated that since the need for such a journal as he had in mind was obviously there, and if he were able to present to the educated Indian community something that would cater to the craving for a broader and more fulfilling trends towards a modern progressive life, it would be bound, eventually, to be accepted by the community. If his speculations in this behalf proved to be correct, it should, while endowing him with the means to carry out the mission he had in mind, also yield, in course of time, a reasonable revenue to enable him to discharge his financial obligations to his family and others.

That Ramananda was not an unrealistic dreamer in his expectations in this regard has been amply proved by the success he was able to make of both his journals not merely intellectually and culturally, but also financially at the same time. What is of the greatest significance in this connection is the indisputable fact that he never for a moment allowed his journals to fall short of the high standards he had set for them, both as regards their contents as well as in their get up and production. Above all he maintained a spirit of independence throughout which, although it caused serious trouble from time to time, also earned distinction and respect for his journals among intellectuals in this country and abroad. Ramananda, either as the distinguished journalist or as an individual, never pandered to popular tastes. He was among those rare individuals in any country and in any period of history, who have been creative of tastes and opinions.

Thus, we find in the very inaugural issue of the *Modern Review*, the opening article was an erudite discussion by Prof. Knox Johnson of Allahabad on "Indian Readers and European Literature." In subsequent issues soon after, we find Sister Nivedita writing a very learned monthly series on the value of art in education, while at the same time carrying out a factual study on the causes and cure of the recurring famines in Bengal. Space would not permit a fuller discussion of the distinctive character of the contributions that distinguished the contents of the *Modern Review* from its very inception from month to month. But it would be unfair if special mention were not made of the fact that the inaugural issue of the magazine in January, 1907, was especially advanced to coincide with the timing of the annual plenary session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in December, 1906. It may be recalled that the late Dadabhai Naoroji was the President of the Congress that year and most appropriately the *Modern Review* carried an exhaustive biographical note on Naoroji's life and work as well as a very interesting narrative of the history and physical characteristics of the city of Calcutta as it was the venue of the Congress session, both written by the Editor himself. This would demonstrate how very keenly the Editor was also interested in the course of our political development which, to him, was a very fundamental aspect of progressive life in the country.

It was not long after the *Modern Review* commenced publication in Allahabad in January, 1907, that Ramananda had to begin to face trouble with the official authorities of the United Provinces. These were the days following the Partition of Bengal and the Swadeshi

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Movement and people were gradually beginning to shed their unholy fear of the British Government and their power. The authorities were beginning to pursue a course of increasing repression, especially of the newspaper press with a view to the suppression of independent opinion and the criticism of authority. But this, instead of moderating their views in favour of the Government, only served to harden their opinions. Although the *Modern Review* was only an infant then, it contributed its quota to this spate of criticism of the Government and their policies with especial forcefulness. The Government naturally did not like this and were looking out for a suitable pretext in order to be able to suppress its views. When the famous Liberal Leader, Lord Morley succeeded to the office of the Secretary of State for India in the Government of Britain, he appeared to have wholly shed all his former liberal views. We find the *Modern Review* editorially commenting in one of its issues in 1908 that "The transformation of Dr. Jekyll of R. L. Stevenson's famous story was not more complete than that of Morley the political philosopher; and his entire change of front when called upon to practise what he had so eloquently preached, furnishes a most remarkable, though infinitely sad illustration of the limitations of human nature." It was not long after that the U.P. Government were able to cook up the necessary pretext for taking what, in their view, was considered to be suitable action against the critical and independent views being expressed by the *Modern Review* and an order was served on the Editor that he would not be permitted to continue to publish the Magazine from Allahabad.

After having been resident in Allahabad for more than ten long years, it had grown to be a real home to Ramananda and his family members. Besides, it was in Allahabad that he first ventured out into the field of enterprise which was prove to be his real vocation in life. He had also grown to be an important part of the wider public life of the city and there were hardly any intellectual or cultural activities in the place with which he was not intimately connected in some way or other. Naturally also he had made extensive and lasting friendships here. It would inevitably be a great wrench for him to have to leave all this after his long sojourn in the city. But the alternative to him was even more devastating. The mission in life to which he had dedicated himself could only be successfully and fruitfully pursued through the coloumns of the *Modern Review* and the *Prabasi*. To cease publication of the *Modern Review* would rob him of the most important of his two instruments of public enlightenment and would correspondingly rob him of far more than one half of his own usefulness. But what was also not entirely impossible was that eventually the Government might come to regard the *Prabasi* with the same measure of disfavour and orler its discontinuance. This was a possibility which Ramananda was not prepared to put up with and, rather than be robbed of these most valuable instruments of his public expression, he decided to move out from Allahabad and continue to publish his magazines from Calcutta.

Back in Calcutta

This, it would appear, was something of a blesing in disguise. Allahabad, no doubt, was the most improtant city of Northern India of those days. But as a representative centre of Indian social, cultural and political movements, Calcutta was the very metropolis of the Indian

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

subcontinent. The shifting of the venue of the publication of these two journals to Calcutta would, therefore, naturally bring within much easier reach of its editor connections and facilities which it would be comparatively more difficult to maintain and obtain from distant Allahabad. It should not, however, be supposed that while the *Modern Review* was being published from Allahabad, its quality was in any sense inferior in its contents or its profuse illustrations. Thus. we find Shri Aurobinda commenting in the columns of his *Bande Mataram* : "It is no exaggeration to say that the *Modern Review* has introduced a new feature in our magazine literature. Its wealth of illustration is really wonderful and it spends it for the benefit of its readers with a lavish profusion which is really oriental . . . . But its wealth of illustrations pales before its wealth of articles. And no wonder even European writers are coming forward to contribute to this magazines."

The *World and the New Dispensation* commented : "The *Prabasi* by its cheapness, the profuseness of its illustrations and its interesting articles, has found a ready welcome in thousands of Bengali homes where it is now a household necessity . . . . The *Prabasi* was a delightful surprise to us, but greater surprise is this *Modern Review*."

After only the first two issues of the Modern Review had been published, the *Light of London* commented : "We are certainly surprised to see them. We have nothing in England more important looking, more enterprising and more serious."

But to keep up such a high standard of publication called for the utilization of diverse resources, both intellectual and technical, which were certainly far more abundantly available in the metropolis of Calcutta. It is, therefore, that we say that the order of externment from the United Provinces served on Shri Ramananda Chatterjee by the U.P. Government, would be regarded as something of a blessing in disguise. Nevertheless, to have to leave Allahabad where Ramananda had spent the most formative years of his life, and where he had made such close friends many of whom had grown into the very texture of his life and work, must have been a severe wrench. To his elder children who had grown up there—Kedarnath was due to sit for his matriculation examinations when Ramananda had to leave Allahabad—must have felt more like banishment from their real home. There was also the inevitable dislocation in the schedule of the publication of his magazines that this migration must have involved, at least in some measure. Above all there was also the inevitable change in the conditions of living that was wholly unavoilable.

On his return to Calcutta Ramananda again became actively associated with the work of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. He was elected a member of the executive committee of the Samaj every year between 1909 and 1921 and assumed the office of its general secretary for a short while in 1910. In 1922 he was elected President. He made his home in a tiny house adjoining the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj hall, one room of which was set apart as the office of his magazines. His magazines had not yet, it must be remembered, begun to yield a revenue surplus and they had to be conducted with the strictest economy. During the second year of the publication of the *Modern Review* Ramananda observed: "We lost heavily during the first year and the prospects are only a little better this year. And such is the financial condition of the most widely circulated illustrated English review in India, even though its proprietor-cum-editor-manager

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is honorary, most of the contributors are honorary, all the Indian artists allow their paintings to be reproduced without any payment, and the editor has not engaged a single literary assistant to help him. All this does not mean that we are beaten. We are determined to succeed and, God willing, shall succeed."

Even after shifting to Calcutta conditions remained similar for many years and except for a dependent relative whom Ramananda had trained to assist him in the office work and his wife Shreemati Manorama Devi looking after the accounts —a chore she continued to carry for years even after both the *Prabasi* and the *Modern Review* had begun to yield increasing revenue surpluses—Ramananda alone carried the entire responsibility of his magazines from reading, selecting and editing contributions for publication, writing his own editorial notes and, frequently, also special articles on a variety of subjects, down to reading the proofs and packing them for posting when they were out from the printing press.

It was in 1912 that he decided to use the Brahmo Mission Press for printing his journals. This was a very small press originally organized by Pandit Shivananth Shastri and made a gift of to the Sadharan Braho Samaj. Its principal work consisted of printing the two very small weekly organs of the Brahmo Samaj in English and Bengali respectively and to print occasional notices and other items related to the administration of the Sammaj. No one could imagine that such a small printing establishment would be able to adequately cope with the volume of work related to the publication of the *Modern Review* and the *Prabasi*. But since the press was located almost on his own door-steps and, mainly because such work would enable the press to earn a revenue surplus for the Brahmo Samaj, Ramananda decided that if he maintained a strict vigil on its work schedules, it would be possible to get his journals printed here. For the next decade and a half both the *Prabasi* and the *Modern Review* were printed at this press and was able to deliver them on the dot. This, of course, meant a great deal of additional work for Ramananda who, while getting his magazines printed here had virtually to assume complete control over its management. This led to a regime of prosperity for the press so that it was able to add to its own equipments without raising any fresh capital and which enabled, mainly under his own initiative and supervision, the development of a publicatons department of the press. Such valuable books as Shivanath Shastri's autobiography, the second volume of his History of the Brahmo Samaj and other similar works were printed at this press and published under the aegis of the Brahmo Samaj. In addition, the Prabasi organization had also begun, in the meanwhile, to organize a regular book publications division and most of the books published by it during this time, including Ramananda's celebrated work, "Towards Home Rule" were also all printed at this press. It was not until the *Prabasi* had established its own printing press, initially at 91 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta and which was later shifted to 120/2, Upper Circular Road (later re-named Acharya Praphulla Chandra Road), that the work of printing the *Prabasi* and the *Modern Review* was withdrawn from the Brahmo Mission Press. It still continues to function and issue occasional publications as a department of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj organization, but the period of prosperity that it had passed through under Ramananda's careful husbanding of its resources and the maximal utilization of its equip-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ments, appears now to have passed for ever.

It has been already mentioned that even as early as when he was editing the *Pradeep* and later when publishing the *Prabasi* and the *Modern Review* Ramananda not merely pioneered the fashion of reproducing original paintings of our Indian artists in colour, but made them a regular feature of these publications. He had a keen appreciation of all that was artistic and beautiful and a true assessment of their value as only a trained conoisseur would be expected to possess. Deviprasad Roy Chowdhury tells the very interesting but little known story that when as a boy he took several of his early essays in painting to Ramananda with a view to their acceptance for publication in the *Prabasi* and the *Modern Review*, he was put through such a searching and severe catechism as regards their values, oranization of perspective and other similar features of painting, that Deviprasad. untutored in the techniques of his art as he then was, had to return rather crestfallen with none of his pictures offered for publication being accepted at that stage. Deviprosad acknowledges that it was this severe but kindly and well-intentioned trouncing that he had received at the hands of this great editor, that made his realize the essential need for training and preliminary apprenticeship under an established artist and which, primarily, enabled him to develop his talents as the great artist that he had eventually proved himself to be. It is significant that later on in course of time when Deviprasad had really proved his talents as a trained and well organized painter, that Ramananda had published a large number of his paintings in both his *Prabasi* and the *Modern Review*. It may be said without the least apprehension of being contradicted that Ramananda has been among the very first among our noted journalists in this country, who recognized the value of art in the effort to develop a full, progressive and innately cultured social life in the community. Indeed, it is doubtful that except for the few specalized art journals which had appeared from time to time on the public scene and which unhappily, never survived for long, there has been any other cultural magazine in the country, which has given art that place of distinction and honour in the scheme of the publication in its entirety as the *Prabasi* and *Modern Review* had done throughout their periods of publication. It was not easy to do so. When in Allahabad, there was no means of getting colour-blocks made there. Indeed the art of colour-reproductions was only then being newly developed under the pioneering efforts of the late Upendra Kishore Ray in Calcutta. They were also very expnsive. The *Prabasi* and, later, the *Modern Review* were being published under considerable revenue deficits. Neverthelss, Ramananda would not bring out even one single issue of his journal without it containing a coloured reproduction of the work of a talented artist. This not merely added to the interest of the publication, but what was far more important, this enabled the artist, the value of whose work has never had before any public recognition, to gradually obtain a wide interested public audience. What the Indian artist of to-day owes for his present status in the educated community of the country to the sense of organization of his magazines by Ramananda is a fact which should be gratefully acknowledged and remembered by him.

Truly, in the cultural development of the country and her dealings with the outside world, the period coresponding with the publication of the *Modern Review* under Ramananda's editorial guidance may be called the age of the *Modern Review* when the history of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

period eventually comes to be compiled in its corrct perspective. There has not been any field of human endeavour which the *Modern Review* has not featured with a measure of objectivity and purposefulness and, above all, a sense of direction, which is rarely to be met in any similar other periodical publication in this country and abroad. The unversalism of the *Modern Review*, in broad perspective, can now be recognized to have been the most outstanding factor in forging the unity of the Indian *nationhood*, in endowing public activities in the country with a sense of broad national direction and purpose. It is necessary to prominently underline in this connection that Ramananda's journalism did not consist in merely reflecting the cultural level of society by faithfully recording all that had been happening all around it. It was pre-eminently informed with the purpose of guiding cultural development and building public opinion towards certain broad national and universal objectives and, having regard to the fact that most of our pre-eminent public leaders in various fields of human endeavour had been constantly looking upto Ramananda for guidance and direction, he can now be frankly acknowledged to have succeeded in this one grat mission of his in an outstanding measure. To the outside world, it can now be acknowledged with grateful remembrance, that it was Ramananda's *Modern Review* more than any other combination of factors, which helped to endow a well-defined *niche* to India in the map of the modern world of thinking and action. Thus, we find that when the conscience of the world was deeply shocked by the Fascist organized atrocities perpetrated on Spain by the usurper Franco, M. Romain Rolland and his World Committee Against War and Fascism instinctively turning to Ramananda as the one public man of this country, asking him to be associated with an "Appeal" they were issuing to the peoples of the world for combating this horror and to come to the rscue of the helpless victim's of Franco's devastating aggression upon the Spanish people. They appreciated, a fact which was also underlined by Ramananda in his reply to the covering letter conveying to him this appeal, that India was herself helpless to move actively in the matter except to express her deeply felt sense of community with the unfortunate Spanish people in their hour of tribulation, herself being in political bondage as she then was. But they recognized the moral influence that Ramananda's association with such an international effort would have upon the peoples of the world; such was the measure of esteem in which his views and opinions were held in the broader world of intellectuals and social philosophers in other countries and climes.

Rabindranath and Ramananda

One of the most deeply fruitful events in the life and work of Ramananda was his relations with the Poet Rabindranath. No record seems to exist pointing to the occasion when the two may have met and come to know each other for the first time. But it would be safe to assume that they had already met when Ramananda was a young professor of English at the City Colege in Calcutta. Rabindranath had already made his successful debut into the literary life of the community. But when Ramananda assumd the editorial responsibilities of the *Pradeep* during the mid-nineties of the last century, we already find Rabindranath among the more frequent and highly prized contributors to its columns. Later, when the *Prabasi* was inaugurated in Allahabad in April, 1901, we find Rabindranath contributing his famous poem "Prabasi" to its inaugural issue.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rabindranath was already then editing the *Bharati* and the *Banga Darshan* in its revived phase; there were, in addition, his own profuse literary creations to take care of. That he still found time to offer frequent contributions to the columns of the *Prabasi* are evidence of the high esteem in which he held this periodiacl publication. Eventually, on the transfer of the venue of publication of the *Prabasi* and the *Modern Review* to Calcutta, this earlier relation between the two ripened simultaneously into both regular monthly contributions to hs journals on the one side and the development of a deep and abiding personal friendship between the two based upon affection and mutual respect and admiration for each other.

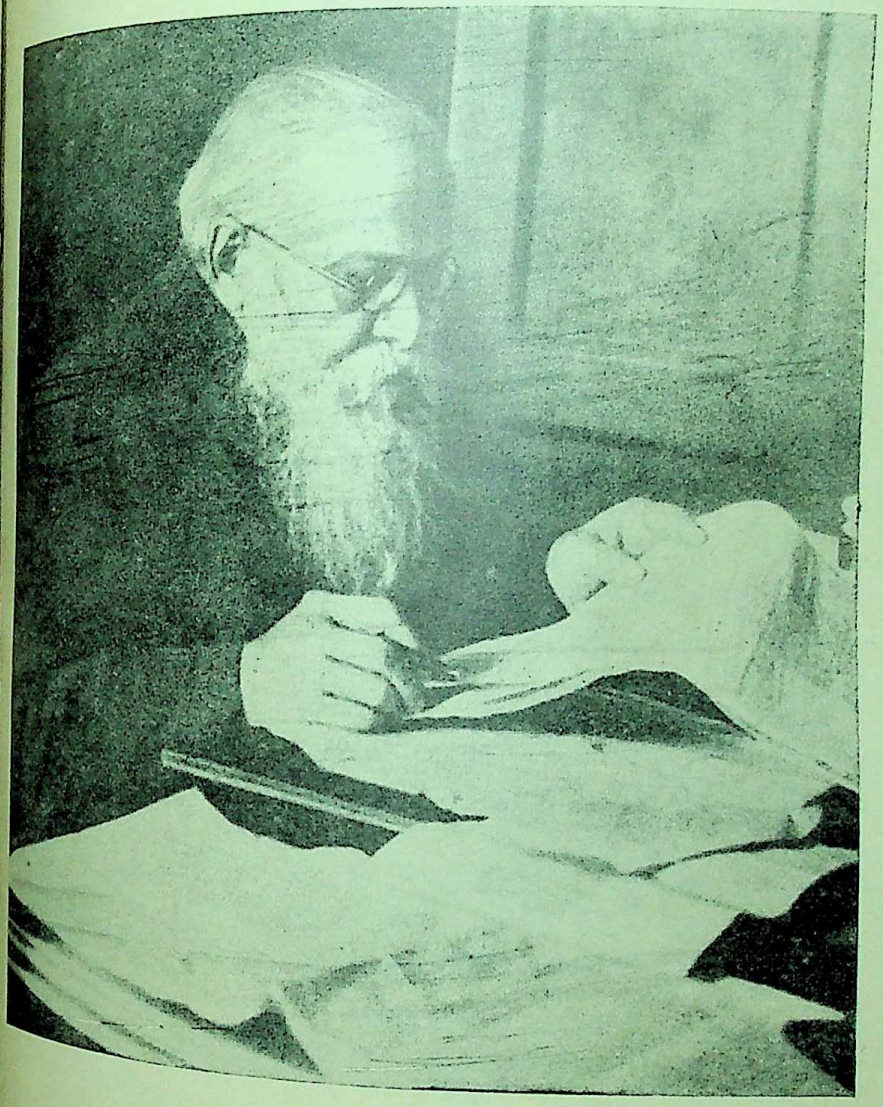
In fact in the perspective now offered by the distance of time it may be said with truth that the relations between the two which, apart from their public face, were deeply personal, were mutually fulfilling to both of them. The *Prabasi* and, in fairly substantial measure also the *Modern Review* contributed in very large measure to promoting public appreciation and acceptance of Rabindranath's literary creations. In turn, it must also be acknowledged that Rabindranath's regular contributions to their columns enriched the contents of Ramananda's publications beyond ordinary measure. It may be also acknowledged that Rabindranath's influence upon Ramananda played a very crucial and abiding role in devloping the universalist outlook of his journals and which led to the latter's ready acceptance as a world figure of outstanding intellectual and moral qualities. It is thus we find Ramananda being associated with the Poet-s public activities in the fields of education and rural reconstruction. The political philosophy of the poet also appears to have had the deepest influence upon Ramannanda's thinking in this field and which, in a sense helped the growth and development of the Universalist in Ramananda based upon the firm foundations of deep, abiding and fearless nationalism. When the authors of the "Universal Movement for Peace" in Europe wrote to Ramananda inviting him to be associated with the movement in ths country and organize its branches here, we find him writing to Rabindranath that "if India has to organize a movement for world peace in line with this Universal movement, you would have to accept its leadership in this country."

Ramananda had been associated with the poet's Visva-Bharati from its very inception and even accepted, for a short while, the office of the Principal of the degree college (Siksha Bhabana) under the Visva-Bharati. But when the Calcutta University insisted upon its rights of inspection and supervision over the institution as a condition for allowing it to send up candidates to sit for its I.A. and B.A. examinations, Ramananda was not prepared to accept such outside control in the conduct of his institution and resigned his office forthwith when the Visva-Bharati accepted the same. There have also been other instances when he was unable to wholly agree with the poet's point of view in certain matters. Thus, for instance, when Ramanada accepted the office of the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, the poet deplored the fact as he felt that Ramananda was allowing himself to be associated with what he considered to be a communal political organization. Ramananda, however, did not agree with this point of view. According to the definition of the Mahasabha all those who were born in and accepted India as their motherland were Hindus according to this definition and Ramananda felt that so long as the Mahasabha abided by its own definition

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ramananda at his editorial labours



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

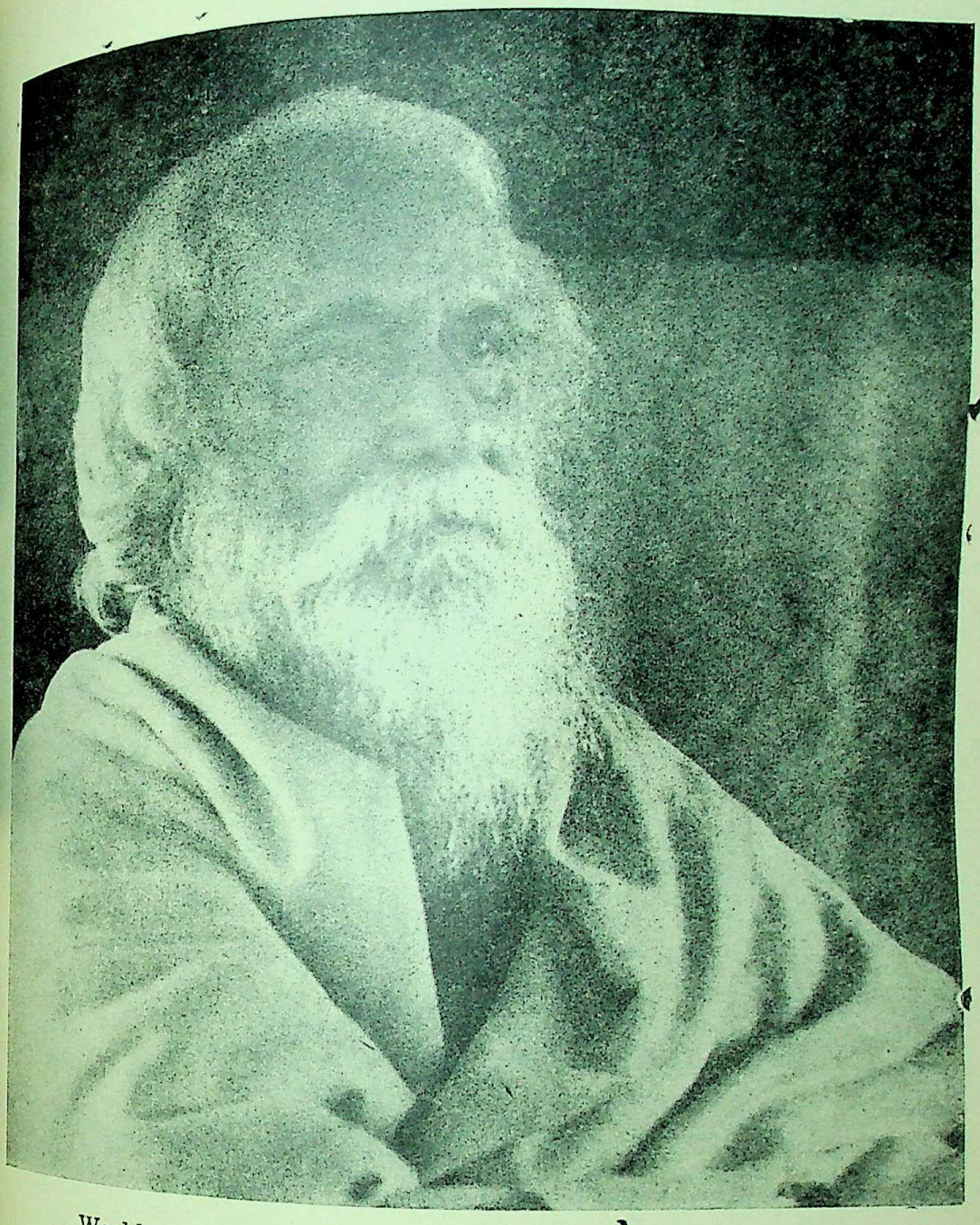
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Ramananda with Rabindranath and party in Czeckoslovakia
—Prof. Dr. M. Winternitz is on the extreme left
in the foreground

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



World poet Rabindranath—whose life-long friendship, apart from its more obvious public face—was founded on the deepest affection for and admiration of the personality of Ramananda

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This facsimile of the title page of the first half-yearly volume of **The Modern Review** has its own historical interest.

THE

MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review & Miscellany

EDITED BY

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Volume I. Numbers 1 to 6.

January to June, 1907.

Allahabad:

Printed at the Indian Press, and Published by the Editor.

PRICE RUPEES FOUR.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in this behalf, there should be nothing of narrow communailsm in its activities. It is significant that this decision on his part led to a measure of misunderstanding of his motives even by friends who held him and his character in the highest possible esteem. Thus Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi, editor of the *Vishal Bharat* sponsored and owned by Ramananda himself, severely criticised him for his association with the Hindu Mahasabha. It is characteristic of the man that he never objected to Pandit Chaturvedi ventilating his own views editorially in this journal although it was owned by the former and to publish which he had to incur a great deal of annual financial loss, nor did the incident imported the least cloud in their normally sweet and mutually respectful relationship between the two.

Immediately after the Poet's passing away, Ramananda wrote a brief biographical assessment of the poet which was published in the *Modern Review* in the following month. It will be difficult to find another such valuable and wholly comprehensive of the poet's long and amazingly prolific life within such a short compass. Ordinary biographers naturally quail at the almost impossible task of compiling a worthwhile biography of such an amazingly versatile and prolific life branching out into myriad fields of human activitiy such as the poet's had been within anything like a readably compact limits. Ramananda's writing on the poet, which was both a heart-felt homage to his great friend as well as a biographical assessment would, however, seem to leave almost nothing out that may be considered significant. At the same time it is invested with such a deep sense of personal bereavement and a passion of admiration that makes this very brief assessment of the poet so deeply attractive and valuable.

National Language

It is not possible within the limited space at our disposal to comprehend within this brief assessment all those events of significance and importance that made the life and activities of Ramananda so rich in their contents. Only a few of the more important highlights in his life are being touched upon as briefly as possible. One of these undoubtedly was his attitude on the problem of a national language for India. From evidence available from his writings, it appears that Ramananda was not particularly averse to the continuance of English as the language of common intercourse and expression between all educated Indians. He was never cheaply sentimental and he realised with characteristic clarity of vision and thinking that the evolution of a common language of national intercourse, and even more so of its universal national acceptance, would be beset with problems and difficulties which it would not be easy to eliminate or to overcome. Indeed, the fact must be acknowledged that linguistically India has no common past heritage, unless it be claimed that most Indian regional languages have been derived from the same original root, Sanskrit. It is true that Sanskrit has been the common mother of most regional languages in Northern and Western India, with the notable exception of Urdu which has acquired a very large element of Persian vocabulory and syntax. In South India, again, a large number of the regional languages had been derived from a common Dravidian stock which was not Sanskritic in origin. But there has never been any comon Indian language of universal intercourse which might be fallen back upon when the need for an Indian national language would arise. On the other hand, so far as the educated community was concerned,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the more than two hundred years of British rule over the country and the universal of the official English language among the educated community had already invested it with a national character. It might have solved much of the problems and the inevitable irritations that have been generating around the question of a common Indian national language, if it were possible to induce the acceptance of this language for national usage supplemented by the use of regional languages concerned in different parts of the country. There was, however, one very important difficulty. The proportion of educated English-speaking and writing members of the community still bear only an infinitesimal ratio to the total population of the country. In addition, of course, there was the other sentimental, and from that point of view rather an equally important difficulty ; the association of the English language with a period of its imposition as the language of India's political masters.

At the same time the attempt to put up any one of the regional languages as the future national language of the entire Indian people would be bound to create irritations and cleavages which might, as eventually it has proved to have, threaten the very integrity and solidarity of the nation. There have, therefore, been suggestions from certain learned quarters that a variety of Basic Sanskrit should be used for the purpose. Sanskrit, however, so far as the large majority of people even among who are known as the educated sections of the community, has been a dead language for a very long period and its revival, for purposes of universal national use would not be easy nor to find universal comon acceptance. Hindi, as the spoken laguage of the largest majority of the Indian people found, therefore, a wider acceptance among public leaders for future adoption as the national language of the country and her people. Even here, there have been two sharply divided schools of opinion, one favouring the adoption of that variety of Hindi with a considerable admixture of Urdu vocabulory and syntax which is generally known as Hindusthani, while the opposing school insisted that the variety of Hindi accepted for the status of the national language of India must be that purer Sanskritic vernacular which is normally spoken in the Meerut district of U.P. and the areas immediately continguous to it. But whatever the variety of Hindi that might be accepted for the purpose, it was true that its literature was yet very poor, its vocabulory weak and its grammer involved in complications which would not be quite suitable for universal common usage.

All these difficulties and, especially the vigorous opposition of the South notwithstanding, that Hindi would eventually become to be awarded the status of the national language of India was a fact which appears to have been clearly visualized by Ramananda even before any controversy on the subject had crystallised into a reality. He does not appear to have taken any sides in this controversy himself, although he has publicly deplored the very poor literature of the language which aspired eventually to be the national language of the country. He advised, through his editorial notes and other public pronouncements, that immediate and consistent efforts should be made to develop the literature of Hindi in order to equip the language for the status of India's notional language. We find in one of his famous editorial notes in the *Modern Review*, Ramananda pointing out the undeveloped state of Hindi literature, the poverty of its vocabulory and suggesting the ways

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ways in which its contents could be enriched by purposeful effort.

One of the significant manners in which he himself sought to add to the power and potency of the Hindi language and literature, was by widening the sphere of Hindi periodical journalism. It was with this end in view that he conceived the idea of organizing the publication of a monthly Hindi journal as a companion to his *Prabasi* and the *Modern Review* and the name he selected for it was characteristic of the broad and catholic outlook of its sponsor ; it was named the *Vishal Bharat*. He invited Pandit Banarsi Das Chaturvedi, great scholar and one-time intimate associate of Mahatma Gandhi to assume the editorial responsibilities of the *Vishal Bharat* and it continued to publish under these conditions for over a decade during Ramananda's life time. The *Vishal Bharat* came, in course of time, to be recognized as one of the leading Hindi cultural periodicals of the country, but such was the state of popularity of Hindi journals, that almost throughout its period of publication Ramananda continued to incur heavy financial losses on its production. Nevertheless, he continued to foster its growth and encouraged its widening of spheres of interest presumably with the objective of establishing Hindi journalism on a footing of respect and popularity in the community. Visualizing that Hindi would eventually be invested with the position of the country's national language, he considered it one of his legitimate missions in life, to try to enrich its language and literature in whatever manner and to whatever extent it might be possible for him to do so.

It is possibly from the same motive that he induced Rabindranath to allow him the right of publication of Hindi translataions of the poet's Bengali works. We find a document, now preserved in the original at the Rabindra Sadana at Santiniketan, purporting to be an agreement between the poet and Ramananda, signed on 4th May, 1928, by which the right of publication of all Hindi translations of the poet's works was invested in Ramananda. Considering the increasing popularity of the poet's works in whatever language of the world they might have been published in translations, it is easy to visualize that Ramananda would possibly have made substantial financial gains out of the results of this agreement, but shortly after this agreement was concluded, the poet decided to bequeath the sole publication rights of all his works to the Visva-Bharati and the Visva-Bharati publication department felt that it would help to round off the programmes of its publication schedules if it were possible to pursuade Ramananda to relinquish his own right to the Hindi translations of the poet's works. As soon as Ramananda came to know of this, we have it on the testimony of Pandit Kshitimohan Sen Shastri, he immediately offered to and actually did relinquish the right given to him under this agreement, to publish the poet's works in Hindi translation. If he had not voluntarily offered to do so, Pandit Kshitimohan writes, there was no legal means by which he could have been deprived of the same.

The League of Nations

It is little known that Ramananda was not treated as well as might have been expected during his visit to Geneva by members of the League of Nations Secretariat. Ramananda did not canvas for an invitation to the seventh Annual Assembly of the League ; he was invited as one of the most distinguished and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

representative Indian journalist. He even made it clear to the authorities of the League of Nations, that he would accept the invitation only on condition that he would not be expected to accept reimbursement of his expenses of the visit because he did not want to loose his independence as a completely disinterested and objective student of the League's work. This may not have been very palatable to the senior members of the League leadership, but they could not help it once they had issued the invitation to Ramananda mainly on the insistence of the then Indian High Commissioner in London, the late Sir Atul Chatterjee.

Ramananda has never been an admier of the League of Nations. During its earlier and nascent days he used to look upon the league as virtually a League of robbers on account of the endowment of large and profitable mandates to selected and favoured members of the European big three. Later, when the League's Convention was virtually reshaped and amended, he conceded that in certain spheres of human activity the League might prove a useful clearing house of international co-operation and mutual assistance and coordination. He did not, however believe that the League, especially having th notorious *unanimity* clause in its Convention, could possibly ever function as an effective instrument of international restraint and order with a view to prevent resort to arms as a means of settling disputes between nations. But in the spheres of evolving an international standard of human conditions of work for labour in factories, for rooting out the notorious international white-slave traffic and in similar other spheres, the League may, if it were prepared to direct its resources towards the achievement of such objectives, prove a very useful forum for common action by nations. It is presumable that since the *Modern Review* had quite an enviable circulation in many parts of Europe, especially England and in America, and having especial regard to the fact that the dominant element in the personnel of the League Secretariat consisted mostly of the English and Frenchmnen, the public expressed views of Ramananda Chatterjee on the limitations of the League's effective role as an international forum, would have been quite well known. When, therefore, Ramananda accepted the invitation to visit the League Assembly during its seventh annual session on the conditions mentioned above, it might not have been accepted with the good grace that one might otherwise have expected. There was, however, nothing that they could do about it, although they could as they appear to have determined to do so, make his visit comparatively a fruitless and, in any case, quite an unpalatable one for the visitor. In the matter of the normal facilities as regards access to certain committee meetings, publications of the League and other similar but generally useful matters, Ramananda appears to have been treated with a measure of indifference, if not with downright rudeness which amaze most people. The League was being virtually ridden by the European big three, England, France and Italy at that time and anyone coming to the League's annual convention either as a formal delegate of the concerned Government from a dependency of any of these three or even as an invitee of the League itself, would most vehemently not be expected to have any independent opinion or views of his own apart from the official views of the Government of the country to which he belonged. When Ramananda sent his

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

acceptance of the League's invitation on condition that he would be expected to bear all the expenses of the visit entirely on his own without any assistance from the League so that his independence as an objective journalistic observor may not in in any way be circumscribed, they realised that they could not expect him to echo the official points of view of the League. This was a man who was determined to examine for himself all that the League did, claimed to do or was out to do and he would not be deterred by anything from offering his independent and well considered views concerning them. Ramananda found a general atmosphere of resentment against him prevailing in the Geneva secretariat when he arrived there and throughout his stay he was denied access to the information he sought or interviews with officials which the League secretariat itself of its own accord had earlier offered to arrange for him. There may not have been any crude demonstration of what is generally known as downright rudeness to him during his visit, but what was meted out to him could hardly be called courteous as the rightful due of a leading and representative journalist of his country of the highest possible standing and integrity as Ramananda reputedly was. In a letter from Geneva to his youngest son, who was then acting in the capacity of editor of both *Prabasi* and *Modern Review* during his father's absence from the country, he complained that none of the facilities that were formerly promised to be made available to him during the visit were now not being provided.

There obviously was cause for great resentment and even bad temper after the manner in which, being used throughout a life time to being treated differently in his own home by both his own nationals as well as by foreign visitors, he was treated at Geneva. But such was the nature of the man and his unusual sense of balance, that he would not allow any kind of personal resentment or rancour, however great the provocation, to cloud the pristine clarity of his vision or the unfailing objectivity of his approach to a public question. His "Letters from the Editor" written from Geneva and elsewhere on the continent during his European visit are incisive enough in their scathing criticism of the scope, as well as the techniques whereby the League of Nations functions and expresses itself, but they are wholly objective and coldly above all emotional outbursts or passions. They are rather like the dispassionate and wholly un-emotional assessment of a completely disinterested and unaffected judge on the bench. On the other hand, his decision to refuse any financial reimbursement of the expenses of his visit by the League, a measure which was considered wholly unnecessary, even foolish. by most of his friends and others, was fully vindicated by what transpired at Geneva vis-a-vis his own visit to the League of Nations. His view that the League of Nations had only a very limited field of usefulness and even that limited scope was being wasted by frustrating intrigues and power-manouvres by those who dominated its counsels and its secretariat and, consequently, it had only a very murky and uncertain future, proved quite prophetic. The excuses and subterfuges by which the concerned League Officials denied to him access to papers and reports relating to the mandated territories and their administration, exposed a measure of weakness which repudiated the very basis of the League of Nations as an impartial agency for international cooperation and understanding on the basis of equality between the nations.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Second Great War

When the second Great War burst upon the world during the latter part of 1939, threatening the existence of human civilization to its very foundations, Ramananda was at the pinnacle of his glory. He was not merely the very doyen among Indian journalists, but as an elder statesman of a world-wide standing, his counsels wewre sought and regarded with the deepest respect by front rank political leaders of all shades of opinion. We have already mentioned in passing the high esteem in which he was held by Mahatma Gandhi. It is reflected in the letter which Mahatmaji's Secretary, Shri Pearey Lal wrote to Ramananda under the former's instructions requesting that the latter should regularly write for the *Harijan* when the Mahatmaji would, as he foresaw, be carried off to goal for his political activities.

Like the true historian that Ramananda was, he could naturally foresee the inevitable cataclysmic climax to which events in Europe had been building up for a long time with the risse of the Fascist power and political philosophy under Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini. Like the rest of the world he was a helpless onlooker at events which he was powerless to divert to more wholesome and constructive channels. He could only hope against hope along with many other sober and constructive thinkers of the world that the cataclysm towards which the human race was heading might still be averted and the progress of civilization might continue to wend its difficult and uphill way towards a broader universalism in political thinking and organization.

When the war burst upon humanity with its devastating impact, it naturally pained him most deeply. But what concerned him more immediately at that juncture was the manner in which British policy would be directed in its relations to its great Indian dependency and the rest of the British Empire. The British as one of the principal allies against the evil Fascist aggression upon democracy and civilization, naturally claimed that they were out to fight this unprovoked and evil aggression so that democracy might survive and its future safety ensured for all times to come. And yet so far as India and other dependencies of the British Empire were concerned, they continued to deny these people the very basic democratic rights to self-government. That the Imperial Government of Britain would exploit the resources of these depencies even more widely than normally to fight the war was inevitable. But the crucial question, so far as India was concerned was to what extent, if any, the British Indian Government would be prepared to associate the people of the country in real terms to fight this war. It may be recalled that at the moment when the War burst upon the world, a sort of a patch-work compromise had led to the assumption of office by the Indian National Congress in the governments of the Indian provinces under the terms of the Government of India Act, 1935. The Federal part of the Act of 1935 had not yet been implemented and the people had no share in the government at the Centre and had no part whatever to play in shaping and directing the foreign relations and the defence of the country. As the war broke out, the question as to whether the Indian peoples' consent would be sought before associating the country in the war on the side of the allies assumed a crucial importance. That it became soon obvious, the British Government were not prepared to even consider, let alone concede. By a fair

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Central Government functioning under the Viceroy in Council, India was formally made a party in the war without the people of India. through their elected representatives, on however limited a franchise it might then have been based, being given any opportunity to express their willingness or otherwise to participate.

This led to an inevitable cleavage between the Government at the Centre under the Viceroy and those of the provinces consisting of elected representatives of the people. The Congress stand was both sober and sane. It was prepared to give its whole-hearted support to the allies in fighting the war of aggression by Fascism upon the democratic world provided, of course, that it were enabled to participate on an equal footing in shaping and directing policy so far as defence was concerned. The British were prepared only to concede that the question would be considered after the cessation of hostilities, but in the meanwhile the Indian people must willingly participate in the Government's war effort as it was being directed by the Viceroy in Council. The two obviously diametrically opposite views could never be expected to meet on common ground and the Congress resigned office in the governments of all the Indian provinces in vindication of its stand in this behalf. Ramananda stood staunchly by the Congress point of view in this regard. He analysed with characteristic objectivity that the symbol of power without substance was wrose than having no power at all. Ramananda's views on the measure of self-governmnt conceded to India under the terms of the Government of India Act, 1935, had already been clearly stated in a series of articles contributed earlier to the columns of the well known American periodical, the *Asia*. In an article antitled "This is not Self-Government" contributed to the *Asia* by Ramananda, it was demonstrated in the light of dispassionate and cold logic, that what the Act conceded was by no means what was desired, nor was it self-government in any sense of the term. The very fact that the representatives of the Indian people had no sort of hand in shaping the Act which gave to them this claimed institution of self-Government under the Government of India Act, 1935, was enough to repudiate such a suggestion.

This did not, however, prevent him from giving his fullest support to the fighting of the war against fascism. He realised that democracy was on its trial in this war and the interests of the progress of human civilization demanded that the issue must be carried to a successful conclusion. But he pointed out at the same time in no uncertain terms that the western democracies must, to be able to win the willing and wholehearted support of the anti-fascisti world, prove their democratic *bona fides* by voluntarily giving up their imperial possessions and conceding to the people thus freed from the shackless of empire, their basic democratic right to rule themselves in accordance with the respective genius of these peoples. Only then could the war against fascism be transformed into a real *peoples' war.*

Crisis in Civilization

The anomaly of imperialists claiming to fight for the survival of democracy so long as they continued to hold on to their imperialist possessions denying the people concerned their basic human rights, caused the deepest resentment in Ramananda. It was not merely the fact of the Indian peoples' representatives being by-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

passed by the British imperial government of the country in the conduct of the war on the Indian soil, it was the very principle of the thing involving all peoples under imperialist domination by nations professing to be champions of democracy in the world, that caused this resentment and Ramananda continued to voice this resentment in his characteristically precise, objective and wholly unemotional style in the columns of his famous periodicals from month to month.

It was at this juncture, in May 1941, that Rabindranath, in one of his last and final testaments to the peoples of the world, gave voice to his now famous sermon, "Crisis in Civilization." The poet was already on the sick bed from which he was destined never to rise again, for it was in August the same year that he passed away. Enfeebled by sickness and old age as the poet already was this, practically his final oration to the peoples of the world, was invested with a vigour of expression, a direct and uncompromising forthrightness and, at the same time, with such unbounded faith in humanity and civilization, that it has come to attain the status of a testament to the peoples of the world. With prophetic vision the poet declared:

"The wheels of fate will one day compel the English to give up their Indian Empire. But what kind of India will they leave behind, what stark misery? When the stream of their two centuries' administration runs dry at last, what a waste of mud and filth they will leave behind them. I had at one time believed that the springs of civilization would issue out of the heart of Europe. But to-day when I am about to quit the world, that faith has gone bankrupt altogether..

As I look around I see the crumbling ruins of a proud civilization strewn like a vast heap of futility. And yet I shall not commit the grievous sin of losing faith in Man . . . . A day will come when the unvanquished Man will retrace his path of conquest, despite all barriers, to win back his lost human heritage."

It can be easily visualized that such an oration would fully reflect all that Ramananda held dear in his life and to uphold which he has fought single-handed the greed and the avarice of a most powerful section of the civilized world consistently and unrelentingly for very nearly half a century. The second Great War, he visualized, was both a disaster and an opportunity for the whole human race. The accumulated garbage and filth of centuries of avarice, greed and exploitation had to be expiated before the ground could be cleared for raising the standards of civilization once again on the foundation of the dignity of Man and a universalist integration of the entire human race. It was this for which he had been consistently labouring over decades of hard and unremitting effort and the poet's great pronouncement coming, as it did, at this juncture, would seem to have upheld all that he had been working for. It was both an inspiration and a much needed support.

The poet's testament struck such a deep cord in the thinking of Ramananda that we find this being featured most prominently in the columns of both the *Modern Review* and the *Prabasi* by way of both reproductions of the original text as well as in the shape of the editor's own appreciative observations. The disastrous aspects of the War had to be taken note of by any objective analyst of the then world situation and Ramananda's own analyses in that connection were, perhaps, the most realistic of any that were published during those times in this country.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It was in the innumerable notes and comments towards such an end that the contributions of Ramananda have to be appreciated. Even his worst detractors could never accuse Ramananda of being a misanthrope and if the devastations of the War caused him inevitable pain and an inescapable sense of horror, he was still clear-headed enough to realise that the thinking of the world, and especially those of his own countrymen, had to be consistently directed towards an evaluation of the opportunities it might nevertheless offer from what the poet describes as this "crumbling heap of futility." Historical realist as he was, he clearly foresaw that the War would be bound, at least, to achieve one great thing,—the eventual liquidation of imperialism and colonialism. It is possible that both these evils would seek to re-establish their reign in other ways and in changed forms and it was necessary that there should be clear thinking and assessment of the situation as it was likely to develop after the war so that such dangers may be guarded against and their reappearance finally and wholly obviated. In this penultimate period of his earthly labours, Ramananda's contributions to rational thinking would, perhaps, one day be assessed in their true perspective and recognized as, perhaps, the greatest phase of his long life of endeavour and achievements.

And yet not all can be lost. For the heritage of clear thinking in this behalf is all there in imperishable record for our people to enter upon their true inheritance when the time is ripe for it. What would seem to be needed is that these should be carefully studied and assessed and their real worth set in the appropriate perspective to enable the growing generation of our country men and women to benefit by such clear and objective thinking. There is hardly any cause for deploring the present situation for this was, in the circumstances in which we achieved our independence from British domination, more or less inevitable. Every people, however, has to earn its own **freedom** in the positive sense by conscious and unremitting effort. The first requisite is an understanding of the concept in its fundamentals. Ramananda's would be found to be among the most clear-headed among all those of our predecessors who had worked through a life time towards such an end. When the time comes for a correct assessment of the contributions of Ramananda Chatterjee to the content of the thinking of his times, his positive concept of what freedom should connote to humanity, much more than his exploits as a great journalist, as a creator of tastes and opinions, would seem to be most outstanding achievement.

The Man and the Journalist

It is seldom that a man finds opportunities for fully expressing while, at the same time, fulfilling himself, through his chosen vocation. With most men wide intervening

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

areas of frustrations and dissatisfaction between the man and his vocation indicate the sterile patches in his life in more or lesser degree. In Ramananda one finds a notable exception to this common human experience. In his case, the man and the vocation of his choice were inseperably integrated with each other and one can hardly think of Ramananda separately from his **Prabasi** or the **Modern Review** or even any of the stupendous works of which he was the publisher although he was not himself their author. An instance in point is the late Major B. D. Basu's "The Rise Of the Christian Power in India" in 5 volumes.

He was a person without any of the externals of ostentation. Quiet and softly spoken he was apparently wihout any of the baser passions that lead to bluster and bludgeons. But hidden within he nursed everlastingly the consuming passions of the man of the inner-strength which expressed themselves through his work and in the quiet courage of the really intrepid. When he had to face both heavy financial penalties and even the threat of incarceration for having dared to publish that outspoken book by an equally courageous American, "India in Bondage" by Dr. Jabez T. Sunderland—he was actually arrested and carried off to a police lock up for a while on the occasion—he remained his own calm and undisturbed self and was never known to have expressed personal resentment against the agencies of the alien Government which had led to such treatment being meted out to him.

And yet no man, however great and self-controlled he may be, could be wholly without occasional senses of frustration and bewilderment. When in December, 1932, Rabindranath had sent to him a review of the book "Rebel India" by Brailsford, he was painfully obliged to return the same for certain minor amendments before publication in order to be able to avoid the legal bans then prevailing upon the scope of legitimate criticisms of the Government that a newspaper may be permitted to offer. This was something which hurt his innate sense of right and justice and in the covering letter to the poet he observes—"The humiliation of being unable to express what I know to be wholly true, has been robbing me my night's of sleep".

Ramananda has, undoubtedly been one of the greatest journalists that the country has so far produced. There might have been others who have shone with effulgent brilliance in some one or other department of journalistic endeavour for a while but for consistent and constructive journalism which has never yielded the slightest concession to what has been considered wrong and evil and has never been weak enough not to acknowledge what was right and beneficial with instant and appropriate acclamation, which has always given pride of place in his journalistic efforts to the building up of a healthy, wholesome, courageous and progressive public opinion, rather than merely reflective

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

prevailing opinions and events, there has never yet been his peer in this land.

Still, as the Poet said in his famous peroration in the lyric "Tajmahal", a stanza which Ramananda himself quoted as the preamble to his obituary note on the poet, he was, as a man, greater than his work. It was his immortal soul which he believed to be wholly deathless, that was the very fountainhead of all his endeavours and achievements. Glories of history, monuments of past greatness may outlive the ravages of time for a while, but be it in a short while or in a thousand years, in accordance with the quality of the material of which they are built, they all ultimately are inevitably destined to crumble into dust and ashes. It is the inner soul of man of which his physical achievements and intellectual and cultural triumphs are the mere outward expression, which is deathless and immortal. It is to that inner man in Ramananda, whose intellectual and moral achievements and triumphs are but the outer and physical expressions, to whom we offer the homage of our grateful remembrance on this the centenary of his birth.

Let the realization, that the inner man is truly greater than his achievements, dawn upon our consciousness and realization. Times pass, fashions change, values go through new transmutations, manners of expression change. And in this ever-changing panorama of the physical life the one thing that remains changeless, deathless, immortal, is the soul of man. Recorded history must faithfully portray the physical and moral achievements of humanity in both their individual and collective expressions. In other days and in other climes they will all be destined, eventually, to loose the living significance which they had in their appropriate context, but the man behind will always remain as fresh, as significant, as much without any change or decay as when he first dawned upon this earth. Let the frustrating fears of death be removed from our consciousness; May the realization of immortality, in all its effulgent glory dawn in our understanding!

परैतु मृत्युरमृतम् न एतु

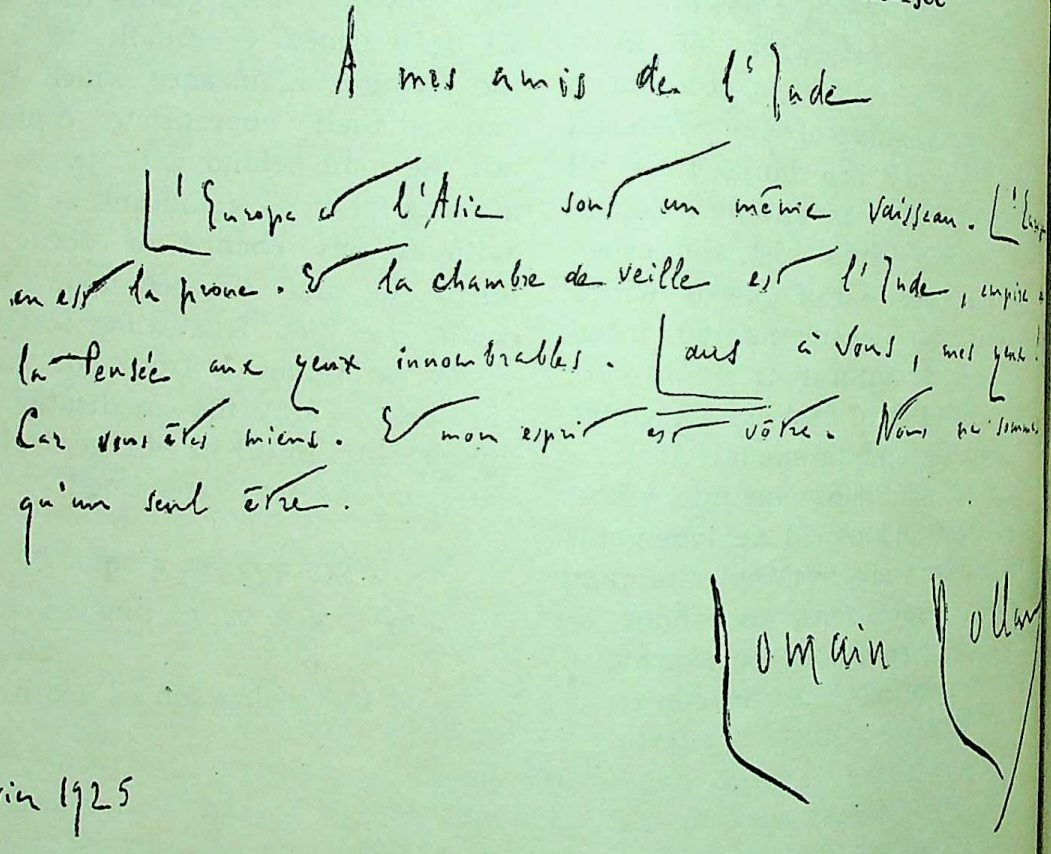
May death be eliminated from
all life
And the realization of deathless-
ness dawn

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

letters to and from Ramananda Chatterjee

From M. Romain Rolland to Ramananda Chatterjee



29 janvier 1925

To My Friends of India

(Asia and Europe form parts of the same vessel, of which the prow is Europe and the watch-chamber India, the Empress of thought, with eyes innumerable. Glory to thee, mine eyes! Thou art mine and my soul is Thine. We are but one and the same being.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

From Mahatma Gandhi to Ramananda Chatterjee

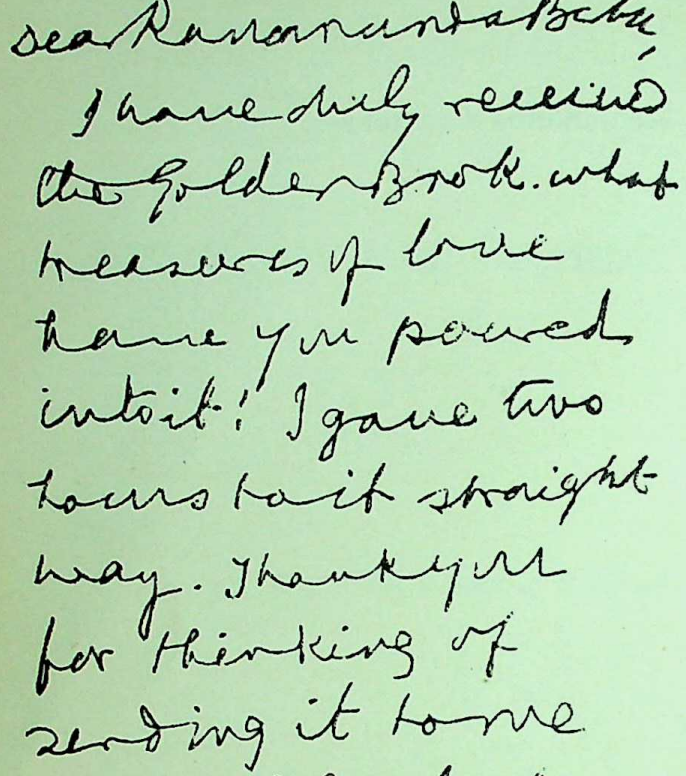
Dear Ramanand Babu,
May I ask you for
the same courtesy
you extended to me
during my last
incarceration?
I did see the current
issue of the Modern
Review.
Y. C. P. Yours sincerely,
22:1:32 M. K. Gandhi

V.C.P.

Dear Ramanand Babu,
Many thanks
for the Modern
Review. Do please
send me 'The Golden
Book of Tagore'. It
will be allowed.
My love to Surendra
when you meet him.
Y. C. P. Yours sincerely,
6 2/32 M. K. Gandhi

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Dear Ramananda Babu,
I have duly received the Golden Book. What treasures of love have you poured into it! I gave two hours to it straightway. Thankyou for thinking of sending it to me here. Had I got it outside I would not have been able to go beyond opening it and laying it down with a sigh.
Y. C. P. yours sincerely
16/7 M. K. Gandhi

From Ramananda to Rabindranath

Dated, Bankura,
20th Ashar, 1305 B.S.
(July, 1898)

Respected Sir,

I am very much obliged to you for the poem which you have so kindly contributed for publication in the *Prodeep*.

In course of an article published in the Jaishtha (June) issue of the *Bharati* you have inquired about local manufactures (in different parts of the country). In two localities of this town of Bankura called Rampur and Gopinathpur, several varieties of chintzes, very much like those from Goalundo or Ludhiana, are manufactured. In addition superior quality tussore coating, dhoty and saree, bafta shirting and very attractive table cloths are also manufactured here. All kinds of household utensils (of brass and bell metal) are also manufactured in Bankura town. Of these, principally fancy quality casquets, water-containers, dishes in the pattern of porcelein dishes are also exported to other districts. If the Manager of the Swadesh-Bastu-Bhander will address his inquiries in this behalf to Shri Ramnath Mukherjee, Manager of Mukherjee & Co. here, the latter will be able to supply all necessary particulars relating to the names of the artisans concerned, their address, prices of the materials concerned, the rules relating to and arrangements for consignments to Calcutta etc., will be available.

A kind of brass jug is also manufactured in Midnapore which are really beautiful in workmanship. Lanterns manufactured here for common household purposes are also very artistic.

Yours respectfully,
Sd. Ramananda Chatterjee

[The above is a literal English rendering of a letter written in Bengalee. As far as records are available, this appears to be the oldest among available letters written by Ramananda to Rabindranath.

43, Wellesley Street,
Calcutta, 21.1.36.

Revered Sir,

I have received a letter from Pro-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

by yesterday's air mail (I have not yet received the booklet mentioned therein). I suppose you must also have received a similar letter. If India has to participate in the efforts for world peace, the leadership of such an effort in this country must be assumed by yourself. I am, therefore, asking for your advice in this matter. Needless to add that your directions in this behalf will have my fullest support and agreement.

I have been studying the new edition of your book *Education* (Siksha). At least some of the essays included in the book need to be published in their English version; that will enable the whole of educated India and also people abroad to be benefitted. Has the essay called *Tapovan* been translated in English? If not, it would be greatly helpful if you or some of your professors will do so. You have averred that much of what has been said in this essay have also been said by yourself in English. But I do not remember to have come across an English rendering of the entire essay.

Reverently yours,
Sd. Ramananda Chatterjee.

Enclo :—

Dear Sir,

We have the honour to send to-day by same mail the pamphlet :

"The Entire World For Peace."

containing declarations and articles by leading personalities of all peace movements in the world.

Lord Cecil, the Archbishop of York, Phillip Nowl Baker, Pierre Cot former Air Minister, Prof. Ruyssen, General Secretary of the League of Nations Union, Leon Jouhaux, Vice President of the International Trade Unions, Grumback, the Director of the Socialist Party, Senator Robin, Belgian Socialist, and others, have agreed to the fact that the present situation imposses a Universal movement for peace.

In the spirit of its initiators this movement shall, naturally, group without distinction of political opinion all forces supporting the principle of peaceful collaboration of the people of the entire world and with the League of Nations.

We have learnt with great joy of your adhesion given to the Initiative Committee for preparation of the World Congress for Peace and hope that there soon will be formed with your active help and support Committees in India, after the example of those we have been creating in Paris, London and Geneva, envisaging the sending of ample delegations to the Universal Congress for Peace which, as we hope, will take place in June 1936 in London.

We would appreciate it very highly if you would consent also to send us a declaration for the second edition of this pamphlet, which we are considering for the near future. Knowing your admirable and never-ceasing activities for Peace, we are approaching you with the demand to support our movement in India and we would be very glad if you and some other well-known personalities would accept to encourage and to patronate an edition of the pamphlet in India.

Sincerely yours,
Sd. Louis Dolivet

1, Wood Street,
Calcutta, 17th Chaitra, 1345 B.S.
(March, 1938)

Respected Sir,

I feel it is necessary to promote researches into the benefits that the country derived from the activities of the Tattvabodhini Sabha in respect of the Bengali language and literature and in other ways. It appears to me that because the Sabha was inspired by the ideals and the religion of the Brahmo Samaj and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

because the Principal Acharya (Minister) of the Brahmo Samaj was its principal executive, there is a deliberate attempt to ignore and suppress the contributions to and significance of the activities of the Sabha in the life of the community. But even if it were not so, it does not seem likely that the nineteenth century writers of Bengal will do full justice to the Tattvabodhini Sabha. For this reason it would be helpful (towards a proper evaluation of the contributions of the Sabha) if you could, either under the aegis of the Visva-Bharati or otherwise, promote researches, lectures, discussions, etc., on the Sabha's activities and contributions. At the appropriate time the centenary of the Sabha might also be celebrated.

Reverently yours,
Sd. Ramananda Chatterjee
43, Wellesly Street,
Calcutta, 17. 9. 34.

Respected Sir,

You may have noticed that at p.254 of the September issue of the *Modern Review* I have published your "Massage To The Society Of Friends, Ireland" under the heading, "Moral Warfare." This was one of your earlier writings, possibly sent to the Quakers of Ireland when you were living in England. It was with me and was not previously published. Searching for something suitable for the front-page article of the September issue I discovered this. After I had given it to the press, I received your article entitled, "I am He". "Moral Warfare" had already been fully composed and, besides, it was also very good. So, both have been published simultaneously.

Although no formal warning has been issued by the Press Officer, he verbally told Kedarnath, that it contained objectionable expression. Possibly because it refers to Mahatma Gandhi, to warfare against "the evils", to the "cowardly violence of evil" against which you suggest that "spiritual powers" should be arrayed and because you opine that "aggressive power pitifully fails when human nature bears insult and pain without retaliating" and similar other expressions of opinion. So that it is construed (according to the Press Officer) that it is an attack on the Government of India. Kedar has replied that it was not especially written or intended against the Government of India, but really refers generally to relations between nations. The Press Officer retorted that he had better inquire from the readers how they have construed it. Kedar replied that he would ask the author himself what he meant.

It is, of course, obvious that you did not intend this to be an attack upon the British Government particularly, although like all other wrong-doing nations it may also apply to them.

If you send a reply, that need not be shewn to the Press Officer. But if there is an occasion when Kedar might meet him he would then be able to acquaint him with your own views on the matter. Kedar did not know that it was written long ago and as I had not kept any record of the year and date of its composition, I was not able to publish it under the appropriate date line.

Reverently yours,
Sd. Ramananda Chatterjee
Santiniketan.
6th Bhadra, 1332 B.S.
(September, 1925)

To
Sj. Rabindranath Tagore,
Founder-Chancellor,
Visva-Bharati.

Dear Sir,

When I had, temporarily for a period of five months, accepted the post of the Principal of the Siksha Bhabana, I was under the impression that the institution shall not be subject to any control or

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

inspection by any outside authority. I now find that this impression was erroneous. In the letter from the Registrar of the Calcutta University which accords permission for students of the Visva-Bharati to sit for the I.A. and B.A. examinations of his University, the condition has been imposed that the University shall have the right to have the Visva-Bharati or the Siksha Bhabana inspected periodically at its discretion by one or more officers of the said university. I do not know what the reactions of the authorities of the Visva-Bharati may have been to this condition. But I am unable and unwilling to carry responsibility for an institution which is subject to control or inspection by any external authority. For this reason I am regretfully submitting my resignation of my post as Principal of the Siksha Bhabana. I shall be grateful if you will kindly accept the same.

Obediently yours,
Sd. Ramananda Chatterjee
Principal, Siksha Bhabana

Santiniketan,
7th Bhadra, 1332 B.S.
(September, 1925)

Respected Sir,

I hope you have duly received the letter of resignation which I sent to you yesterday.

I have studied the relevent clauses of the Regulations of the Calcutta University under which they have accorded permission to the Visva-Bharati to send up candidates for their examinations. There is nothing in the regulations entitling the Calcutta University to claim right of inspection or otherwise.

Those other universitise which accord recognition to the examinations and degrees of Calcutta University do not appear to have done so on condition that they would have rights to inspect the University.

However, these are matters for your own discretion. Personally, being unable to accept such a condition, I am resigning my appointment. I shall be obliged if you will kindly accept the same.

Reverently yours,
Sd. Ramananda Chatterjee
120|2, Upper Circular Road,
Calcutta, 7th Dec., 1932.

Respected Sir,

Of the three letters you have sent me for publication in the *Paus* issue of the *Prabasi* under the feature "Patra-Dhara" (Stream of letters), I have been unable to publish the first. The reason should be obvious to you.

For a similar reason, I am marking certain portions of your article on Mr Brailsford's book for your consideration. I shall be obliged if you will do the needful about them and return the article to me.

The humiliation flowing from my inability to publish what I know to be wholly true has been robbing me of my sleep.

I shall explain everything when I have an opportunity to meet you again.

Reverently yours,
Sd. Ramananda Chatterjee.

The article under reference :

The unnatural relation of the race of the rulers to that of the ruled, representing the subjection of an entire country made profitable to an entire nation living aloof across an enormous distance must kill *moral probity* (honesty) because it kills human sympathy.

Very few individuals can be expected to resist the moral contamination which such imperialistic parasitism must

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

engender and nowhere is the tragedy of fine minds succumbing to the insidious poison of racial arrogance made more evident than amongst the Englishmen in India whose self-dowered prestige must at all costs be preserved by *ruthless* (military) power. One waits in vain, therefore, for a voice of protest from this privileged community against the *enormities* (unsympathetic treatment) that *are being perpetrated* (is being meted out) in their name and with their cognizance *amongst* (to) a people whom they know to be defenceless and whose most pitifully human claims must needs be *smothered* (neglected) by the *most brutally inhuman* (the impersonal) spirit of law and order. Moral integrity with regard to its hapless victims is an unnecessary item in the make up of a commercial policy whose *sole objective is merely* (ambition) to reap dividends with the maximum of speed and comfort.

"Rebel India", I repeat, is an honest book. Reading it, I feel encouraged to hope that individual Englishmen in our land will emulate his attitude of sober judgment and, no matter how inconvenient it may be to do so, dare face facts as they really are to-day in India.

Santiniketan.

Sd. Rabindranath Tagore.

AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN DR RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND MR RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE Re: TRANSLATION, PRINTING AND PUBLICATION OF RABINDRANATH'S BENGALI WORKS IN HINDI

To

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee.
91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

This is to put on record the agreement arrived at between us that:

1. You are to have the sole right to translate or cause to be translated into Hindi and to print, and publish any or all of my published works in Bengali in consideration of your paying to me in yearly instalments by the second week of every January a royalty of 20 per cent on the published price of each and everyone of such Hindi publications.
2. You will be at liberty to translate or cause to be translated into Hindi all my published works in Bengali as referred to above and you will have the right to publish such Hindi translations in one or more editions which you consider necessary, subject to my right to royalty as hereinbefore stated.
3. That in respect of any Hindi translation of any of my works heretofore made and published with or without my permission, I hereby give you full power and authority to negotiate or deal with the publisher in such a way as you may think fit and if in any case you should be able to realise any money from them on my behalf you will pay me same deducting 5 per cent thereof which you shall be entitled to retain for your trouble.
4. I hereby declare that to the best of my knowledge there is no valid binding agreement now subsisting between myself and anyone else for the publication of any Hindi translation of my works in Bengali. If any such agreement should come to light hereafter, I undertake to do all I can legally to revoke the same.

Sd. Rabindranath Tagore.

6, Dwarkanath Tagore Lane.
Calcutta.
The 4th May, 1928.

I accept the terms of this agreement.
Sd. Ramananda Chatterjee.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"At the time of my visit to England, Sir J. C. Bose was spending some days at Great Missenden, a village in Buckinghamshire. I went to see him and Lady Bose one day. The village being situated at some distance from the Railway station. Lady Bose very kindly came to the station, thinking perhaps that I might otherwise have some difficulty in discovering their whereabouts. The great scientist was then engaged in writing a new book. He and Lady Bose resided in a house which formed part of a Garden School for girls which was then closed for the vacation. I found the village scenery quite delightful. I enjoyed a walk through a pine wood in the morning. Lady Bose showing Sir J. C. Bose and myself the way. I had intended to return to London the same day, but as I was asked to stay for a day, I, as an old student of the great professor, felt bound to obey. One of the women teachers of the school explained to us the method and system of education followed in the school and showed us some of the painting and literary work done by the girls as well as the geological and other scientific collections made by them. The girls' work, all done by them without their teachers' help was quite remarkable. Professor Bose also showed and explained to me his new instrument. When the teacher of the school was showing us the pupils' work, one of the pupils came to the door on horseback from her neighbouring village home. On seeing her approaching the teacher rose, exclaiming, "O Mary!" But for this exclamation, I could not have perceived at once that the rider was a girl. For she wore what seemed to me like male riding costume and rode like a man with her two legs on the two sides of the saddle. Her hair, too, was cut short. On nearer view, of course, and probably helped by the name Mary, I found something in her looks which would not be found in a boy of the same age. The sanitary arrangements in this school in a small village are as up-to-date as in town houses in England. The day of my return to London being a Sunday, no bus or other conveyance was available in that small village by which I could go to the railway station. I did not also know the way to the station. So Sir J. C. Bose and Lady Bose very kindly walked with me to that place in the hot sun for about three quarters of an hour. This they did of their own record, it being impossible for me to make any such request. As soon as I had reached the gate of the station, a train to London left it. I was, however, told by the station-master that I should have another in 21 minutes, which I did. In the compartment of the train in which I was, there were at first two young Englishmen; subsequently a number of little schoolboys entered. While in it some papers happened to fall from my hands on the floor of my carriage. Immediately one of the young men picked it up and gave it to me, for which I thanked him. I mention this trifling incident, because in India few Englishmen or Anglo-Indians, however, young or old, would think of being obliging to an unknown India, or, for that matter, to the best known Indian I have heard that Indian students in some British Universities and other Indians elsewhere in Great Britain do not always receive just and polite treatment. That is quite probable."

(*The Modern Review*, March. 1927)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LETTERS FROM THE EDITOR

"Though I will not attempt any detailed description of the Museum, I must try to give some idea of its library and reading room.

In 1850, in point of magnitude, the British Museum stood fourth in the list of European Libraries. It now holds the second place, the Paris National Library ranking as first. In foreign books the British Museum Library is the finest in the world. In 1923, it contained nearly four million printed volumes; the number is certainly larger now. For since 1900, the annual additions from all quarters, exclusive of about 350,000 continuations, music, newspapers, etc., average about 30,000. Another account says that the annual increase is at the rate of 50,000. The length of shelving is 50 miles.

As I was only a visitor, not a ticket-holder, I could obtain permission to go into the reading room only as far as the doorway and see the room. It is a huge circular hall accommodating between 450 and 500 readers, who sit at desks radiating like the spokes of a wheel from two concentric circles, in the inner of which sit the officials, while the printed catalogue, comprising about 1,000 volumes, is ranged round the outer circle. The dome is 106 feet high and has a diameter of 140 feet, being second only to the Pantheon of Rome and that but by 2½ feet. About 20,000 volumes most in request, such as dictionaries, encyclopaedias, etc., are ranged in shelves round the Reading Room itself and may be consulted without fiilling up a form. "Readers" average nearly 400 daily. The number of visitors to the reading room of the Imperial Library in Calcutta was 41,660 in 1925-26 and the number of requisitions for books not in the open shelf collection in the reading room was 25,664 in the same year. Considering that Calcutta is a much smaller city than London, that it is less literate and that the Imperial Library is a much smaller library than the British Museum Library, Calcutta's record is not quite discouraging.

To return to the British Museum.

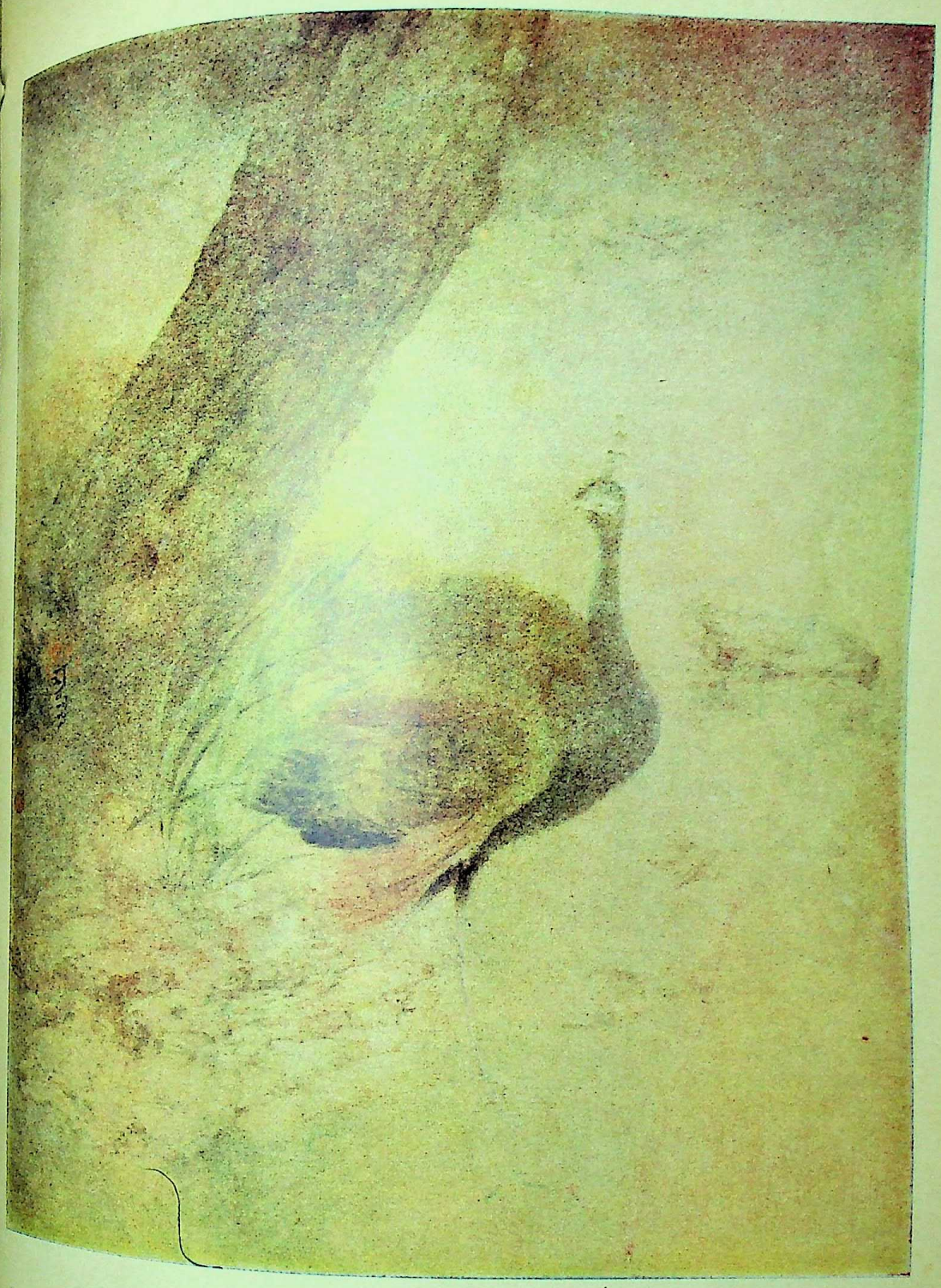
From the doorway of the Reading Room I saw a few hundred readers studying and consulting books in perfect silence. One of the porters showed me the arrangement of the movable or 'sliding' book cases. Of course, he expected a tip, which was paid. Europe, Great Britain not excepted, is considered a part and the principal part of Christendom; it might also be justly styled Tip-dom, the payment of tips being the rule everywhere.

At present the contents of the museum are arranged under twelve departments—viz., *Bloomsbury*: Printed Books, with printed music and maps, Manuscripts, Oriental Printed Books and Mss. Prints and Drawings (with the sub-departments of Oriental Prints and Drawings), Oriental Antiquities, Greek and Roman Antiquities, Coins and Medals, British and Mediaeval Antiquities, Ceramics and Ethnography; *South Kensington*; Zoology, Entomology, Botany, Geology, and Mineralogy.

I can now only enumerate the galleries and rooms I saw. The Roman gallery, the three Graeco-Roman rooms, the gallery of casts, the Archaic room, the Ephesus room, The Elgin room, the Phigaleian room, the Mausoleum room, the Neried room, the Assyrian saloon, the six Egyptian rooms, the Nineveh gallery, the four Vase rooms, the Bronze room, the room of gold ornaments and gems, the terra-cotta antiquities room, the principal staircase on the walls of which are Buddhist sculptures,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Prabasi Press, Calcutta]

THE CLOUD MESSENGER [Kalidasa
By : Abanindranath Tagore

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Plaquette room, the coin and medal room, the Asiatic saloon containing specimens of Japanese and Chinese porcelain carvings and metal work, the Indian religious room, the Bhuddist room, the Iron Age gallery, the Maudslay collection of Maya sculptures from Central America, the Ethnographic collection, pottery glass and mediaeval antiquities, the manuscript saloon, newspaper room, etc. The rooms are all large halls.

The Egyptian sculptures represent human and allegorical figures, sometimes of colossal size. Some of these gigantic statues look as fresh today as when they were cut and chiselled. I saw the famous Rosetta Stone which furnished the key to the Egyptian hieroglyphics. Of very melancholy interest were the Egyptian mummies. They must have originated in a longing for immortality or rebirth—perhaps in immortality or rebirth in the original human body. One grave has been kept in an Egyptian room, with its mummy reduced to skin and bones and the earthen vessels, containing the food and drink (no longer to be found), placed in the grave by the relatives of the deceased for his use in the next world. And the object of all this solicitude of theirs now one of the gruesome things to be seen in a museum !

The Assyrian antiquities mainly consist of sculptures in low relief, the subjects being the exploits of the king whose palace walls they ornamented. The Hittite remains with hieroglyphic inscriptions as yet undeciphered are also here.

Some of the Maya sculptures from Central America were colossal. The inscriptions of them are in an as yet undeciphered script or hieroglyphic.

I do not know whether I saw all the Indian antiquities, but it struck me that the Indian sculptural collection was not as large as some of the others. This is rather fortunate. For the less we have to go to foreign countries to study even our own history, etc., the better. The sculptures from the Amaravati stupa, which I found adorning the wall of a staircase, were generously (!) donated by some former Secretary of State for India. As soon as I read the words to that effect, I was reminded of our proverbial expression, "parer dhane poddari", "to be generous at others' expense." But is not might right ?

The British Museum and other similar museums ought to give their visitors an adequate idea of the vastness, variety and antiquity of human civilisation, and cure them of narrow patriotic pride and vanity. I do not know whether the British Museum has contributed to any extent to make the British people broad-minded and free from insular pride and vanity. Nor do I know whether they realise that this vast collection represents robbery and plunder to some extent at least. But howsoever the collection may have been made, let us hope that the British people will make not only an intellectual but also a moral use of it.

Such collections have many lessons for us too. One is that we do not take a sufficient interest in the antiquities of even our own country, whereas the range of interest of European nations embraces the whole world. Many of them are authorities not only in subjects relating to their own national culture, civilisation, history, etc., but in those of foreign countries, too. But in India, how few of us are authorities even in subjects relating to India ? As for foreign countries, I cannot just now call to mind any Indian who is an authorty on any subject relating to a foreign country.

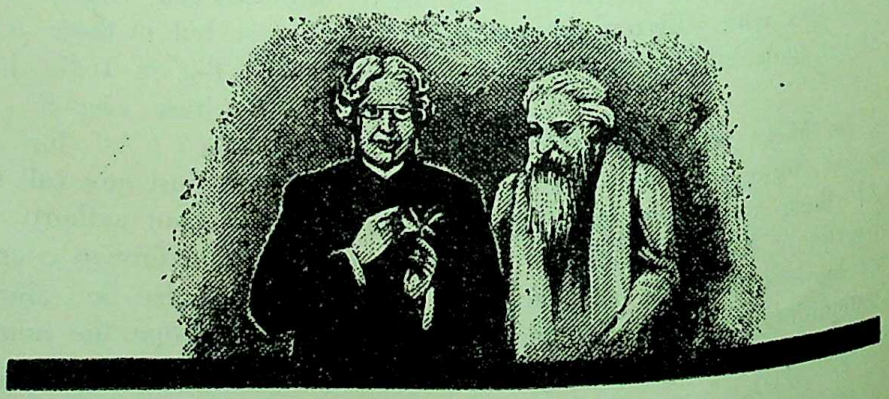
Here I may also be allowed to observe that in Europe the number of men who try earnestly to tackle problems

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

involving the weal or woe of the whole of humanity or at least of some foreign peoples, is much larger than in India. In fact, there are scarcely half a dozen outstanding Indian names among those who are trying to tackle problems affecting the whole of humanity. Some of the causes responsible for such a state of things we all know. Our political subjection is so depressing in so many directions and so much of the time and energy of so many of our educated men and recently of women too, has to be devoted to the attainment of political freedom (the methods thereof I need not here discuss), that there are little inclination, time and energy left for paying attention to or even getting acquainted with wider problems. Political subjection has undoubtedly narrowed our mental horizon. The system of caste and the fact that most of us profess an ethnic religion, may also have had something to do with narrowing the sphere of our human interests. And then, we must not forget that the vast majority of our countrymen are steeped in ignorance, of which illiteracy is only one of the outward signs. I condemn the political and economic imperialism of European nations and their habit of exploitation. I have more than once condemned their intellectual and spiritual imperialism and draw attention to the fact that Europeans generally want to monopolise all scholarship, virtue and spirituality. Virtues are Christian virtues, scientific methods are European methods! But we should not be blind to the existence among Europeans of men, however small in number, who are sincerely interested in the solution of problems affecting the whole of humanity. Nor should we encourage in ourselves the habit of speaking sarcastically of the every few men among us who have a wider human outlook, as if humanitarianism were opposed to patriotism of the right kind. On the contrary, we should look at even our national problems from a broad humanitarian point of view, as a small number of Europeans do in the case of some of their own national problems."

(*The Modern Review*, February, 1927)



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Homage

In the following pages are published a few tributes to the memory of Ramananda Chatterjee.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ramananda Chatterjee—A Homage

R. R. DIWAKAR

The Late Shri Ramananda Chatterjee was one of those fearless publicists for whom truth was the supreme consideration and timely as well as very accurate expression of truth was the only way to see that 'truth' was used for the progress of humanity.

I must go back to those stirring times of the Swadeshi Movement (1905-1906) to appreciate the great services of the Late Ramananda rendered to the cause of nationalism. He was never sentimental or emotional in the expression of truth. He would never make a statement without supporting it by facts and figures dug out from remote corners and from inaccessible documents. In those days we read "The Notes" he wrote in the *Modern Review* and they were like guides to all of us. We depended upon them both for facts and figures as well as for the inferences resulting therefrom.

The English language which he wielded with consumate skill was both forceful as well as idiomatic and convincing.

In fact, I think for more than two decades the intellectuals waited for the *Modern Review* expectantly for authoritative exposition of the nationalist point of view in India.

The Late Ramananda was a very learned person, but learning may not be said to be the only strong point in him. He was an intellectual with the highest sense of duty towards the expression of truth, first and foremost, for the emancipation of this country and through that the progress of humanity. Every Indian has a duty to perform towards such great souls and that they can do only by studying the lives of such men and by reading what they have written with such conspicuous ability.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Shri Ramananda Chatterjee

HAREKRISHNA MAHTAB, M.P.

The last quartar of the last century and the first quarter of the present century may be regarded as the period of renaissance in India although it did not attain the scale and intensity of the European renaissance because of the then existing political factors. In one respect, however, Indian period of renaissance can be favourably compared with the period of renaissance in Europe and that is in the matter of producton of giants—"giants in power of thought, passion and character" as a distinguished German author described it. The life and history of all the giants who were produced during that period and who worked wonders in their own fields have not yet been fully written and published. In fact, the history of that period has not yet come out because perhaps it relates to the near past. Anyway whenever that history comes out, Shri Ramananda Chatterjee will find a prominent place in it and the impact he created on the mind of the youths of that period will be recorded in bold letters.

In 1919, when I was a student in the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, the Professor in Economics recommended that we should regularly read the *Modern Review.* in order to understand the current topics of the country. Immediately I became a subscriber of the *Modern Review*. Soon after its counter part in Bengali, the *Prabasi* attracted my attention and I became a subscriber of it also. Occasionally I used to read the *Vishal Bharat,* another venture of Shri Ramananda Chatterjee. I have yet to know of another writer, particularly in the field of Journalism, who can communicate directly with the heart of the readers through his writings. The Editorial comments of the *Modern Review* of that period put together constitute the history of about half a century of modern India, and of development of nationalism in this country.

It was a period of coordinated activi-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ties of more than one giant. While Ravindranath was elevating the emotions of the people, Shri Ramananda Chatterjee was whipping up the intellect to keep pace with the rising emotions. I have never come across any emotional writing from the pen of Shri Ramananda Chatterjee. He was logic personified, carrying conviction to the readers at every stage of discussion. It may not be realised now that in the 20's of the present century, the editorial comments in the *Modern Review* used to be quoted as authorities all over India during any discussion relating to politics and economics of the country. It was the only standard magazine in those days.

Shri Ramananda Chatterjee began his life as an educationist in the then United Provinces of India. It is for that reason perhaps that the word 'Prabasi' was a favourite expression for him. When he came over to Calcutta to embark upon the programme of educating the educated the situation was then ripe for a change on a big scale—as if, he was dragged down to Calcutta by providence to fill up the gap in the intellectual field of the youths whose emotions were running high then. Assuming he had not come on the field then I feel sure that a generation of solid nationalists would not have been created.

It is difficult to assess the work of Shri Ramananda Chatterjee now, not only because he is too near us but because we are passing through a period of confusion in which neither emotion nor intellect keeps the nation steady. The present is a period of desires and not of achievements whereas Shri Ramananda Chatterjee belonged to a period of movement towards great achievements. Should not his writings be prescribed as text-books in the universities now to enable the modern youths to realise the process through which the new India has been born? The nation appears to be losing its moorings on account of lack of that realisatoin. At least on the occasion of his birth centenary, let us recall as much of his writings as possible and place his image before us to tell us men of sterner stuff are required to run a free country and lead it to the cherished goal. Somehow I feel that as the work of the giants like Sri Ramananda Chatterjee has not gone in vain in the past, they will not go in vain now and in the future. Someday the posterity will look back and draw inspiration from that great giant who wielded his pen to mould a generation in the past.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A Unique Aspect of Ramananda Chatterjee's Journalism

Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

Ramananda Chatterjee occupies a unique position in the History of Indian Journalism. He was a born journalist, and he worked out and developed a form of journalism,—the ideals and merits of which have not yet been surpassed anywhere in India—after a lapse of half a century. The unique character of his journalistic ideals was its intensely *nationalist* character, and its wide range of topics and treatment. Every event that happened,—every movement that pushed its head, every personality that appeared,—in the different phases of Indian life—in politics, in industry, in economic spheres, in education,—in religion and social reforms,—in Art and in Culture,—was appraised and valued from the nationalistic point of view.

In developing the illustrative features of Indian Journalism, his services have been more than unique and invaluable. A few journalists had, no doubt, appeared in Bengal *before* Ramananda Chatterjee—who had sponsored the cause of the nation—and the cause of the common people,—like the late Harish Chandra Mukherjee, but Mr. Chatterjee's contributions appear to surpass them.

The illustrative phases of the *Modern Review* (and the *Pravasi*) undoubtedly constitute their unique character, and are almost without any precedents in India, at least. It is generally believed that the pioneer of Illustrated Journalism—in Bengal was the Editor of the weekly *National Guardian* (1885-1895?)

This weekly journal had a short but brilliant career—in publishing political and social cartoons, reproduced in coloured lithography. Having regard to the poverty of printing technique of the times,—the *National Guardian's* was, indeed, a praiseworthy enterprise.

But the practice that Ramananda Chatterjee initiated (with the help of Mr.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Upendra Kishore Roy (U. RAY, the pioneer of the Reproductive Process in India)—of reproducing each month, a beautiful Coloured Reproduction of one or other Indian Masterpiece in Painting (Modern and Mediaeval) was certainly unsurpassed in the history of Indian journalism,—far outpacing the crude pioneering efforts of the *National Guardian*.

Apart from the fact that Mr. Chatterjee's efforts stood for a new development in journalism—his services in this respect were very valuable in publicising and developing the growth of the National School of Indian Painting founded by Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore. Very few people have any correct idea as to the high costs of the preparation and printing of three colour blocks, for reproducing originals in colours. Considering the low circulation of Journals in India, owing to her poor literacy—the Editor of the *Modern Review* had suffered financial loss,—and his sacrifices in this respect have not been fully appreciated.

He not only reproduced regularly the works of Dr. Abanindranath Tagore —and of his disciples, but he also reproduced, very frequently, numerous Masterpieces of Mediaeval Indian Painting—thus providing valuable documents and data for the student of the History of Indian Painting and Sculpture. It is not possible to mention all the valuable documents, we can refer only to a few of them* in the foot-note.

Apart from citing Masterpieces of Indian Painting (Mediaeval and Modern) the enterprizing Editor used to regularly publish illuminating artcles, discussing various phases of Indian Art, chiefly contributed by Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, Dr. A. N. Tagore, and Mr. Samarendra Nath Gupta. Reviews of Books on Indian Art, chiefly contributed by the Sister Nivedita, and, the present writer—used to form an unique feature of the *Modern Review*.

One cannot too highly praise Ramananda Chatterjee's services to Indian Art, and, to development of Illustrated Journalism, unsurpassed anywhere in India, and, abroad, with the single exception of the services of "RUPAM"—in India, and of the richly Illustrated Bulletins of the Museums of Art—in the United States.

Undoubtedly, the Editor of the *Modern Review*, had built up a very high tradition in this respect, covering a period of years (1907-1943) which it has been difficult for his successors to maintain—owing to the enormous increase in costs of paper, printing and other materials for reproducing Illustrations.

---

*1907 : Old Portraits of Maharatta Chiefs (p. 444).

1909 : Pahari Miniature in Colour (May : Frontispiece) Baz Bahadur and Rupamati, Moghul School (p. 89).

1910 : Akbar besieging Chitore (May, p. 492), Marriage Procession of Dara Shikoh (p. 207) Funeral Procession of Shah Jahan (January, p. 110).

1911 : Rajput and Indo-Persian Miniatures (January) Molaram's "Pe Peacock" (Colour : November).

1913 : Kangra Masterpiece (Colour (October, Frontispiece) Virgin Mary, Moghul School (Colour) (September).

1915 : Kangra Masterpiece : "Bride" (Colour) (December).

Ditto : 'Swinging Radha (Colour) (August).

Ditto : 'Crow Messenger' (Colour) (January).

Portrait of Maharaja Abhai Singh (Colour) (February).

1916 : Raja Birsingh of Nurpu (Colour) (May).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Shri Ramananda Chatterjee

DEVI PRASAD ROY CHOWDHURY

I came to know Shri Ramananda Chatterjee in connection with the publication of some of my paintings in the *Modern Review*. It was not difficult to get an audience with the world renowned journalist, but I was rather apprehensive of a condescending reception. Nothing untoward happened. On the contrary he appeared to be kindly disposed. Apparently Shri Ramananda was not a believer in the queer convention of being assertive with regard to his own ideals as is often practised by many who dwell in the dizzy heights of self assumed importance. Strangely enough he listened to my errand with patience and was inquisitive to see the pictures I brought with me.

I took good care to narrate a story that would provoke sympathy for a struggling and ambitious artist. After all, the artist who has ambition deserved publicity as a form of encouragement. It was a question of moral obligation on the part of the editor to extend help, hence I had the audacity to think that it would be advisable to make the position clear to Shri Ramananda. I had to plead on my own behalf, since the objective of my approach was nothing else than begging for honour. In short, seeking public recognition through the esteemed periodical. There was a risk in entrusting the sacred and secret job to an agent as any false move would have made me a laughing stock at my own expense. I had no intention to get involved into the wrong type of publicity.

Let me now revert to the pictures. They were displayed before Shri Ramananda. I could see the penetrating vision of the critic was piercing through every detail on the surface and the exacting scrutiny digging out intrinsic qualities from underneath. The razor-sharp sight was dissecting each and every stroke of brush that touched the canvas. I felt nervous and was

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

inclined to guess that he was no less keen to examine the strength of the lines also which must have had betrayed their purpose of existence. The assessment of relative values as was developing seemed to take a shape which to my misfortune had no relation to his kindly disposition. I clearly saw my plans, to seduce him to be benevolent, at least to the extent of being lenient about the survey of my work had failed miserably. It was indeed a distressing revelation to learn that Shri Ramananda knew all about the technicalities associated with the medium I dealt with. I was questiond about certain points regarding principles of balance and organising composition in a pictorial theme. The points raised for enquiry could not have been thought of by any one less than a widely informed critic who knew the ins and outs of picture making in academic or traditional style. His knowledge was no less reliable about the limitations of different media. I must confess I had no idea of what was meant by balance, relative values, organisation in a pictorial theme etc. I simply loved to paint and the blank space of a canvas, filled up by colour, was a picture to me. The pictures were the records of my desparate effort to represent facts of life and nature as I had seen and felt. There was no scientific training, to guide me in the right direciton. My answer in the circumstance was far from satisfactory. I was groping in the dark and trying to dodge the main issue.

There was a pause for a while, but I had not had to wait long. The verdict came abruptly as a bolt from the blue. I was told, the efforts to paint pictures were excellent for a teen-ager but the specimens represent the art of self deception, more precisely an escapist's pastime, as such, the pictures could not be repropuced in the *Modern Review*. Nevertheless he was kind enough to add that the attempts had some evidence of seriousness which promises room for better possibilities if I could pursuade myself to go through proper training and feel prepared to submit to discipline and hard labour. Another point he stressed upon was not to out-step the limits of my capability,

Whatsoever good intention there might have been behind the considered advice, I received a rude shock as a result of the straightforward refusal charged with unpalatable comments. I felt humiliated before myself because I lost anchor on self estimation. I returned home, a dejected novice and not the self constituted master who nourished hopes to conquer the world. However, it did not take long to get over the unhappy mood. Shri Ramananda's advice had the desired effect on me. I solemnly resolved that I would never seek publicity through the press until my works had gained public recognition. The only course left to achieve this end, after I had the necessary training, was to get enlisted in the mad race of competitive exhibition, win gold medals and wait in attendance for the pity of fashionable critics who would dub me as master on a particular occasion. All goes well if the exalted person is rubbed well on the right side. The behaviour of the followers of fashion (latest) could be identified with that of the new rich who feel mightily pleased with their confounded assets of profound ignorance.

The temptation of receiving easy and quick recognition from this sort of enlightened critic was too great to be resistd particularly when choicest adjectives pitched on to superlative degrees were always assured if the artist could lie low and surrender to their authority. Therefore the liberal use of noise-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

comments hurled on the artist can be taken as an act of self glorification for the critic himself. As such, honest criticism having constructive intention cannot fulfil its objective by relying on repetition of set phrases used without discrimination of the subject, the medium and source of inspiration. Criticism in proper sense is an art by itself. Its mission looks forward to spread education and make people understand that function of are is intended to extend relief to the tortured mind crushed by sufferings on account of incessant tyranny of stern realities.

The adventurous enterprise for a quick fame which had a magnetic pull on me in my early days had in the meantime disappeard into oblivion. I had seen and borne much in between the march of events through long years of my life. The experience taught me to see the cheapness of the short-lived recognition. I realised that indiscriminate use of high sounding words picked up from ready stock never gains ground to provoke thought to see the motivating elemonts that compel the artist to paint or assess the value of the aesthetic contents of a picture. Nevertheless even the pretenders are helpful when the cause is good.

My personal experience stands as a good instance to substantiate the fact that whatever gift one may have, it is not the end but just a means, rather a driving force that makes the artist restless for an expression. But the communication of the thought through a form of beauty is entirely dependent on the means which must abide by discipline associated with the rules of convention. This is where the articles on art and its objective published in the *Modern Review* came to my rescue. I taught myself to exercise patience which played a vital part to guide me in the process of picture making. It would not be an exaggeration of compliment if I said that the *Modern Review* published from Calcutta was then the only monthly periodical which had rich contributions on subjects of art by not less persons than the poet and artis Tagore, Havel, Kumaraswamy, O. C. Gangoly and others. The articles were given place of honour and not shoved into some obscure corner in order to keep check extravagance of pity. In contrast to this prevailing attitude Shri Ramananda dedicated his life to the cause of cultural progress. Pursuit of art to Shri Ramananda was an asset that contributed to the cause of culture. His indefatigable endeavour to go ahead with his mission helped to educate many to free themselves from the grip of indifference, a deadly contagious desease that spreads like wild fire to devour every bit of emotion by its flames and destroy the finer elements which make a man distinct from lower animals.

The renaissance period in Bengal under the leadership of Guru Abanindranath Tagore owes its recognition to a great extent to Shri Ramananda's efforts which helped people from deprivation of joy. It was he who took the responsibility to spread the mission of art to a wider circle than allow the movement to be confined within a few of his disciples. Thus the people were educated to be art conscious and acknowledged the heritage of wealth which had been given a safe burrial by those who were born to turn deaf years to aesthetic appeal. Shri Ramananda's enthusiasm combined with hard labour has borne fruit today, a colossal task has been accomplished. It was all due to the courage and conviction of Shri Ramananda who adhered to his princi-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ple of recognising merits only, no matter how the truth expressed in support of his conviction wounded feelings. It was Shri Ramananda to whom every art lover, at least in Bengal, should be grateful for the support he gave to Indian art from the early days of the 20th Century in Bengal. Shri Ramananda's method of encouragement or principle underlying appreciation was different from the usual practice of ellotment of quotas of favourstism according to the price the favoured paid. The naratation of the story in connection with my pictures was necessary to prove that Shri Ramanda's knowledge was not superficial nor a following of any crazy fashion, because he created a taste to live on.

Having had good lessons from the outspoken views of Shri Ramananda and the experience I gained in my career the aspiration of being important by such quick recognition has been diverted to aversion. The idea of gaining distinction is no more confined to gambling on competitive exhibition of paintings where a thing of beauty is set to challenge another in order to establish a record of speed to reach the winning post that offered a reward of originality and a gold medal. A thing of beauty shaped in the form of creative art is a product of love wedded to aesthetic appeal, depicting an irresistible inner urge to express in concrete form. I wonder whether it would not be funny, if not absurd to observe a competitive demonstration of love arranged by lure of prizes and merits considered on the degree of violent or timid expression released just to suit any individual judge's taste. The expression in form of art is an instinctive response that comes from within and can only be communicated to one who can reciprocate. Hence it is not a thing to be displayed for the sake of fun and pleasing the crowd or collecting materials for a drawing room conversation in the same breath as weather forecast controversies. Further, I feel inclined to add that the creative impulse does not as a rule follow this or that fashion or run amok to gain speed to go ahead of time completely disowning the influence of traditions of the soil. The influence is the gift of the past. It is in the blood. Therefore, however strong the foreign impacts might be, the blood cannot be changed to pure aqua nor the spontaneous response can be had by command to meet the needs of social or religious ethics or political interest, unless the artist is a traitor to his temperament.

There is of course beauty competition of human beings composed of flesh and blood, the judgement of which is strictly guided by volume and numerical calculations of length, breadth and height of different limbs in their relative proportions. The essential factor which decides the sumtotal of beauty is a standardised pattern whereas a thing of beauty cannot be confined to one standard for all times to come and for all people to accept.

We, living behind the ruined ramparts of time-old convention, dare not come out of the prison walls which had protected us from the ravages of time and ghastly invasion of the recent ever changing foreign cultural impacts. I use the expression ever-changing advisedly because I have seen the schools of isms come and go with accelerated speed leaving no impression of a feeling. They were like rolling stones which gathered no moss. We must thank our stars that we had such a stalwart protector as Shri Ramananda, and feel grateful to him to record that though we belong to the old school we are still living and not the carriers of the dead emblems of passing shows.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

On India's Struggle for Emancipation

In this section we are reproducing a series of full length articles written by Ramananda Chatterjee over a period of several years for various periodicals in this country and abroad, which present an objective view of India's struggle for political emancipation. These articles are, in essence, an objective review and an analytical record of the evolution of political thought and methodology in this country towards emancipation from British rule. After Independence in the emotional upsurge of new power much of our political and historical values have been apt to become considerably forgotten and these articles will, we feel help to re-establish those values on a correct perspective.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Civil Disobedience Movement in India

Gandhi's Alternative To Violence As A Means Of Winning Freedom

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

HITHERTO wars of independence have been sanguinary. Mahatma Gandhi is the first man in history to wage a bloodless war of independence. It required a man of his spiritual elevation, self-control and profound faith in the perfectibility of human nature to make this new departure.

The Mahatma's march on foot to a seaside village to prepare salt has been taken by some Westerners to be merely a ritualistic and symbolic pilgrimage. Symbolic it may be in a certain sense. It prefigures and symbolises the funeral rites of armed warfare as a means of winning independence. It symbollically sounds the death knell of war. It foreshadows the feasibility of a perfectly peaceful revolution by means of civil disobedience. Mr. Gandhi's method, no doubt, requires infinite endurance, patience and perseverance; but these qualities are not unattainable, and in his method every failure is a stepping stone to success.

But the march is more than this. The Government salt monopoly has been the cause of the disappearance of the indigenous salt-manufacturing industry from all sea-side places and all inland regions where there are saline deposits and salt mines. It has impoverished the country to the extent of two hundred million rupees or more—a rupee is now worth approximately thirty-six cents—and has saddled it with oppressive taxation amounting to more than seventy million rupees—taxation of which the incidence falls heaviest on the poor, because they require more salt than the well-to-do, in order to add some relish to their scanty and coarse fare. The vast majority of Indians are poor and live by and on agriculture. They and their cattle cannot get enough salt to eat and hence become sickly. The reason why they cannot buy enough salt is that the monopoly and the tax have made it very many times dearer than it used to be when there was no monopoly and no tax. American and European readers will be

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

able to realise the oppressive character of this monopoly when they are reminded of the historic French gabelle or the salt tax. The resemblance between pre-revolutionary France and present-day India is an omen.

In Mr. Gandhi's opinion—and he is right—independence is required most for the poor who form the vast majority of our perople. The response to his call to break the salt law has been very widespread. There is not a single province of India where thousands of people in hundreds of places are not actively engaged in manufacturing or hawking salt. And for every active volunteer doing such work, there are tens of thousands of sympathizers. All classes of people are to be found in varying proportions among both active volunteers and sympathizers.

It would be a mistake to think that Mr. Gandhi has been receiving direct or indirect support only from non-cooperators and members of the National Congress. As a result of the Civil Disobedient Movement, almost all other political movements are at a standstill. The Sapru Conference was called to support the proposed London round table conference by bringing together all non-Congress parties on a common platform : but its sittings have been indefinitely postponed. The Hindu Mahasabha session at Akola has been postponed *sine die*. The "untouchable classes" who lately pressed, or were made to press, Mr. Gandhi to take up their cause first and enable them to enter all Hindu temples, threatening to thwart his movement if he did not, have themselves for the present given up their attempt to force entry into temples, and their leaders are selling contraband salt in the streets in many places. Many Indian merchants have given their whole-hearted adherence to Mr. Gandhi ; others are neutral—the attempt to incite them into active opposition has failed. The Liberals, or Moderates could not, of course, take a favourable view of Mr. Gandhi's movement. Some of their organs, most of which have a small circulation, continue to carp at it, but the party dares not launch a counter-movement. The one big minority group in India of which the attitude of a considerable number of members seems uncertain—perhaps in some cases hostile—is the Moslem community. But the British people would be living in a fool's paradise if they thought that community as body is hostile to Mr. Gandhi. Many important Mussalmans, like Mr. Abbas Tyabji, who was appointed by Mr. Gandhi to succeed to the leadership if he should be arrested, have openly and actively joined the movement. Others, not so well known, have become volunteers or have manifested sympathy with the civil disobendience movement in other ways. Most Moslem bodies are sitting on the fence, watching the developments of the civil disobedience campaign.

The active support which women have given to the cause has surprised many. In the manufacturing and hawking of contraband salt, the picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops, the distributing of propaganda for the boycott of foreign cigarettes and cloth, the holdings of meetings and processions for popularizing the cause and the resisting of the attempts by the police to snatch away contraband salt and to destroy the pans for manufacturing salt—in all these activities women are taking an enthusiastic part. It is not merely the progressive section of Indian women from which the Mahatma has received recruits and supporters. Even women in villages, who belong to an older world, so to say, have been enthusiastic in their adherence to the movement. For instance, one such old world village mother has sent four out of her five sons to join it,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to face imprisonment and death if need be. And she herself and her daughters have become *Satyagrahis*—civil resisters.

The students have been roused. All the teachers and students of Mr. Gandhi's college have joined the movement. There have been a number of students' strikes on account of the unsympathetic attitude of the principals of some government-recognized institutions. Many students and other young men have already broken the salt law and gone to jail. But whether many others do likewise or not, during the summer, when there is a long vacation, large numbers of them will do their best to stop or materially reduce the sale of foreign cloths and cigarettes in their home towns and villages. There is already a perceptible fall in the sale of these articles. In and outside the student group, most of the active workers are young men.

The labouring people have grievances of their own. Since they are poor the salt tax hits them hard. They are aware of Mr. Gandhi's sympathy for the poor and revere him for his saintlines and ascetic life. There is no question therefore, that they are with him. As things are, there are frequent mill-workers' strikes in various places. It has been officially acknowledged that Mr. Gandhi's influence with both mill-owners and mill-hands in Ahmedabad has kept that great industrial center much quieter than its bigger neighbour, Bombay. The support and sympathy of the mill-hands everywhere are unquestioned.

Since self-rule is the birthright of every nation, no one need offer any apology for starting a movement for making his country free and independent and for taking up an attitude of irreconcilability to even the best foreign rule—if such a thing can exist. So, if I mention a few facts to show that Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, called by his countrymen the Mahatma for his great soul, has not been an irreconcilable throughout his political career, it is not by way of an apology, but only to point out that British statesmansip has disappointed and disillusioned the greatest Indian political leader, who co-operated with the British Government, often in the face of the hostile opinion of his countrymen, in a manner and to an extent that cannot be claimed for any other leader of British India, living or dead, however much they may be commended by Britishers in power for their loyalty and spirit of "co-operation."

In the Boer War of 1899-1902 Mr. Gandhi's personal sympathies were with the Boers. But his loyalty to the British rule drove him to participation with the British in that war. He felt that, if he demanded rights as a British citizen, it was also his duty as such to participate in the defense of the British Empire. So he gathered together as many comrades as possible and with great difficulty got their services accepted in an ambulence corps, which acquitted itself well. At the time of the Zulu rebellion in Natal, after the Boer War, he offered his services to the Natal Government and led the Indian Ambulence Corps attached to the Natal forces. During the World War he raised recruits for the British Government. "You are votary of *ahimsa*-non-violence-how can you ask us to take up arms ?" "What good has the government done for India to deserve our co-operation ?.' These and similar questions used to be put to him during his recruiting campaign.

The Constitution of the Indian National Congress, presented by Mr. Gandhi at the annual session of the Congress held at Nagpur in 1920, stated the goal to be the attainment of *Swaraj* within the British Empire if possible

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and without if necessary. This was his oft-repeated political creed upto the time when, late in December 1929, he was forced to conclude that the Indian people must declare that their goal was independence and must strive to reach that goal. At the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1928 a strenuous effort was made by the more ardent spirits to have the Congress declare that its goal was independence. It was Mahatma Gandhi who then moved a compromise resolution to the effect that, if the British government did not grant Dominion status to India on or before December 31, 1929, Cougress would declare for independence. Mr. Gandhi personally wanted to give the Government two years to make up its mind to grant India the freedom which was its birthright, but others did not agree to give more than a year. When on November 1, 1929, Viceroy Lord Irwin made an announcement that Dominion status was England's 'political goal for India and that a round table conference would shortly be held in London to which representative Indians would be invited, Mahatma Gandhi and some other leaders gave His Excellency credit for sincerity and expressed the hope of being able to tender their co-operation to His Majesty's Government at the Conference if certain conditions were fulfilled. None of these conditions were accepted, nor was anybody able to extract from government any definite information or promise relating to the time when India might expect to be a dominion.

All this many Indian publicists, including the writer, had foreseen—they did not require to be disillusioned. But Mr. Gandhi wanted to be charitable and to give all possible credit to the British government for good intentions. On the eve of the historic session of the Congress in the last week of December, 1929, at Lahore, Mr. Gandhi and other leaders saw Lord irwin by request, But the Viceroy was unable to give any assurance that the purpose of the proposed round table conference in London was to draft a scheme for Dominion status. So, according to the compromise resolution of the Calcutta Congress, Mr. Gandhi moved, at the Lahore Congress, to declare independence to be India's political goal.

Evet after the passing of this resolution, Mr. Gandhi publishsd a list of eleven very simple but all-vital needs of India, none of which involved India's independence or the severance of the British connection. Said he, "Let the Viceroy satisfy these very simple but vital needs of India. He will then hear no talk of civil disobedience and the Congress will heartily participate in any conference where there is a perfect freedom of expression and demand." There was no response from the Government. So before launching the civil disobedience campaign, Mr. Gandhi despatched to the Viceroy his now historic letter which was an appeal to him "on bended knee" to consider and remedy the evils of British rule. But the appeal went for nothing. It elicited only a curt formal reply from the Viceroy's private secretary. Then followed the civil disobedience campaign.

It is necessary to bear in mind all these facts to understand the full significance of Mahatma Gandhi's campaign to free India from subjection to Great Britain. It is not a campaign led by a doctrinaire advocate of independence who does not consider whether the foreign rule to which he is subject is bad or comparatively good, but wants to get rid of it simply because it is foreign. On the contrary, it is led by a man who at one time believed that India could become free only within and through the British Empire and in that belief served then British people and government and cooperated with them. The civil diso-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

bedience of such a man and his co-workers and followers means the bankruptcy of British statesmanhsip; means that the cooperation that the British government expects of Indians is not the self-respecting partnership of free equals but the subserviency of slaves; means that even sincere service in times of the direct need cannot arouse any deep or lasting feeling of gratitude in the hearts of the British people; means that arguments are of no avail to convince Britishers of the evils of their rule in India; means that, argument or no argument, they are "not prepared to give up the Indian spoils" and that consequently India must think of some other means of freeing itself.

Sufficient pressure of some kind must be brought to bear upon England to make it agree to India's acquisition of freedom. Force of argument and the natural appeal made by friendly help rendered in time of need having failed, India could resort either to armed force or some moral equivalent of a war for independence. Probably most of those who are against the use of physical force for obtaining independence are so because they believe it to be impracticable, though obviously such a belief cannot be the result of experiment or thorough public discussion. But Mahatma Gandhi is opposed on moral and spiritual grounds to all violence and therefore to any armed war of independence. On the positive side, he believes that civil disobedience, coupled with the endurance—without even the thought of retaliation—of all sufferings, even unto death, which it may bring on the civil resisters, is an active force sufficient for attaining freedom.

If the Indian civil disobedience movement succeeds, it will be a gain to all humanity. Armed rebellions for independence will no longer be absolutely necessary. That will mean the saving of much expense on both sides—on the side of the patriotic rebels as well as on the side of those desiring to crush them. The economic ruin brought on by war will also be prevented. But the moral and spiritual gain will be of far greater value. The chief redeeming feature of war is the heroism it evokes. In war men bear endless suffering, carry their lives in their hands and meet death with perfect nonchalance. In civil disobedience, while civil resisters remain non-violent, their official opponents can be and generally are violent. The civil resisters are mercilessly assaulted, and many are clapped into prison and illtreated in barbarous ways. So civil disobedience does not make men less heroic than does war. There is thus no moral loss. On the contrary there is great moral and spiritual gain.

Ordinary war is violent; civil disobedience is non-violent. The former necessarily involves bloodshed; the latter does not. There is certain to be hatred at some stage or other in ordinary warfare, if not throughout. but in civil disobedience as started and actually conducted by Mahatma Gandhi, there is not and must not be hatred. These differences are obvious. There are others which are not so unmistakably evident.

In ordinary wars, keeping one's plans secret, taking the enemy by surprise, ambuscades, comouflage and other falsehoods, treachery and trickery of various kinds, are not only considered legitimate and permissible, but are taught, recommended and enjoined. In Mr. Gandhi's civil fight, everything is open and above-board and honourable. His objective and plans have been made known to all the world. He has placed all his cards before his antagonists, he has nothing up his sleeve. He has, when necessary, acted generously too. In the *Satyagraha* or passive resistance campaign in South Africa, he kept his movement in abeyance during the strike

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

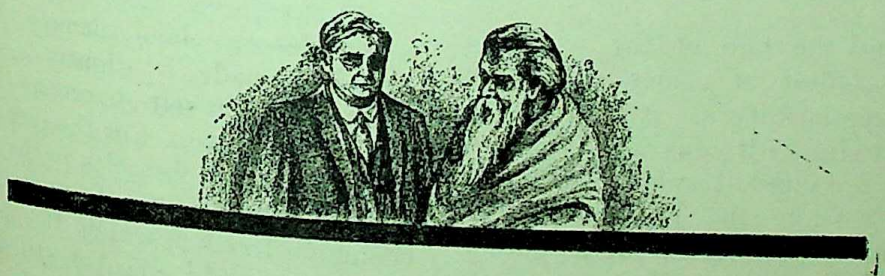
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of the white railway men, in order not to embarrass the government. So that the sugarcane plantations might not be put to loss, the Indian labourers joined the strike only after having despatched the sugarcane to a safe place. Similarly, when the indentured labourers of Durban Municipalitystruck, Indian sweepers and the Indian workers of the hospitals were asked to go back to their work and they did so gladly.

In war pillage is not considered wrong, is often ordered and sometimes held out as an inducement to the soldiers. In civil disobedience there is nothing of the kind. Though in war ravishment is not recommended or enjoined few campaigns of any large proportions and long duration have been free from this odious crime and outrage on womanhood. Also, often an army of fallen women accompanies bigger armies of far more sinful men to feed their lusts. Civil disobedience is entirely free from menace of either kind to womanhood. What is more, it has so appealed to the hearts of Indian womanhood that mother and wife and maid have flocked to its standards.

There Is no question, then, butthat civil disobedienoe is a more economical, more humane, more moral and more spiritual solution of dispute than war. Whether it will prove more, or at least equally effective, remains to be seen. But all those who are interested in the peaceful solution of international problems, all those who are individnally or collectively antimperialists, ought to cooperate, to the full extent of their power and opportunities, to make it effective. India means to be free, must be free- She can be free either by peaceful methods or by bloody methods and she has chosen, first, the methods of peace.

(From the **Asia**, August 1930, Pages 548-553)



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This Is Not Self-Government

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

To find the hub of the world is one of the oldest of games. To the ancient Egyptians it was at Thebes, to the ancient Greeks it was at Olympus, to the self-assured Londoner it is at Charing Cross, to the Bostonian it is at Boston. And others hold other opinions. But to the modern international propagandist it is, perhaps, at Geneva. What is said there finds its echoes and repurcussions in all civilised countries.

The British propagandist is unsurpassed in his craft. He knows the value of Geneva as a loud speaker. It is not, therefore, surprising that Sir Samuel Hoare, the British Foreign Secretary and formerly Secretary of State for India, chose Geneva as the place from where to tell the world that Britain had, in a fit of self-forgetful generosity granted self-rule to India. Addressing the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva on the eleventh of September last he is reported by Reuter's agency to have said. "In accordance with what we believe to be the underlying principles of the League we steadily promote the growth of self-government in our territories. For example, only a few weeks ago I was responsible for helping pass through the Imperial Parliament a great and complicated measure to extend self-government to India."

It is flagrant falsehood to say that "The Government of India Act, 1935" to which Sir Samuel Hoare referred, has extended self-government to India. It would have been false even if he had made a lesser claim, namely, that the Act had made it slightly easier for India to obtain self-government in some uncertain future. For the fact is, this Act has placed obstacles in the way of India's attainment of political and economic freedom which the preceding Government of India Act, still in force, does not contain.

If a country is self-governing, its seat of ultimate authority in all affairs

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of state, political, economic and the like, is situated in that country itself. But in the case of India that seat is and will continue to be for an indefinitely long period in Britain—a foreign country several thousand miles distant from and separated from it by continents and oceans. The ultimate human authority, too, of a self-governing country, whether one man or a body of men, is indigenous to that country. But so far as India is concerned, the paramount authority will continue to be alien and non-Indian as at present.

The constitution of a self-ruling country is usually framed by itself or, if it be in the stage of transition from a subject to a self-governing condition, the constitution should be framedat least in consultation with and in accordance with the wishes of the subject population and receive its asesnt. But this year's Government of India Act has been framed entirely by non-Indians and has been imposed on India. There was, no doubt, a show of consulting Indians through the so-called Round Table Conferences, of which Indian members miscalled "delegates", were not elected by Indians but were chosen by the British Government. But the Government of India Act, 1935, does not follow the lines laid down at these entirely British dominated conferences. The Report of the Joint Committee of the British Parliament on Indian Constitutional Reforms, Sessions 1933-34, says in paragraph 42 that "No scheme for the future government of India is, of course, at present in existence. which can be said to have been agreed upon even unofficially between the representatives of the two countries." So it is obvious that the Government of India Act, 1935, based substantially on that Report, does not embody any such agreed scheme. The Committee proceeded to observe: "Indeed, we recognize that even moderate opinion in India has advocated and hoped for a simpler and more sweeping transfer of power than we have been able to recommend." If the Committee had recommended what "moderate opinion in India has advocated and hoped for" and if the Act had followed the lines of that recommendation, that would not have satisfied India. For what the Committe characterize as "moderate opinion" is not the opinion of the Indian Liberal Party, popularly known as the Moderate Party ; it is the opinion of the British Government's own nominees styled misleadingly as the "Indian Delegation to the Joint Select Committee." What the Liberals or Moderates of India have repeatedly advocated and demanded is substantially as advanced a constitution as that demanded by the Indian Natiosnal Congrees itself. And it is the opinion of the Indian Liberals and the Indian Congess men, representing the vast bulk, almost the totality of politically-minded Indians, of which the Committee speak thus : "Moreover it must not be forgotten that there is a section of opinion in India with whom the prospect of agreement appears to be remote."

It is clear that the conclusions and recommendations of the Joint Select Committee conceded not only far less than what the Indian National Congress and the Indian National Liberal Federation advocated and asked for but less than what even the British Government's own Indian creatures and nominees had asked for. And the Constitution embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is more retrograde in some particulars than what even the Joint Select Committee recommended. It is this constitution by which, according to Sir Samuel Hoare, the British people have extended self-government to India :

In spite of the fact that a retro-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

grate constitution of British manufacture has been imposed upon India, it would have been a redeeming feature of it if there had been in it any provision by virtue of which the Indian Legislature could have in some future period obtained some measure of self-government by amending the Government of India Act, 1935, or by introducing new legislative measures. But the constitution embodied in the Act is not such as to lead to freedom automatically or by some evolutionary process. The Statutory Commission, popularly called the Simon Commission, emphasized in their Report that "the new Indian constitution must contain within itself the seeds of growth." The new constitution does not contain such seeds The Preamble to the Act of 1919 has been retained in the present Act by which "the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by (the British) Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples." As the British Parliament, whatever its hypocritical pretensions, has passed this Act solely with a view to safeguarding the political and economic interests of the British people, that Parliament is the worst body upon whom the responsibility for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people could have been placed.

Such being the facts, it is no wonder that no Indian party. not even the much favoured, much "conciliated" and pampered Mohammedans, have hailed the Act as a measure which, far from granting substantial self-rule, concedes only partial self-government.

A self-ruling country has and performs the duty of defending itself. But the new constitution, like its predecessor, keeps Defense entirely in the hands of the foreign Executive and absolutely outside the control of the Indian Legislature in any way. There has been for years a deceptive and hollow talk of the Indianization of the Indian Army. But in the new Government of India Act one does not catch a faint echo of even that hypocritical talk. And from the speeches of the retiring Commander-in-Chief and the replies by the military secretary to questions asked in the Legislative Assembly, it has become quite clear that the powers that be do not want to Indianize the Indian Army. What they want is to have a mercenary Sepoy army almost entirely under British officers as an army of occupation.

As regards the civil administration of the country, India at present has no say and in the future also will not have any say in the matter of the periodical appointments of her Governor General and Governors. Even in the case of officers of lower ranks, such as those belonging to the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Medical Service, the Irrigation Service—all mostly Britishers—and many other officers, the Indian Legislatures and ministers will have nothing to do with their recruitment, posting, promotion, leave, pensions, suspension, dismissal and the like, the most important parts of such work being kept in the hands of the (British) Secretary of State for Indin London and the remainder in the hands of the (British) Governor-General of India and the Governors of provinces.

It is a fine brand of self-rule which keeps a country deprived of the power to appoint or control its own highest, higher and high servants! What Mr. Lloyed George called the "steel frame" of the Indian Civil Service is not only to be maintaind intact for an indefinite period but to be re-enforced and extended.

A self-governing country controls and disburses its own purse. But, in the new constitution which has been imposed upon India, expenditure in the reserved departments of Defense,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Foreign Affairs and so forth, the salaries and pensions of high officials and senior civil servants, and interest and sinking fund charges on the national debt are removed by statute from the vote of the Federal Legislature. These non-votable items in the future federal budget have amounted in recent years to some eighty per cent of the total expenditure of the Government of Indian. Even as regards the remaining twenty per cent of the federal expenditures, the power and responsibility of the future Finance Minister are limited by the special powers conferred on the Governor-General in relation to budget procedure which enable him to restore any amounts reduced or rejected by legislative vote.

To call a country self-governing which is absolutely powerless to control eighty per cent its public expenditure and powerless also to control the remaining twenty per cent with certainty, is a grim joke which the joker may enjoy but not those who have been made financially powerless.

A self-ruling country determines its own relations with foreign countries. But, not to speak of such matters of high politics as negotiations of peace and war, even matters relating to commerce with other countries, emigration and immigration, and the like, are placed outside the jurisdiction of the legislature; for Foreign affairs, like Defense, is a reserved subject.

In Sir Samuel Hoare's self-governing India, currency and exchange, banking, railway fares and freights will continue to be manipulated in non-Indian interests. These key economic spheres have thus been removed from responsible legislative control.

Every student of the economic history of India knows or ought to know that, before and during the rule of the East India Company, and even later, Britain built up and developed her industries, trade and shipping at the expense of and by ruining those of India, thereby occupying in the Indian econonic field the place which ought to be India's own. Sir Samuel Hoare's self-governing India the constitution has been made such that Indians will not be able to re-occupy in the industries, trade, shipping and transport in general of their own country that supreme place which the nationals of all self-ruling and civilized countries occupy in theirs, by any or all the means which have been and are resorted to by such nationals. For in the new Act, in order to "hang" the "dog" of any possible future endeavour aiming at such reoccupation such endeavours have been given the "bad name" of "discrimination." By sections 111 to 121 the Executive (the Governor-General and so forth) have been given ample, irresponsible and unlimited powers to prevent such "discrimination." Thus the provisions regarding "commercial discriminations" and the "special responsibility" laid on the Governor-General to prevent such "discrimination" seriously limit the pitiable future Finance Minister's power to devise and carry out a programme in the interests of India's own trade and industries.

The acme of absurdity and injustice is reached in section 116, which makes British companies carrying on business in India "eligible for any grant, bounty or subsidy payable out of the revenues of the Federation or of a Province for the encouragement of any trade or industry to the same extent as Companies incorporated by or under the laws of British India are eligible therefor." No doubt. some conditions have been laid down for such eligibility. But it would be quite easy for the British industrialists and merchants who exploit the material and human resources of India

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to comply with these conditions. How comprehensive and elastic the meaning of "carrying on business in India" has been made in the Act in British interests will appear from the following subsection (3) of section 116: "For the purposes of this section a company incorporated by or under the laws of the United Kingdom shall be deemed to be carrying on business in India if it owns ships which habitually trade to and from ports in India."

Britishers know that in the new Act everything possible has been done to safeguard and promote British economic interests in India as distinguished from Indian interests. For instance, a paper on the "Government of India Bill" read before the East India Association in London by Mr Hugh Molson, M. P., contains the following exulting laudation of the provisions against so-called "discrimination". "Under the Bill (now the Government of India Act, 1935) there are as full and complete prohibitions of discriminations as the ingenuity of the Parliamentary draftsmen, prompted by the greater ingenuity of the European community's legal advisers, has been able to devise."

A self-ruling state makes its own laws, which are not subject to any veto by any non-indigenous authority or person. But in the case of India, the British Crown, the British-appointed British Governor-General and the British-appointed provincial Governors (hitherto all British with one solitary exception) are empowered by the Act to veto or disallow laws passed by the Central or Provinical Legislatures. There is no means provided for overriding this veto, as, for instance, there is in the case of the power of veto possessed by the American-elected American President of the United States of America.

Not only have the Governor-General and the Governors been empowered to reduce to a nullity their discretion the legislative powers and activities of the Central and Provincial Legislatures, but they have been in addition given powers to make "Governor- General's laws" and "Governor's laws" by their sole individual authority without the help of or in disregard and defiance of the legislatures. The Governor-General's and Governors' Acts are to have the same force, effect and duration as the Acts of the Federal or Provincial Legislatures.

Thus the Gevernor-General and the Governors in India have been given powers which the British sovereign and other constitutional monarchs and the presidents of republics do not possess. Since these powers are to be exercised by a succession of superhuman British Governor-Generals and Governors in British interests, the sufferers and losers will be the Indians. For this reason the democratic British Parliament of the democratic British people has not felt any scruples to arm the future British rulers of India with such despotic powers.

These include the Governor-General's and the Governor's power of suspending the constitution, wholly or in part, at their discretion and taking unto themselves and exercising all the powers of the department or departments concerned.

In the new constitution the existence of the eighty million inhabitants of the Indian states has been totally ignored. They have got no franchise or any other rights under the Act. The excessive number of seats in the Federal Legislature which have been assigned to those states are to be filled by the nominees of the Princes ruling these states, who are completely under the thumb of the British Residents and Political Agents in the capitals of the states. The

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

gives full recognition to the existing autocracy of the Princes in relation to their subjects.

The Act has reduced the Hindus of British India to the position of a minority community, though they number more than half, not only of the entire population of British India, but more than half also of the total population of both British and Indian India combined. This punishment has been inflicted on them because it is they who have striven most for self-rule and made sacrifices and undergone sufferings for the achievement of that object to a far greater extent than any other community.

The total population of the whole of India (minus Burma, which the Act has separated from India) is 339,625,586, according to the census of 1934. of these persons, 177,157,000 are Hindus of British India. They are thus more than half the total population of India. Therefore, they ought to have been given more than half the seats in the two Houses or Chambers of the Federal Legislature, viz, the Council of State and the Federal Assembly. But what the Act has done is this. Out of the two hundred and sixty seats in the Council of State the Hindus of British India have been given eighty-one seats, and out of the threhundred and seventy-five seats in the Federal Assembly they have been given only one hundred and twentyfour seats. They ought to have got more than half the seats, but have been given less than one-third. The seats which the Hindus of British India will fill have been called "General" seats But since Budhists, Jains and so on, are also entitled to them, all these seats will not go to the Hindus. Hence, they will form a somewhat smaller minority than is apparent from the figures given above.

It is to be borne in mind that the Hindus of British India also possess among themselves the largest number of the best educated, the most public-spirited and the most enterprising persons in India. If it had been really the intention of the British people to confer self-government on India, this advanced majority community in the country would not have been crippled by being reduced to the position of a minority.

Sir Samuel Hoare, in his Geneva speech, also says: "We believe that small nations are entitled to collective protection for the maintenance of their national life."

According to the usage of the League of Nations, India is a small nation, though its population is very large for it has no army, navy and air force at its own disposal, and it has never yet been given a seat in the League Council. What has Britain done for the maintenance of India's national life by means of the Government of India Act? The Report of the Joint Select Committee asserts that "a completely united Indian polity cannot, it is true, be established either now or, so far as human foresight can extend, at any time." This thought has been born of the wish that India should never be allowed to become one national entity. For working out the idea that whatever national life India possesses must not be allowed to be strengthened but must be destroyed, various steps have been taken. One of these is the granting of nominal provincial autonomy. The members of the Joint Select Committee were fully conscions of the probable effect of what they were recommending. They say in their Report. 'We have spoken of unity as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred upon India; but in transferring so many of the powers of government to the provinces, and in encouraging them to develep a vigorous and independont political life of their

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

own, we have been running the inevitable risk of weakening or even destroying that unity.

Just as by granting provincial autonomy (of course, of a nominal character), the Act seeks to promote provincial life at the expense of the national life, so it seeks to promote communal life, caste life, landlord life, capitalist life and various other kinds of sectional life to the detriment of a united national life. There are about a dozen and half kinds of electorates into which the people of India have been divided. This will have the inevitable result of leading them to think of themselves, not as members of one undivided Indian nation, but as members of the Hindu community, the Muslim community, the Christian community, the Sikh community, the "caste" Hindu group, the "depressed" Hindu group, the Labour group, the capitalist group, the landlord group, the Peasant group, the female electorate, the urban population and the rural population, all supposed to have separate and conflicting interests. Seats in the Federal Legislature have been allotted to the States and the Provinces quite arbitrarily and inequitably—thus fomenting jealousies. Franchise qualifications are different for Hindus and Muslims, favouring the Muslims, and they differ from province to province.

I have said that the Act ignores the existence of the eighty million subjects of the Indian states. Therefore, they have, through their organizations, condemned the constitution for its failure to give them a voice in the Federal Legislature. The reason why the Provinces have been given an excessively large number of seats in that legislature, to be filled by their nominees, is that these nominees of theirs will constitute a virtually solid antidemocratic and antinationalist bloc in that body. Under the Act, the Viceroy retains his "paramount" powers over the states. Those will enable him to exercise a decided leverage on the states-members of the Federation. A powerful conservative body, specially under the power and influence of the Governor-General and Viceroy, is thus introduced by the Act into the Indian federal government as a counterpoise to the nationalist movement of British India.

I have said that the Princes have been given an excessive number of seats. To give the reader an exact idea, I should say that, though the population of the states is considerably less than one-fourth that of the total population of India, the Princes are given one-third of the seats in the Federal Assembly and well over one-third of the seats in the Federal Council of State. It should be noted that these seats are given, not to the people of the states, but to their Princes.

The antinational conservative communities and interests are greatly favoured by the division. The Muslims, who constitute approximately one-fourth of the population of British India, have been given one-third of the British Indian seats in both the Houses. The special seats allotted to commere and industry and the land-owners virtually give them a plural representation, since they can be reasonably expected to secure their full share of seats by the various communal constituencies. The disproportion is most glaring in the case of the British residents. Considering British India as whole, one seat is allotted in the Council of State to every one and two thirds million Indians and one seat in the Assembly to every one million persons. But only one hundred and thirtyfive thousand British residents (including some sixty thousand British troops) have been given seven seats in the upper House and fourteen seats in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the lower (including six of the special comerce and industry seats expected to be secured by Britishers). In the Bengal Provincial legislature, the disproportion is still more glaring. In that Province the Britishers are about one-thousandth of the population. But they have been given twentyfive out of two hundred and fifty seats in the lower house.

The practical impossibility of securing a majority for a nationalist measure in the Federal Legislature becomes obvious on an examination of its composition. The Council of State, with two hundred and sixty members, will be dominated by a solid conservative group of one hundred and eighteen members, consisting of the hundred nominees of the Princes, the ten nominees of the Governor-General, the seven Britishers, and the one Anglo-Indian. The thirteen additional votes required to convert this bloc into an absolute majority would be easily supplied by the Muslim group of fortyeight or more members. Similarly, the Assembly consisting of three hundred and seventyfive members, will have a solid pro-British-government bloc of one hundred and forty-three members, consisting of the one hundred and twentyfive nominees of the Princes, the fourteen Britishers and the four Anglo-Indians. The additional fortyfive votes required to convert this bloc into an absolute majority would be easily obtained from the ninety-seven seats given to the Muslims landholders and Indian Christians.

That the unjust allotment of seats was made with a view to deliberately counteracting the forces of nationalism will be realized from a perusal of the following passage taken from an address to Parliament delivered by Sir Samuel Hoare as Secretary of State for India on March 27, 1933: "I do not wish to make prophecies about the future, least of all the Indian future. But I would ask Honourable members to look very carefully at the proposals which we have made in the White Paper for the constitution of the Federal Legislatures, and if they analyse these proposals I think they will agree with me that it will be almost impossible, short of landslide, for the extremists to get control of the federal centre. I believe that, to put it at the lowest, it will be extremely difficult for them to get a majority in a Province like Bengal."

By "extremists" Sir Samuel meant Congress men and the advanced members of the Indian National Party. He referred particularly to Bengal, since in that Province, whose progress is mostly due to Hindu public spirit, the Hindus have been given a much smaller number of seats than even their numerical strength alone would entitle them to. Wherever the Muslims are a minority, they have been given "weightage" in representation, but though the Hindus are a minority in Bengal, not only have not been given "weightage", but they have, on the contrary, been given less seats than their numbers would entitle them to.

Nationalism will be at a discount in the Federal Legislature for another reason. There will be indirect election for the Federal Assembly. So the British Indian group there with an indirect mandate from the poeple, will tend to split up into representatives of provincial, communal and other interests.

From what has been written in the foregoing paragraphs the reader will have seen that a nationalist majority in the Federal Assembly will be an unlikely event. But, should this miracle happen, the Council of State and the broad reserve powers of the Governor-general would still remain to block any determined move toward the execution of a nationalist policy. In the very unlikely event of a nationalist majority

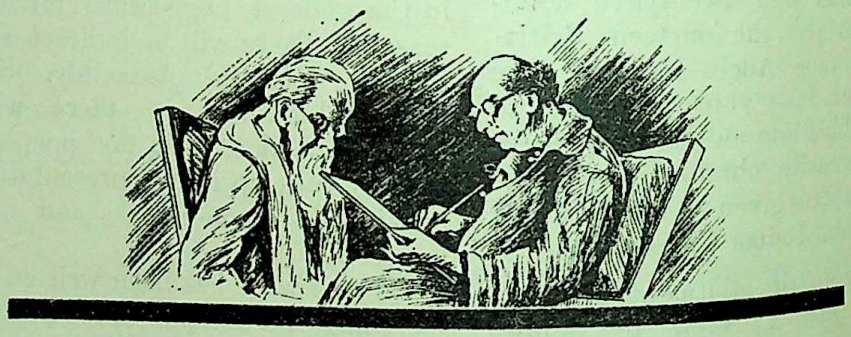
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in both Houses of the Federal Legislature, the ensuing parliamentary deadlock would be resolved through the wholesale usurpation of legislative functions by the Governor-General by the exercise of his powers of law making and and suspending of the constitution wholly or in part, and assuming all powers relating to the departments concerned.

In this article, I have dealt chiefly with the Federal Legislature and the government. As regards the Provinces for dealing with which there is no adequate space left, I can only say in this article that they will not have any true autonomy. It is only the Governors who will have autonomy, so that it would be correct characterization of the Act to say : "The Government of India Act, 1935, has provided for Gubernatorial Autonomy."

(Asia, January, 1936)



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The "Unity" of India

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Successive British Secretaries of State and Viceroys of India have boasted that the British people generously made a free gift of self-rule to India by the Government of India Act, 1935. The hollowness of this claim has been thoroughly exposed in my previous *Asia* articles. The false statement that the Act has satisfied the desire for self government of the people of India now living has not fully gratified the vaingloriousness of Britishers. Not content with this misrepresentation of facts as they are in our day, a typical protagonist of that race has claimed that the Act is also a consummation of the efforts of all great rulers in India from Ashoka onward who have gone to their rest. Did that great and good Emperor, one of the very few immortals that the world has produced, desire that, in after ages, the whole of his Motherland should lie prostrate at the feet of arrogant aliens? An affirmative answer would be blasphemy. Yet such an answer is what a prancing British proconsul has suggested by implication.

Addressing both houses of the Federal Legislature at Simla after the passing of the Act by the British Parliament, Lord Willingdon, who was then Viceroy and Governor General of India, said, along with other things: "It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that during my viceroyalty there has been made possible a consummation which many of the great rulers of India through the ages desired to see and which was hardly in sight when I myself took office over four years ago. I mean that the Act for the first time in the history of India consolidates the whole of India, state and British, for purposes of common concern under a single Government of India for the first time, and India can become one great country .....This is the consummation of age-long efforts, not only of the British Government, but of all great rulers in India, from Ashoka onwards."

More recently Mr. Stanley Baldwin, on the occasion of his last public speech as Prime Minister, at the Empire Day Coronation Banquet in London, gave expression to almost precisely the same sentiment. Describing India, in the course of his toast to the British Commonwealth, as "an Empire within an Empire" he went on to say: "Many as have been the dynasties that have ruled India, none has held a sway so universal and undisputed as the monarchy of which every man and woman in this room are servants. In the loyalty which is focussed upon the Crown, India finds that unity which she sought for so long and we are now engaged in translating that unity into terms of a Federation from which we hope and believe will arise an India greater than has ever yet been."

Those who want independence for one undivided India will not derive much satisfaction from the passing of the Government of India Act 1935, as Lord Willingdon and Mr. Baldwin did. They have, in fact, not derived from it any satisfaction at all. What is of primary importance is freedom. That is true of all self-conscious and self-respecting peoples also. Therefore, a number of independent Indian regions or states would be

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

preferable any day to one vast India subject to foreign rule. It is true, no doubt, that the previous existence of India as an aggregate of many comparatively small independent states led again and again to her subjection, and it is also true that the existence of one large undivided country is preferable to the existence of a number of warring independent smaller political units. But the independence of the smaller units is, in spite of all drawbacks, preferable to the subject condition of the bigger whole. India has been often described as being in diversity and size comparable to the whole of Europe minus Russia. It would certainly not have been better for Europe, minus or including Russia to have been one undivided subject country.

It is not necessary to discuss whether India was ever one political unit in the sense in which she has become one now, nor whether the part of India (the greater part, no doubt) which has become one political unit was ever exceeded in area by the parts which in any previous age had become one political unit. Perhaps the Emipre of Ashoka was larger in area than, or at least as large as, the British Indian Empire constituted by the Act. The Gupta Empire in its palmiest days was also, perhaps, no less extensive. Just as in considering the extent of the British Indian Empire both the provinces directly under British rule and the states acknowledging the paramountcy of the British power are taken into account, so in estimating the size of the ancient empires named above, the regions directly ruled by the Maurya and the Gupta emperors as well as those acknowledging their suzerainty have to be taken into consideration.

Nor is it necessary to discuss whether, though India might not ever have been one political unit, there has not and has not been through the ages a deeper and a mere fundamental unity of India. It is not merely Hindus who have been aware of this unity. None have greater reasons to deny this unity than British imperialists. Yet many of them have admitted it. Only in September last Lord Linlithgow, the present Viceroy of India, spoke of the "essential unity of India."

Let me speak of other things.

Since Lord Willingdon has mentioned Ashoka, it is necessary to point out that Ashoka's India included Nepal and Afghanistan, or that part of Afghanistan which is adjacent to India. The Edicts of Ashoka have been found inscribed in these countries. Whether his suzerainty was acknowledged in Burma also is not clear. But his influence as a Buddhist monarch was felt there, as well as in Ceylon. I have not the remotest desire that Nepal should become part of a subject federated India—it may in future be one of the independent Indian regions constituting a Free Confederation of Indian States; nor do I desire that Afghanistan should lose its independence. In fact, my imagination recoils from the very thought of any independent country losing its freedom. I have mentioned Nepal and Afghanistan only to point out that there were times when *Bharatvarsha* which is the Hindu name of India, denoted a bigger portion of the earth than the Indian Empire of the new Government of India Act.

Lord Willingdon spoke of a "consummation which many of the great rulers of India through the ages desired to see but did not see." What was that consummation? He mentioned Ashoka by name. What was the consummation that Ashoka desired to see? It is not easy to answer either question. But it is not easy to say what consummation the great rulers of India like Ashoka did not desire to see. They certainly did not desire

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the whole or any part of India should be conquered by aliens and be governed by laws enacted outside India by foreigners. Therefore, it can be asserted safely that the consummation which has been brought about is not the one Ashoka desired to see. The Britishers of his way of thinking cannot bring any solace to the soul of Ashoka or to that of any Indian who wants freedom for his country. To liberty-loving children of India it is an abomination. The British people, who could produce a Shakespeare, a Shelley and many another great poet, cannot be lacking in imagination. They do not like to be subjected to foreign rule. Why cannot they imagine that other people also cannot possibly like foreign rule, however gilded the chains of bondage may be.

Many Indian States were once independent allies of the British power. In theory they have hitherto retained that status. Their accession to the Federation of India and the acknowledgment by federated India of the suzerainty of the British Crown would sound the death-knell of even the theoretical sovereignty which these States were said to possess.

I admit, if federated India ever becomes truly self-ruling and independent and if the present juxtaposition of two such politically dissimilar parts of India as the provinces and the states be the direct cause of and hastens the advent of that self-ruling condition, the framers of India's new constitution will have builded better than they wanted to.

Lord Willingdon's reference to Ashoka has given rise in my mind to many thoughts. Ashoka preached and practised religious equality. It does not matter whether he was a benevolent despot or a constitutional monarch or anything else in modern political parlance. But one thing is clear. Though he was a Buddhist, Buddhist and Hindu, *Sramana* and *Brahmana* were treated alike in his empire. There was then no graded citizenship, politically speaking, in India as now. According to India's British-made new constitution, there is first-class citizenship for the top dogs, the Britishers; second-class citizenship for Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians; third-class citizenship for Mahammedans; and fourth-class citizenship for Hindus—with two brands of this citizenship, one for the "depressed" and the other for the "caste" Hindus.

Religious toleration and amity was one of the glories of Ashoka's reign. But Sir Henry Craik, home member of the Government of India, recently said that never in his twentyfive years' experience had he seen greater communal rancour, dissensions and conflicts than to-day. And India's intellectual leaders think that this state of things is due not a little to the notorious Communal Decision of the British Government, which is the foundation of the new constitution, and to the other Communal Rewards to those communities which are partly conscious supporters and partly unconscious tools in the hands of the British imperialists. It is to be noted by the by that, though the British Government has always possessed the power to nip in the bud or quell at their commencement the bloodiest of the so-called *religious* riots, they have been generally brought under control and quelled only after immense harm has been done by the embitterment of relations between the conflicting communities and in other ways.

So, though India may have been made politically one mechanically, in spirit she has been almost hopelessly divided by the new constitution. Far from healing old sores, it has kept them open and caused now ones.

The constitution which has divided the electors into so many racial, religious, caste, economic and other mutually ex-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

clusive groups (each to place its own narrow, sectional interests above national interests)—which has separated even the two sexes—the constitution which has assigned seats in the legislature to the various groups, not according to one uniform standard or basis, but according to varying ones, cannot be said to have "consolidated the whole of India."

Lord Willingdon has said, New India "can become one great country." He need not be reminded of that paragraph in the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report in which the Committee said that they were destroying the national unity of India. The kind of provincial autonomy which the new constitution provides will lead to gubarnatorial autonomy undoubtedly, but so far as the provinces and their people are concerned, one certain result will be the Bulkanisation of India. The provinces have been treated, as regards the allotment of seats in the legislatures, finance, franchise and so forth according to such varying standards that existing provincial envy and jealousies will persist and new causes of such feelings will spring up. Thus, it will not be easy for India to "become one great country." Geographically it has always been, is and will remain one great country. But the new constitution of the Government of India Act will tend to destroy its unity in spirit.

There is another reason why, in spite of a single federal government, India will not really become one great country in spirit in consequence of the new constitution. For becoming truly one great country, the provinces and states should have one great common purpose or a few great common purposes. Undoubtedly, in spite of the now constitution, the people of India will continue to act under the great common urge of winning self-rule. But since Lord Willingdon has referred to the new Act in particular as a unifying factor, he should point out the great common urge, purpose or object which can be discovered in it. I find none. There is, unquestionably, the intention throughout to keep India in bondage to be exploited for the aggrandisement of Britain. But that is scarcely a great object.

A common grievance may be, as it has often been, a unifying factor. And all Indians will continue to labour under the common grievance of not having freedom. But the new Act has divided the people into so many conflicting groups and has set British India and Indian India, as also the provinces among themselves and the states among themselves, by the ears so cleverly, and all of them will have so many grievances of their own, that the great common grievance of deprivation of freedom may fail to receive adequate common and joint attention and call forth joint endeavour for its removal.

Federated India will mechanically bring together two politically heterogenous parts of India. In the British provinces there will at least be the form of democracy and some sort of modern administration; but in the states generally there will not be even the form of democracy—there will be instead autocracy and the old-world personal rule of the princes under the paramountcy of the British Crown, with its concommittant, the irresistible influence of the British Resident and the British Political Agent. Can this be called the consolidation of "the whole of India, state and British?"

In a deeper sense, too, India cannot "become one great country" under British or any other foreign rule. The greatness of a country does not depend on its size. It depends on the genius, the intellectual and spiritual capacity of its people. Ancient Greece was a great country, though it was small in size

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In spite of its large area India could not have been called a great country if it had not produced men intellectually and spiritually great. Such has been its greatness that even in its present subject condition it has produced some of the world's most eminent men of the age. But it cannot become as great as it is capable of becoming unless it attains freedom.

The American sociologist, Professor E. A. Ross, of Wisconsin University, maintains that there is no case in history where the subjection of one people to another has not tended powerfully and irresistibly to produce intellectual and moral deterioration in those held in subjection. Even in these cases where the domination is of the best type known, he declares that "the alien domination has a distinctly blighting effect upon the higher life of the people." Under British rule or under any other foreign rule the highr life of the people of India cannot therefore be what it ought to be and can be under normal conditions. Hence, under British rule India cannot become a great country in any true sense.

With regard to Lord Willingdon's second point "that the Government of India under the new constitution will draw their authority by direct devolution from the Crown," one can only smile. What does it matter to the people of India how and whence the authority of the Government of India is derived, so long as that authority is not derived wholly and solely from the people of India and so long as they themselves continue to remain deprived of any ultimate authority in all things that matter? What does it matter to slaves whether slave-holder's deputy derives his authority from his employer in one way or in another? The servitude of the Indian people of India will not become less galling because of this "direct devolution." The Dominions appreciate their position because their people have the substance of self-rule and independence. The mere words "direct devolution" cannot in India be a consolatory substitute for that reality.

Lord Willingdon added: "The second feature is the necessary preliminary and the best augery for the full attainment by India of the political character which the most developed of His Majesty's Dominions enjoy."

Credat Indoeus Apella.

Did "the most developed of His Majesty's Dominions" enjoy also the "necessary preliminary" of the "safeguards", the "special responsibilities" of the Governor General and the Governors, the Governor-General's "reserved" subjects of Defense, Foreign Affairs, Ecclesiastical Affairs, and so, forth, the Governor-General's and the Governors' ordinance-making powers, Communal Decisions and Rewards and provisions against economic "discrimination" against Britain?

No. The Dominions were given autonomy without any of these "preliminaries", because these are negations of self-rule. For India the semblance is thought to be sufficient.

It can be asserted without the least hesitation, therefore, that just as the new constitution is not a fulfilment of the desire of the people of India for self-government, so it is also not a consummation of the age long efforts of all great rulers of India from Ashoka onward, who did not want India to be ruled by foreigners from a far-distant land and in a manner which makes more for divison and disintegration than for unification and consolidation.

(*Asia*, August, 1937)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Nation Building and the Critical Spirit

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Faith has great driving power. So have love and hope. But faith must not degenerate into bigotry and fanaticism, love of one's own people must not degenerate into hatred of others, and our hopes must not be idle dreams based on delusions. In order that faith love and hope may impel us to be good and do good, we must make right use of reason.

Faith has not sufficed to prevent people from committing horrible crimes. We do not know that any man was ever burned at the stake by orthodox and pious men for leading a notoriously immoral and wicked life in violation of the universally accepted rules of morality; but countless men have been so burnt for having a creed somewhat different from that of these orthodox and pious men.

We do not know that any man has been in recent times stoned to death for his wicked deeds; but it was only the other day that a man was stoned to death in Afghanistan for heterodoxy.

We do not know that any "high caste" Brahmin is shunned and treated as "untouchable" even if he leads a most impure and wicked life; but millions of men and women and children are treated as unclean and untouchable and considered worse than dogs and pigs, even if their lives be as moral as those of the best orthodox Brahmins.

Yet burning at the stake, stoning to death and the treating of human beings as worse than pigs and dogs, have been the work of men of faith. So it is not enough that a man should believe. It is necessary that he should not believe in wrong things. He should cultivate the critical spirit along with the faculty to believe.

But this is only by the way.

The problem of nation-building has been discussed for years and yet people are not tired of such discussions. This is as it ought to be. For nation-building is one of the most important problems facing the people of India.

Nationalism—at least in its sinister sense—has been gradually coming into disrepute, so much so that even those who believe in it in their hearts are paying lip-homage to what may be called humanism or internationalism; for hypocrisy has ever been the tribute which vice has paid to virtue.

But we think nationalism has a good meaning also; and it is in that sense that we believe in the cult of nationalism. Let us explain ourselves. A man who tries to do good to his family and to maintain loving and harmonious relations among its members, is not necessarily hostile to other people. He has only to be careful that his devotion to his family does not make him neglectful or inimical to the interests of his countrymen at large. On the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

contrary, he must perceive that the welfare of his family is dependent on the welfare of his countrymen, and shape his conduct accordingly. Similarly, nationalsm or devotion to the welfare of the nation to which one belongs, does not necessarily imply hostility to the interests of other nations. On the contrary, as the welfare of every nation really depends on that of other nations, it is both foolish and unrighteous to seek to promote the interests of one's own nation at the expense of any other nation or nations. In fact, if Humanity as it ought to be, be thought of as a grand and beautiful edifice, nations are the bricks of which it is to be built. And these bricks should be sound and well-made.

Just as in international relations, it is foolish and wrong to seek the welfare of any particular nation at the expense of othrer nations, so is it foolish and wrong to try to promote the interests of any particular community or group within the nations at the expense of other communities or groups.

The nation-builder has a far more difficult task than a house-builder. The house-builder has to work with materials which are unconscious and have no wills, passions or emotions, likes and dislikes. He chooses the right kind of bricks and mortar, or stones and cement, and proceeds with his work. But the units with which the nation-builder has to do are all conscious and have all wills and feelings and appetites of their own. Therefore to build up an edifice with such materials which will be an enduring structure is no easy task. For though men are gregarious animals and therefore there is attraction between man and man, there are various causes which produce repulsion between man and man. These causes are self-interest, rivalry and jealousy, race, religious dogmas and beliefs of some kinds, difference in caste, etc. As these causes cannot be entirely eliminated and as the conservation of individuality is vitally necessary, the nation-builder has to see that the forces of repulsion do not become stronger than the forces of attraction and that the forces of attraction and that gregariousness does not crush out all individuality.

All the religions that we know of teach the lesson of love, and therefore religion ought to have proved of the greatest value to the internationalist as well as to the nationalist. But in pracice we find that altruism has been able to overleap the barriers of race, nation, sect and caste only in the case of a small number of persons. Innumerable are the examples in history of the followers of even the same religion waging war against one another, because of difference of race, nationality sect, etc.

For this reason, the real nation-builder has to take care that in trying to take advantage of men's faith, those aspects of their faith are not laid stress upon which have a direct or indirect tendency to divide man from man and to promote the spirit of hatred and exclusiveness. In fact, it would be best for nation-builders to avoid appealing to the religious faiths of men, because when doing so he would not find it practicable or expedient to criticise and condemn those dogmas which foster religious intolerance and exclusiveness. (We are not, of course, against but for an appeal to the spiritual and ethical idealism of men).

On the contrary, it would be best not only to tolerate but even to encourage criticism of such dogmas. This, of course, does not fall within the province of the professed nation-builder.

From the point of view of both nationalism and internationalism, we are opposed to sectarian educational institutions and to what is known as religious

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

education in such schools. Such institutions and such education generally tend to produce a narrow type of orthodoxy. Those who are for such schools and colleges and such education belong or profess to belong to the orthodox sections of their respective communities. It is not our purpose in this article to examine or criticise any orthodox or heretical doctrine or dogma. But orthodox people will we hope excuse us for anything that orthodxy, be it, for example, Hindu or Muslim, carried to its logical conclusion, cannot make for national unity and solidarity. A quite orthodox and self-conscious Hindu and a quite orthodox and self-conscious Musalman are not likely to pull together. We shall be told that Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Mohamed Ali are pulling together. But Mr. Gandhi, though a Hindu, is not at all an orthodox Hindu. If Hindus and Musalmans, (not to speak of other religious communities) are to form one united nation, they must shed some of their orthodox notions and habits. We are constrained to say this, though we love and respect many orthodox beliefs and practices.

Even if India were inhabited entirely by Hndus or entirely by Musalmans, there could not be effective nationhood in the modern sense without the Hindus or the Moslems getting rid of some their orthodoxy. The so-called "Untouchables" could not work with orthodox "caste" Hindus, or rather would not be allowed to work with them. The removal of "Untouchability" in the Gandhian sense would be some relief, but would not be equivalent to what educated and self-conscious "Untouchables" were satisfied with the small mercies directed to be dispensed to them by Mr. Gandhi, there are the non-Brahmins in Maharashtra and South India generally to be dealt with. They are not and have never been untouchable. But they have rebelled against what they consider the exclusive and monopolising spirit of the Brahmins. This revolt is not merely political. It is social and religious, too. There are non-Brahmins who want to do without the ministrations of Brahmins as priests in all religious rites and ceremonies.

Therefore, to do away with "untouchability" to the extent that Mr. Gandhi wants though that itself would be to pull out one much of a remedy, it is the caste spirit itself which must be exorcised. But that cannot be done if Hindu orthodoxy is to be preserved at any cost.

As regards, Muslim orthodoxy, we confess we do not know much. But this we know that the men and women who have made of modern Turkey a factor to reckon with are not orthodox. In fact, the womenhood of Turkey is up in arms against Muslim orthodoxy; —and it is well-known that in every country women are more religious and conservative than men. Egypt too, does not appear to be orthodox enough. Mr. Mohamed Ali has, in fact, complained that the outlook of Egyptians is more national than Muslim. From the example of these two countries it would appear that even if India were wholly or predominantly Muslim, she could not be nationally efficient without giving up some orthodox beliefs and practices. In Afghanistan, Muslim orthodoxy has stoned to death a heretic of the Ahmadiya persuasion and such a barbarous punishment has been openly supported by some Musalmans in India, though it has also been condemned by some. This shows that if orthodox Musalmans in India could have their way, they would give short shrift to the Ahmadiyas, who are an Indian sect.

It may be objected that as there are Christian nations in Europe and these have solidarity and are efficient, there

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

fore the giving up of orthodoxy is not necessary for the attainment of manhod; and if orthodox Christianity be compatible with national solidarity and efficiency, why not orthodox Hinduism and Muhammadanism? The reply is that in Europe religious orthodoxy has little to do with politics, and that in most European countries in matters of politics the people think in terms of their nationality. That is, as Germans, or Frenchmen, or Scots, or Englishmen or Swedes, or Danes, etc., but not as Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, etc. Moreover, except in the case of clergymen and professional Christian propagandists orthodoxy of all sorts is on the decline in the West, as evidenced by the falling off in Church attendance. If Europe were still orthodox, there would still be *autos-da-fe* there would still be discrimination against Roman Catholics, Jews and Dissenters, and perhaps there would be slavery also.

From what has been said above, it will be evident that we want our future citizens to have from their childhood a wide outlook on life. For that reason we want unsectarian schools, colleges and universities where our boys and girls will be accustomed to rub shoulders with their comrades of all religions and sects. They will thus be able to rub off the angularities of their character, to discover that there is nobility, idealism, lovability, in persons belonging to all religious persuasions, and to form friendship with and trust in persons belonging to communities other than their own. Better fellow-citizens than such fast and life-long friends cannot be thought of.

In order that people should be able to get rid of some orthodox beliefs and practices, it is necessary that a critical spirit should grow up in our midst. And it is desirable that this spirit should manifest itself within each particular community. When at first it manifested itself among Hindus, some of those who were critically minded became atheists, agnostics, or positivists, some turned Christians, some Brahmos. But gradually Hindu orthodoxy has lost its power and influence to such an extent that there is among Hindus quite a large number of men whose beliefs and practices are known to be heterodox. Of course, this state of things has been brought about by successive groups of critically minded men and women bravely facing obloquy and persecution.

We know there are in the Muslim community, too, liberal-minded heterodox men. But they have not yet made up their minds to face obloquy and persecution to any very great extent. At present in the Moslem community, the most influeniial persons are the Mollahs and Maulanas who issue fatwas. By asking them to issue or in any case by taking advantage of their fatwas in favour of Non-co-operation and against council-entry, the political leaders of the Moslem community have conserved and increased the power and influence of these persons. which cannot make for national solidarity and efficiency.

For the birth, growth conservation and increase of the critical spirit in our midst, we must look to a really liberal national education. It is only a truly liberal national education—not a sectarian orthodox education—which can give us unsectarian, liberal, national and international minds. The education given in our state-recognsed institutions is not of an ideal kind, but still it frees the mind from shackles of various sorts. If the "National" institutions of various kinds can do better in this direction, they are welcome. But by "National" education Hindus for most part understand an education with as much of Hindu orthodoxy in it as possible, as is

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

proved by the celebration of the Saraswati Puja and other Pujas in many "National" Institutions. Muslims also have their separate "National" university.

But we shall never have a liberal, rational, national and international mentality unless we can shake off the authority of priests, dogmatists, theologians, etc., as such in the fields of education and politics.

Criticism of Hindu orthodoxy by non-Hindus, of Muslim orthodoxy by non-Muslims, of Christian orthodoxy by non-Christians, etc., is not so fruitful as such criticism by Hindus, Muslims, Christians, etc., respectively. Criticism from outside produces greater friction and exasperation. Hence, criticism within the community itself is necessary and desirable.

It is not in the fields of religion and social polity alone that a critical spirit is necessary. In politics, economics, industry, and in every other field of national activity the critical spirit is absolutely necessary. At present no doubt, owing to the No-changers having been thrown overboard by Mr. Gandhi, even they have begun openly or in secret to question his wisdom, poltical sagacity, impartiality and authority. But till only recently, his opinions, even as regards medicine and the like, were thought to be sacrosanct and non-challengeable because he was so great a saint—although people saw that he denounced allopathy but at the same time subjected himself to allopathic medicine and surugery.

No-changers and Swarajyists, Liberals and Independents, Non-Brahmins and Sanatanists, Moslem Leaguers and Khilafatists,—all require to cultivate a rebellious mood against the tyranny of shibboleths and catchwords. There has grown up in our midst a political caste system. The tyranny of this political caste system, must be destroyd. Free and sane thinking in the politics must take its place. We do not of course, suggest that all our political parties and all their opinions are wrong. What we venture to suggest is that they all require to cultivate the habit of recognising whatever good there is in the opinions and activities of those from whom they differ and to work together in everything which is common ground between them.

Industries of various kinds are required for making the nations prosperous and strong. In the field of industry, there is still a strong tendency to make a fetish of the charkha and to consider power charkha too is a machine) and their opinion—and it may be quite wrong—has all along been that people should be left free to choose their machines (the charkha too is a machine and their methods of work. In certain circumstances, the hand spinning wheel, like the hand plough has great value and utility; in others it may not be required. If labour-saving machinery be really labour-savings, if they really give leisure to the workers, if the workers can work as free agents in sanitary surroundings and in a moral atmosphere, and if they can share in profits as well as management, machinery should be condemned wholesale. Of course, idealists would also want to so control production as to prevent aggressive economic warfare with other nations by dumping, bounties, etc.

No nation has adhered to either free trade or protection throughout history. The adoption of one or other of these principles or policies has depended on circumstances. And some people have been free-traders as regards certain articles of commerce and protectionists as regards other goods, at the same time. We too, ought not to make a fetish of free trade or protection. We should make a proper use of our intellect and knowledge to decide when and with

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

respect to what articles we should adopt the one or the other policy. Our object should always be the welfare of the country. But we should never seek to promote the interests of our country injuring other countries. In some fields of Industry we have been crushed by unfair and unrighteous means. If we can reassert ourselves in these fields, those who have injuried us may have to part with some of their prosperity. But that cannot be helped. What we mean by not injuring others is that we should not try to invade markets in foreign countries by unrighteous means. There will not however be any harm in seeking by all righteous means to push the sale of our raw materials in countries which do not produce them or of our manufactured goods in those which do not make them.

In choosing our land policy we should be guided by our reason, not making a fetish of the permanent or any other kind of settlement. If peasant proprietorship, land nationalisation, taxation of agricultural profits, taking a share of the produce of the land in kind or coin only when the holding is an economic one, or any other suggestion or suggestions be for the good of those who labour on the land we should adopt it or them.

There is also the question of the comparative and absolute values of town and country to national life, and allied problems of village reconstruction. These questions we should approach in a critical and scientific spirit, and find out means and methods for their solution with its aid.

We have no desire to range over the whole province of national problems. The few examples we have given will suffice to show the need of a critical spirit.

We are aware that no amount of criticism can enable us to advance a step forward along the path of national realisation, without some impelling power, as indicated in the very first sentences of this article, must come from love, faith and hope. The critical spirit is to show us what obstacles we are to overcome. What pitfalls we are to avoid, and in general what dangers we are to beware of.

(*Welfare*, January, 1925)



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

On Great Men

Ramananda has, from time to time, written brief biographical sketches of some of our great men. They are, indeed, a biographical assessment and something different from and distinctive in the line of biographical sketches. Thus, the first issue of the *Modern Review* carried a biographical assessment of the late Dadabhai Naoroji who was President of the Congress in that year. Considerations of space compel us to make a severely limited selection among many such and, in this section we include only two, one on Rabindranath, written just after he had passed away, and another on Jawaharlal Nehru on his re-election as President of the Congress in 1937.

This brief biographical assessment of the Poet, we feel, is something which will enable the reader to comprehend a little of the greatness, the universality and, above all, the limitless infinity of the subject which even years of close and sustained studies of the poet's works and activities would not yield in such balanced measure. It will also demonstrate that Ramananda's friendship with and admiration for the Poet was founded on an understanding of his motivations and creations in their deepest sense and upon extensive studies of his works.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rabindra Nath Tagore

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

"तोमार कीर्त्तिर चेये तुमि जे महत्
ताई तव जीवनेर रथ
पश्चाते फेलिया जाय कीर्त्तिरे तोमार
बारम्बार।"

—रवीन्द्रनाथ

["It is because you are greater
than your achievement
That the chariot of your life
Leaves behind your achievement
Again and again." (Translation)]

Rabindranath Tagore.

"Thy voice is on the rolling air ;
I hear thee where the waters run ;
Thou standest in the rising sun ;
And in the setting thou art fair.
What art thou their ? I cannot
guess ;
But though I seem in star and
flower
To feel thee some diffusive power,
I do not therefore love thee less ;
My love involves the love before ;
My love is vaster passion now ;
Though mix'd with God and
Nature thou,
I seem to love thee more and more.
Far off thou art but ever nigh ;
I have thee still, and I rejoice ;
I labour, circled with thy voice ;
I shall not lose thee though I die."

—Tennyson.

There is no single word which can adequately describe the myriad-minded Rabindranath Tagore of seemingly multiple but really one and undivided peerless personality. Poet, artist, sage, seer, thinker, philosopher, knower and lover of man and the universe, loving servant of humanity—his passing has evoked paeans of praise from countless men and women in his motherland and abroad, irrespective of creed, colour, caste, class, community and political party. All differences and discordant notes have been hushed in the realized presence of this great unifier of spirits. There was, and there is, no one loved and adored by more persons in the land he lived in and abroad than he the beauty of whose inner being was fittingly matched but not surpassed by the beauty of his person. He was, and is king of our hearts.

On the twenty-fifth of Baisakh of the Bengali year, corresponding to the eighth of May, 1941, Rabindranath Tagore completed eighty years of his life. He breathed his last on the 7th of August, 1941. Lives eighty years long, though not common, are not extremely rare either. But it is not the length of a life but its quality that really matters. We read in the Yogo-Vasishtha :

Taravopi hi jivanti, jivanti,
mrigapakshinah,
Sa jivati mano yasya mananena
hi jivati.

"Plants also live, and birds and
beasts live ;
But he lives (truly) whose mind
lives by thinking."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

French author "Victor in Drama, Victor in Romance, Cloud-weaver of phantasmal hopes and fears", "Lord of human tears", "Child-lover", and "Weird Titan by thy winter weight of years as yet unbroken..." All these epithets and many more can be rightly applied to Rabindranath Tagore.

By way of supplementing and elaborating what Pandit Haraprasad Sastri has written of Rabindranath's literary productions, it may be observed that he wrote much on religious, educational, social, political, historical, economic, and philological subjects, and on music. He is an authority on metre. He was perhaps the greatest literary critic in Bengali. As a writer of letters he is unrivalled in Bengali for the number, volume, variety, and excellence of his epistles. Even post cards written by him are part of literature. In writing of prose poems and of free verse, too, he is unrivalled. Four years ago he wrote a scientific book, **Visva-parichaya** ("Introduction to the Universe"), which has gone through six editions. In the production of charades in Bengali he perhaps stands alone. Then there is that unclassifiable work **Pancha Bhuter Diary** ("Diary of the Five Elements"), imaginary conversations which are like a transcript of his own talks in Bengali. He is the creator of some dance-plays, too. The aggregate of what he has done for the Bengali language and literature exceeds what any other author has done. It is remarkable that in the decade following 1930, during the latter part of which he was twice seriously ill, he produced some three dozen new books, including primers, nursery rhymes, nonsense verses and picture books for children and several dance-dramas. Two books of poems and a book of reminiscences of his boyhood days appeared during his last illness. Two more were expected to be issued. Many new songs have been composed during this period. The articles and essays written during this period have not yet been published in book form.

All this he was able to do, not merely because he was a man of genius but also because he was a scholar whose range of reading was very extensive and varied.

In addition to what he read in Bengali, Sanskrit and Pali, and of English literature proper and of the literature of other countries in English translations, he read English books, as a glance at his reading shelves revealed, on the following and other subjects:

Farming, philology, history, medicine, astro-physics, geology, bio-chemistry, entomology, co-operative banking, sericulture, indoor decorations, production of hides, manures, sugar-cane and oil, pottery, looms, lacquer-work, tractors, village economics, recipes for cooking, lighting, drainage, calligraphy, plant-grafting, meteorology, synthetic dyes, parlour-games, Egyptology, road-making, incubators, wood-blocks, elocution, stall-feeding, jiu-jitsu, printing.

His reading of books on so many subjects was no mere idle pastime. He made practical use of all his studies. He was no sentimentalist. He had a scientific mind. His friends

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



THE "SWAYAMVARA" SHABHA
By : Nandalal Bose

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ship with Sir J. C. Bose was not accidental but was due to a kinship of soul.

Milton wrote in his day, when knowledge was neither so vast nor so varied and specialized as today, that the poet should take all knowledge as his province. Rabindranath Tagore's ideal was similar to that of Milton.

Had he not been famous as a great poet and prose-writer, he would have become famous for the range and variety of his studies. Yet such was the genuine humility of the poet that in a poem written early this year and translated as **The Great Symphony**, he declared :

How little I know of this mighty world.
Myriad deeds of men, cities, countries,
rivers, mountains, seas and desert wastes,
so many unknown forms and trees
have remained beyond my range of awarness.
Great is life in this wide Earth
and small the corner where my mind dwells.

An impression seems still to prevail in some quarters that Rabindranath Tagore's genius was not recognized even in Bengal before he won the Nobel Prize. It is quite wrong. On his completing the fiftieth year of his life, all classes, all professions and ranks, the representatives of the spirituality, character, culture and public spirit of Bengal, combined to do him honour in the Calcutta Town Hall in a way in which no other author in Bengal had been honoured before, or, has been since. There were also other magnificent celebrations of the occasion. And all this took place before the Nobel Prize in literature had been awarded to him. The fact is, he became famous outside Bengal after winning the Nobel Prize, but was already famous here before that event—Before that event competent and discriminating literary critics in Bengal had given him even a higher place than the award of the Nobel Prize would seem to indicate.

At that time he had, no doubt, some detractors. But after the Nobel Prize award they were hushed into silence. Highly sensitive as he was, he sometimes mistook the voice of his detractors as the predominant voice of Bengal.

Some works of his have been translated into more languages of the world than those of any other modern Indian author or perhaps of any other author of the world. Most of his works and some kinds of works of his in Bengali, e.g., those which are full of humour and wit have not yet been translated into English or thence into other Western and Eastern languages. In the translations of the works which have been translated, much, if not all, of the music, the suggestiveness, the undefinable associations clustering round Bengali words and phrases, and the aroma, racy of Bengal and India, of the originals have been lost. No doubt, the translations of the poems and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

dramas, particularly when done by the poet himself, have often gained in directness, in the beauty and sublimity of simplicity, and in the music and strength belonging to the English or other language of the translations. But admitting all this, one is still constrained to observe that, for a correct estimate and full appreciation of Rabindranath's intellectual and literary powers, his gifts and genius, it is necessary to study both his original works in Bengali and their English translations, as well as his original works in English, like Personality, Sadhana, The Religion of Men, etc. A study of his works in their Bengali originals is essential for a correct estimate of his genius and literary achievement.

The German translations of some of his works sold in such large numbers that, if it not for the phenomenal fall in the exchange value of the mark during and after the last great World War, he could have received millions of rupees as royalties on them, setting him free for ever from pecuniary anxiety for Visvabharati.

At the most perhaps one-sixth of his Bengali works have been translated into English. Some of the best of them remain untranslated. In a letter to a friend he once wrote that no real adequate translation from one language into another was possible.

It speaks much also for the powers of appreciation of the Oxford University that, knowing him mainly from the translations of some of his works and from inadequate accounts of his career and personality, pronounced the following eulogy on him when admitting him to the Degree of Doctor of Literature **honoris causa.**

"The fourth brother who present before you now has by his life, his genius and his character augmented so greatly the fame of his house that, did his piety and modesty not forbid, none would have a better right to say in Scripture famous phrase: "My life has crowned the virtues of my line." You see in him a great scholar and a great artist, both in prose and in verse; one who has written poetry, romance, satire, history; who has left scarcely any field of literature untouched and has touched nothing that he had not adorned. How rarely has such richness of imagination been combined with such elegance of style! How astonishing is the range of his versatile genius, wisdom and laughter, terror and delight, the power of stirring our deepest emotions! And yet we are always conscious of his essential humanity, of a man who thinks nothing beneath his notice, if only it is concerned with mankind. You see in him a musician who seems to obey no rules and yet has invented a thousand new melodies; a distinguished philosopher, deeply versed in natural philosophy, in ethics and in theology and who has at the least achieved that complete serenity of mind sought by how many and won by how few. You all dedicated as he has been to these pursuits, he has not lived for himself alone; for deeming good education for the young the most re-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

able of all institutions he has been the founder and director of this famous Academy, whose purpose is by wise methods to inculcate among its students a love of pure learning. Let it also be said that he has not valued a sheltered life so far above the public good as to hold himself wholly aloof from the dust and heat of the world outside; for there have been times when he has not scorned to step down into the market-place; when, if he thought that a wrong had been done he has not feared to challenge the British raj itself and the authority of its magistrates; and when he has boldly corrected the faults of his own fellow-citizens. What more can I say? Here before you is the myriad minded poet and writer, the musician famous in his art, the philosopher proved both in word and deed, the fervent upholder of learning and sound doctrine, the ardent defender of public liberties one who by the sanctity of his life and character has won for himself the praise of all mankind."

His hymns and sermons and some of his other writings on spiritual subjects let us unconsciously into the secret of his access to the court of the King of kings, nay to His very presence, and of his communion with Him. His devotional songs and other writings in a spiritual vein have brought solace and healing to many a soul in travail and anguish. Many of his patriotic songs are hymns as well.

Insight and imagination are his magic wands, by whose power he roams where he will and leads his readers, too, thither. In his works Bengali literature has outgrown its provincial character and has become fit to fraternize with world literature. Currents of universal thought and spirituality have flowed into Bengal through his writings.

In philosophy he is not a system-builder, he has been acclaimed as a Vedantist. He is of the line of our ancient religio-philosophical teachers whose religion and philosophy are fused components of one whole. His position as a philosophical thinker was recognized by his selection to preside and deliver the presidential address at the First Indian Philosophical Congress in 1925, and also when he was asked to deliver the Hibbert Lectures, which appeared subsequently as **The Religion of Man.** Both his poetry and prose embody his philosophy.

The theme of **The Religion of Man** has been thus explained by the Author:

"India has ever nourished faith in the truth of the Spiritual Man, for whose realization she has made in the past innumerable experiments, sacrifices and penances, some verging on the grotesque and the abnormal. But the fact is she has never ceased in her attempt to find it, even though at the tremendous cost of losing material success. Therefore I feel that the true India is an idea, and not a mere geographical fact. I have come into touch with the idea in far-away places of Europe, and my loyalty was drawn to it in persons who belonged to countries different from mine. India will be victorious when this idea wins the victory—the idea of 'The

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Infinite Personality, whose light reveals itself through the obstruction of Darkness.' Our fight is against this darkness. Our object is the revealment of the light of this Infinite Personality of Man. This is not to be achieved in single individuals, but in one grand harmony of all human races. The darkness of egoism which will have to be destroyed is the egoism of the Nation. The idea of India is against the intense consciousness of the separateness of one's own people from others, which inevitably leads to ceaseless conflicts. Therefore, my own prayer is, let India stand for the co-operation of all peoples of the world.

My religion is the reconciliation in my own individual being of the Super-personal Man, the Universal human spirit. This is the theme of my Hibbert Lectures."

Rabindranath was not simply a literary man, though his eminence as an author is such that for a stranger the Bengali language would be worth learning for studying his writings alone.

It does not in the least detract from his work as a musician to admit that he was not an **ustad** or "expert" in music, as that term is usually understood, though he was trained in Indian classical music. He had such a sensitive ear that he appeared to live in two worlds—one, the world of visible forms and colours, and another, which one may call the world of sound-forms and sound-colours. His musical genius and instinct were such that his achievement in that art extorted the admiration of many "experts". This is said not with reference only to his numerous hymns and patriotic and other songs and the tunes to which he himself set them, or to the thrilling, sweet, soulful and rapt singing in different periods of his life but also in connection with what he has done for absolute music. He was not only the author of the words of his songs, possessed of rare depth of meaning and suggestiveness and power of inspiration, but was also the creator of what may be called new airs and tunes.

It is said that among European musicians Franz Peter Schubert holds the record for the number of songs composed by him. The Encyclopaedia **Britannica** (Eleventh Edition) says of Schubert that "he was the greatest song-writer who ever lived." His songs "number over 600, excluding scenas and operatic pieces."

According to a rough estimate Rabindranath Tagore has composed some 2,000 songs, all of which are set to music. These do not include his dance-plays and operas. He continued to the last to compose new songs, never repeating himself.

About fifteen years ago, I had the good fortune to be present at some of the meetings in Germany and Czechoslovakia where he lectured and recited some of his poems. To such a meeting at Dresden I have briefly referred in my article on "Rabindranath Tagore at Dresden." His recitations were such that even though the poems recited were in a language not understood by the vast majority of the audience

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

had to repeat them several times at their earnest request. Those who have heard him read his address and deliver his extempore speeches and sermons in Bengali know how eloquent he could be as a speaker, though his delivery in years past was often so rapid and his sentences branched out in such bewildering luxuriance as to make him the despair of reporters. No wonder, he shone also as a conversationalist. His humorous and witty repartees and his improvised playful poems were unrivalled. Many a time and oft did gems of wit and wisdom drop from his lips in the course of conversations. It is greatly to be regretted that only infinitesimal fragments of them are on record. Fuller transcripts would have constituted a literature of priceless worth.

He was a master and a consummate teacher of the histrionic art. Those who have seen him appear in leading roles in many of his plays have experienced how natural and elevating acting can be. From the prime of his manhood upwards he was in the habit of reading out his new poems, discourses, short stories, plays and novels to select circles. On such occasions, too, his elocution and histrionic talents came into play.

If it is true that the credit of reviving the performance of music in public by respected women goes to the Brahmo Samaj, that credit belongs in great part to the Tagore family and Rabindranath Tagore. They have also made it possible for girls and women of respectable classes to act in public. The poet has also rehabilitated in Bengal dancing by respectable girls and women as a means of self-expression and innocent amusement and play. The new dances he has created, in which he has personally trained many girls students of Santiniketan, are entirely free from the voluptuousness and worse features of many prevalent dances. In the course of a letter written to His Excellency President Tai Chi Tao on the significance of artistic education in Visva-bharati, the Poet said :

"Tonight we shall present before you another aspect of our ideal where we seek to express our inner self through song and dance. Wisdom, you will agree, is the pursuit of completeness ; it is in blending life's diverse work with the joy of living. We must never allow our enjoyment to gather wrong associations by detachment from educational life ; in Santiniketan, therefore, we provide our own entertainment, and we consider it a part of education to collaborate in perfecting beauty. We believe in the discipline of a regulated existence to make entertainment richly creative.

In this we are following the ancient wisdom of China and India ; the **Tau,** or the True Path, was the golden road uniting arduous service with music and merriment. Thus in the hardest hours of trial you have never lost the dower of spiritual gaiety which has refreshed your manhood and attended upon your great flowerings of civilisation. Song and laughter and dance have marched along with rare loveliness of Art for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

centuries of China's history. In India, Sarasvati sits on her lotus throne, the goddess of Learning and also of Music, with the Golden Lyre the **Veena**—on her lap. In both countries, the archana of light have fallen on divinity of human achievements. And that is Wisdom."

Tagore's patriotic songs are characteristic. They are refined and restrained, and free from bluff, bravado, bluster and boasting. Some of them twine their tendrils round the tenderest chords of our hearts, some enthrone the Motherland as the Adorned in the shrine of our souls, some sound as a clarion call to our drooping spirits filling us with hope and the will to do and dare and suffer, some call on us to have the lofty courage to be in the minority of one; but in none are heard the clashing of interests, the warring passions of races, or the echoes of old, unhappy, far-off historic strifes and conflicts. In many of those written during the stirring times of the Swadeshi agitation in Bengal more than three decades ago, the poet spoke out with a directness which is missed in many of his writings, though not in the Katha-o-Kahini ballads, which make the heart beat thick and fast and the blood tingle and leap and course swiftly in our veins.

To Andrews Fletcher of Salton, a famous Scottish patriot, is attributed the authorship of the observation that "if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." He is generally quoted, however, as having said so with respect to songs. Both ballads and songs have much to do with the making of nations. Rabindranath's songs and ballads— the former to a greater extent than the latter, have been making and shaping Bengal to no small extent and will continue to mould the character of her people, literate and illiterate, town-dwellers and village-folk, and their culture and civilization.

But it is not merely as a maker of songs that he took part in the Swadeshi movement. His socio-political addresses, the annual fairs suggested or organised by him, were part of the same national service. He worked ernestly for the revival of weaving and other arts and crafts of the country, particularly village arts and crafts and contributed his full share to making education in India Indian as well as human and humane in the broadest sense, and to the sanitation, reconstruction, reorgainzation and rejuvenation of villages. Even official reports have praised him as a model landlord for his activities in these directions in his estate.

He loved and worked for the welfare of his tenants in his zamindari with all his heart, and they in their turn loved and revered him. Once upon a time he had to go out on business with the English Magistrate of the district in which his estate was situated. But though in those days a District Magistrate, and particularly an English one, was held in great awe, the rayat who was asked to arrange for the conveyance of Rabindranath and the Magistrate, brought only one palanquin. When taken to task, he explained that he

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

thought it only natural and proper that anybody who chose to accompany him (Rabindranath) should walk, even though he were an Englishman and the District Magistrate. On further expostulation the rayat brought for the magistrate a gouty pony.

His scheme of constructive "non-co-operaion," or, properly speaking, of constructive self-reliance, in education, revival of village crafts, village reconstruction, etc., was outlined in some of his writings and addresses more than thirty years ago, was part of his Swadeshi-movement politics. It is to be found in his lecture on **Swadeshi Samaj,** delivered on 22nd July, 1904, and in his presidential address at the Bengal Provincial Conference at Pabna, 1908.

The attention which he continued to bestow on the welfare of villages to his dying day and which found expression in the Rural Reconstruction Department of Visvabharati at Sriniketan, was in part born of the disillusion to which he referred in the **Crisis of Civilization.**

"There came a time when perforce I had to snatch myself away from the mere appreciation of literature. As I emerged into the stark light of bare facts, the sight of the dire poverty of the Indian masses rent my heart. Rudely shaken out of my dreams, I began to realise that perhaps in no other modern state was there such hopeless dearth of the most elementary needs of existence. And yet it was this country whose resources had fed for so long the wealth and magnificence of the British people. While I was lost in the contemplation of the great world of civilization, I could never have remotely imagined that the great ideals of humanity would end in such ruthless travesty. But today a glaring example of it stares me in the face in the utter and contemptuous indifference of a so-called civilized race to the well-being of crores of Indian people."

The "No-tax" movement adumbrated in his plays **Prayaschitta** ("Expiation") and **Paritran** ("Deliverance") and the joyful acceptance of suffering and chains by its hero, Dhananjaya Bairagi, a Mendicant, embody his ideas of what the attitude of leaders and the rank and file should be on such occasions. Both plays are dramatic renderings of an earlier work, a historical romance named **Bou-Thakuranir Hat** ("The Bride-Queen's Market"), published in 1884. Of these plays **Prayaschitta** is the earlier one, published in May, 1909. Translations of some portions of its dialogues and of some of its songs are given below. Dhananjaya Bairagi appears in the play **Muktadhara** also.

Dhananjaya Bairagi, a Sannyasi and a number of villagers of Madhabpur, going to the King:

Third Villager: What shall we say, Father, to the King?

Dhananjaya: We shall say "we won't pay tax."

Third Villager: If he asks, "why won't you?"

Dhananjaya: We will say, "if we pay you money starving our children and making them cry, our Lord will feel pain. The food which

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sustains life is the sacred offering dedicated to the Lord; for he is the Lord of life. When more than that food—a surplus, remains in our house, we pay that to you (the King) as tax, but we can't pay you tax deceiving and depriving the Lord."

Fourth Villager: Father, the King will not listen.

Dhananjaya: Still, he must be made to hear. Is he so unfortunate because he has become King that the Lord will not allow him to hear the truth? We will force him to hear.

Fifth Villager: Worshipful Father, he (the King) will win, for he has more power than we.

Dhananjaya: Away with you, you monkeys! Is this a sample of your intelligence? Do you think the defeated have no power? Their power stretches up to heaven, do you know?

Sixth Villager: But, Father, we were far from the King, we could have saved ourselves by concealment,—we shall now be at the very door of the King. There will be no way of escape left if there be trouble.

Dhananjaya: Look here, Panchkari, leaving things unsettled in this way by shelving them, never bears good fruit. Let whatever may happen, happen; otherwise the finale is never reached. There is peace when the extermity is reached.

Let us take next what passess between Dhananjaya, the Sannyasi, leader of the people and King Pratapaditya.

Pratapaditya: Look here Bairagi, you can't deceive me by this sort of (feigned) madness of yours. Let us come to business. The people of Madhabpur have not paid their taxes for two years. Say, will you pay?

Dhananjaya: No, Maharaj, we will not.

Pratapaditya: Will not? Such insolence!

Dhananjaya: We can't pay you what is not yours.

Pratapaditya: Not mine!

Dhananjaya: The food that appease our hunger is not yours. This food is His who has given us life. How can we give it to you?

Pratapaditya: So it is you who have told my subjects not to pay taxes?

Dhananjaya: Yes, Maharaj, it is I who have done it. They are fools, they have no sense. They want to part with all they have for fear of the tax-gatherer. It is I who tell them, "Stop, stop, don't you do such a thing. Give up your life only to Him who has given you life (that is, die only at the Lord's bidding, but not by depriving yourselves of the food which He has given you); —don't make your King guilty of killing you (by allowing him to take from you the food which is necessary for keeping your bodies and souls together)".

I do not wish to add to the length of this article by quoting similar passages from the play **Paritran**, based on the same story, or from **Muktadhara**. Let me take some other passages from **Prayaschitta**.

Pratapaditya: Look here, Bairagi, you have neither hearth nor home; but these villagers are all householders—why do you want to lead them into trouble? (To the villagers) I say, you fellows all go back to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Madhabpur. (To Dhananjaya). You, Bairagi, have to remain here (that is, he will be arrested and jailed).

Villagers: No, that can't be so long as we are alive.

Dhananjaya: Why can't that be? You are still lacking in sense. The King says "Bairagi, you remain." You say, "No that can't be." But has the luckless Bairagi come floating like floatsam (that is, is he not master of himself with a will of his own)? Is his remaining here or not to be settled only by the King and yourselves?

(Sings)

Whom have you kept by saying
'he remains'?
When will your order take effect?
Your force will not endure, brother,
That alone will endure which is
fit to endure.
Do what you please—
Keep or kill by bodily force—
But only that will be borne which
He will bear
Whom all blows strike.
Plenty of coins you have
No end of ropes and cords,
Many horses and elephants,—
Much you have in this world.
You think, what you want will
happen,
That you make the world dance
to your tune;
But you will see on opening your
eyes, that
That also happens which doesn't
usually happen.

(ENTER MININSTER)

Pratapaditya: You have come at the nick of time. Keep this Bairagi captive here. He must not be allowed to go back to Madhabpur.

Minister: Maharaj—

Pratapaditya: What! The order is not to your liking;—is it?

Udayaditya: (Pratapaditya's son and heir)— Maharaj, the Bairagi is a saintly man.

Villagers: Maharaj, this cannot be borne by us! Maharaj, evil will follow from it.

Dhananjaya: I say, you all go back. The order has been given, I must stay with the King for a few days; the fellows can't bear this (good luck of mine)!

Villagers: Did we come to petition His Majesty for this? We are not to have the Yuvaraj (heir-apparent), and are to lose you, too, to boot?

Dhananjaya: My body burns to hear what you say: What do you mean by saying you will lose me? Did you keep me tied up in a corner of your loin-cloths: Your business is done. Away with you now!

Owing, to an accidental conflagration, the jail where Dhananjaya was imprisoned is reduced to ashes. He has come out.

Dhananjaya: Jai, Maharaj, Jai! You did not want to part with me, but from where nobody knows, Fire has come with a warrant for my release! But how can I go without telling you? So I have come to take your order.

Pratapaditya (Sarcastically): Had a good time?

Dhananjaya: Oh I was so happy. There was no anxiety. All this is His hide-and-seek. He thought I could not catch Him concealed in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the prison. But I caught Him, tight in my embrace; and then no end of laughter and songs unending. I have spent the days in great joy—I shall remember my Brother Prison.

(Sings)

On my chains, embracing you I enjoyed
The music of your clanking.
You kept me delighted, breaking my pride.
Playing games with you,
The days passed in joy and sorrow.
You encircled my limbs
With priceless jewellery.
I am not angry with you,—
If anybody is to blame, it is I,
Only if there be fear in my mind,
I regard you as terrible.
All night long in the darkness
You were my comrade.
Remembering that kindness of yours
I salute you.

Pratapaditya: What is it you say, Bairagi! What for were you so happy in prison?

Dhananjaya: Maharaj, like your happiness in your kingdom was my joy in prison. What was lacking (there)? (The Lord) can give you happiness, but can't He give me any joy?

Pratapaditya: Where will you go now?

Dhananjaya: The road.

Pratapaditya: Bairagi, it strikes me at times that your way is preferable; my Kingdom is no good.

Dhananjaya: Maharaj, the kingdom, too, is a path. Only one has to be able to walk aright. He who knows it to be a path (to the goal), he is a real wayfarer; we sannyasis are nothing in comparison with him. Now then, if you permit, out I go for the nonce.

Pratapaditya: All right, but don't go to Madhabpur.

Dhananjaya: How can I promise that? When (the Lord) will take me anywhere, who is there to say nay?

All the passages quoted above are free translations from the original. It is also to be noted that the poet has named the leader of the people in these three plays "Dhananjaya," which means "He who has conquered (the desire for) riches." One may take that to indicate the poet's idea of the essential qualification of a leader of the people.

As the poet has denounced Nationalism in his book of that name, taking the word to mean that organized form of a people which is meant for its selfish aggrandizement at the expense of other peoples by foul, cruel and unrighteous means, and as he is among the chief protagonists of what is, not quite appropriately, called Internationalism, his profound and all-sided love of the Motherland, both as expressed in words and as manifested in action, has sometimes not been evident perhaps to superficial observers. But those who know him and his work and the literature he has created know that he loves his land.

With love far-brought
From out the storied Past, and used
Within the Present, but transfused
Thro' future time by power of thought.

His penetrating study of, and insight into, the history of India and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Greater India have strengthened this love. Especially noteworthy is his essay on the course of India's history.

The origin of what is called his Internationalism has sometimes been traced to his revealing and disappointing experiences during the Anti-partition and Swadeshi movement of Bengal in the first decade of this century. Such experiences are not denied. But his love of the whole of humanity and interest in their affairs are traceable even in the writings of his boyhood when he was in his teens. And in maturer life, this feature of his character found distinct expression in a poem, named "Prabasi," written more than forty years ago, and published in the first issue of the Bengali monthly Prabasi, which begins with the declaration that his home is in all lands, his country in all countries, his close kindred in all homes there, and that he is resolved to win this country, this home and these kindred.

In his patriotism there is no narrowness, no chauvinism, no hatred or contempt of the foreigner. He believes that India has a message and a mission, a special work entrusted to her by Providence. He writes in 'Our Swedeshi Samaj' :

"The realization of unity in diversity, establishment of a synthesis amidst variety—that is the inherent, the Sanatana Dharma of India. India does not admit difference to be conflict, nor does she espy an enemy in every stranger. So she repels none, destroys none, she abjures no methods, recognizes the greatness of ideals, and she seeks to bring them all into one grand harmony."

Again :

"In the evolving history of India, the principle at work is not the ultimate glorification of the Hindu or any other race. In India, the history of humanity is seeking to elaborate a specific ideal to give to general perfection a special form which shall be for the gain of all humanity ; nothing less than this is its end and aim. And in the creation of this ideal type, if Hindu, Moslem or Christian should have to submerge the aggressive part of their individuality, that may hurt their sectrain pride, but will not be accounted a loss by the standard of Truth and Right."

Tagore's ideal is the same as that of Rammohun Roy, who, he says, "did not assist India to repair her barriers, or to keep cowering behind them,—he led her out into the freedom of Space and Time, and built for her a bridge between the East and the West."

This statement of India's ideal is supported by Mr. C. E. M. Joad in the following passage in his book, **The Story of Indian Civilization,** published, much later, recently :

Whatever the reason, it is a fact that India's special gift to mankind has been the ability and willingness of Indians to effect a synthesis of many different elements both of thoughts and of peoples, to create, in fact, unity out of diversity.

Rabindranath is above all sectarianism, communalism and racialism,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

as is evident from his poem "Bharata-Tirtha," of which a few lines are translated below:

No one knows at whose call
How many streams of humanity
Came from where, in irresistible currents,
And lost their identity in this (India's) ocean (of men.)
Here Aryan, here non-Aryan,
Here Dravid and Cheen,
Hordes of Saka, Huna, Pathan and Mughal
Became merged in one body.
The door has opened in the West today.
All bring presents from there,
They will give and take, mix and mingle,
Will not turn back—
In this India's great
Human ocean's shores.
Come O Aryan, come, non-Aryan,
Hindu-Mussalman.
Come, come, O Christian
Come, Brahmana, purifying your mind,
Clasp the hands of all,
Come, O ye outcasted and 'fallen,'
May the burden of all ignomity
Be taken off your backs,
Come, hasten to the Mother's anointing;
For the auspicious vessel has not yet been filled
with water from all shrines.
Purified by the touch of all
(castes, creeds and classes).

The poet never denied that other countries, too, may have their own special message and missions. He did not dismiss the West with a supercilious sneer, but respected it for its spirit of enquiry, its science, its strength and will to face martyrdom in the cause of truth, freedom and justice (now, alas! gone to sleep), its acknowledgement and acceptance of the manness of the common man (now also, alas! not manifest), and its activities for human welfare, and wished the East to take what it should and can from the West, not like a begger without patrimony or as an adopted child, but as a strong and healthy man may take wholesome food from all quarters and assimilate it. This taking on the part of the East from the West, moreover, is the reception of stimulus and impetus, more than, or rather than, learning, borrowing, aping or imitation. The West, too, can derive advantage from contact with the East, different from the material gain of the plunderer and the exploiter. The study of his writings and utterances leaves us with the impression that the West can cease to dominate in the East only when the latter, fully awake, self-knowing, self-possessed and self-respecting, no longer requires any blister or whip and leaves no department of life and thought largely unoccupied by its own citizens.

His hands reached out to the West and the East, to all humanity, not as those of a suppliant, but for friendly grasp and salute. He was by his literary works and travels, among the foremost reconcilers and uniters of races and continents. He has renewed India's cultural connection with Japan, China, Siam, Islands, India, Iran and Iraq by visits to those

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

lands. His extensive travels in Europe and America also have established cultural and friendly relations with the peoples of those lands. The Greater India Society owes its inception to his inspiration.

In spite of the cruel wrongs inflicted on India by the British nation, and whilst condemning such wrong-doing unsparingly, he has never refrained from being just and even generous in his estimate of the British people. Therefore it is that his disillusion has been so agonizing, as revealed in his eightieth birthday pronouncement on the **Crisis of Civilization**, published in the May number of **The Modern Review** this year, from which I extract below only the last few paragraphs.

"The wheels of Fate will some day compel the English to give up their Indian empire. But what kind of India will they leave behind, what stark misery? When the stream of their centuries' administration runs dry at last, what a waste of mud and filth they will leave behind them! I had at one time believed that the springs of civilization would issue out of the heart of Europe. But today when I am about to quit the world that faith has gone bankrupt altogether.

As I look around I see the crumbling ruins of a proud civilization strewn like a vast heap of futility. And yet I shall not commit the grievous sin of losing faith in Man. I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter in his history after the cataclysm is over and the atmosphere rendered clean with the spirit of service and sacrifice. Perhaps that dawn will come from this horizon, from the East where the sun rises. A day will come when the unvanquished man will retrace his path of conquest, despite all barriers, to win back his lost human heritage.

Today we witness the perils which attend on the insolence of might; one day the full truth of what the ages have proclaimed shall be borne out:

'By unrighteousness man prospers, gains what appears desirable, conquers enemies, but perishes at the root'."

It will be recalled that he was the first to publicly condemn the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, and that he gave up his knighthood in protest. He was not in favour of the negative aspect of the Non-co-operation movement and strongly opposed the leaving of schools and colleges by students and their active participation in politics.

His politics are concerned more with the moulding of society and character-building than with the more vocal manifestations of that over-crowded department of national activity. Political freedom he prized as highly and ardently as the most radical politician, but his conception of freedom is full and fundamental. To him the chains of inertness, cowardice and ignorance, of selfishness and pleasure-seeking, of superstition and lifeless custom, of the authority of priestcraft and letter of scripture, constitute our bondage no less than the yoke of the stranger.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which is largely a consequence and a symptom. He prized and insisted upon the absence of external restraints. But this does not constitute the whole of his idea of freedom. There should be inner freedom also, born of self-sacrifice, enlightenment, self-purification and self-control. This point of view largely moulded his conception of the Indian political problem and the best method of tackling it. He wished to set the spirit free, to give it wings to soar, so that it may have largeness of vision and a boundless sphere of activity. He desired that fear should be cast out. Hence his political and his spiritual ministrations merged in each other. Quite appropriately and characteristically have the lips of such a poet uttered the prayer :

Where the mind is without fear
and the head is held high :
Where knowledge is free ;
Where the world has not been
broken up into fragments by
narrow domestic walls ;
Where words come out from the
depth of truth ;
Where tireless striving stretches
its arms towards perfection ;
Where the clear stream of reason
has not lost its way into the
dreary desert sand of dead
habit ;
Where the mind is led forward
by thee into ever widening
thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my
Father, let my country awake.
(Gitanjali).

The people of India should bear it in mind that the poet left this world before India had awakened to this heaven of freedom, and that it is their duty to do their best to bring about the fulfilment of his prayer.

Age and bodily infirmities did not make him a reactionary and obscurantist. His spirit was ever open to new light. He continued till the last to be a progressive social reformer. His intellectual powers were then still at their height. His latest poetic creations did not betray any dimness of vision, any lack of inspiration or fertility, nor are there in any of them signs of repetition. He continued to be among our most active writers. This was for the joy of creation and self-expression and fraternal giving, as he loved his kind, and human intercourse was dear to his soul. His ceaseless and extensive reading in very many diverse subjects, including some out-of-the-way sciences and crafts, and his travels in many continents enabled him to establish ever new intellectual and spiritual contacts, to be abreast of contemporary thought, to keep pace with its advance and with the efforts of man to plant the flag of the master-will knows in the realms of the unknown —himself being one of the most sanguine and dauntless of intellectual and spiritual prospectors and explorers.

When Curzon partitioned Bengal against the protest of her people, the poet threw himself heart and soul into the movement for the self-realization and self-expression of the people in all possible way. But when popular resentment and despair

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

led to the outbreak of terrorism, he was the first to utter the clearest note of warning, to assert that Indian nationalism should not stultify and frustrate itself by recourse to such violence. Such warnings had been given by him on other occasions, too. Though he had nothing to do with active politics for decades, he did not hesitate to give the nation the advantage of inspiring messages and outspoken pronouncements for the presidential chair at meetings on momentous and critical occasions. He was unsparing in his condemnation of the predatory instincts and activities of nations, whether of the military or of the economic variety. He always believed that war can never be ended by the pacts of robber nations so long as they do not repent and give up their wicked ways and the spoils thereof. The remedy lies in the giving up of greed and promotion of neighbourly feelings between nation and nation as between individual men. Hence the poet-seer repeatedly gave in various discourses and contexts his exposition of the ancient text of the **Isopanishad :**

All his whatsoever that moves in Nature is indwelt by the Lord. Enjoy thou what hath been allotted to thee by Him. Do not covet anybody's wealth.

In pursuance of this line of thought, while the poet expressed himself in unambiguous language against the use of violence by the party in power in Russia, and while he held that private property had its legitimate ususes for the maintenance and promotion of individual freedom and individual self-creation and self-expression and for social welfare, he saw and stated clearly the advantages of Russian collectivism, as will be evident from his book **Rashiar Chithi** in Bengali and the following cabled reply to a query of Professor Petrov of V. O. K. S., Moscow : Your success is due to turning the tide of wealth from the individual to collective humanity..

How the poet felt for the humblest of human beings may be understood from many of his poems and utterances ; e.g., the following from Gitanjali :

Pride can never approach to where thou walkest in the clothes of the humble among the poorest, and lowliest and and lost.

My heart can never find its way to where Thou keepest conmpany with companionless among the poorest, the lowliest and lost.

He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the path-maker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and in shower, and His garment is covered with dust. But off the holy mantle and even like Him come down on the dusty soil.

Long before the Congress raised the cry of removal of "untouchability," in the poets's household and in Santiniketan generally it had come to be practice to employ "untouchable" cooks and other servants.

In spite of all his genuine sympathy and love for the poor and the down-trodden, he felt in all humility

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that he had not become one with them. In the Great Symphony he mourns :

Not everywhere have I won access,
my ways of life have intervened
and kept me outside.
The tiller at the plough,
the weaver at the loom,
the fisherman playing his net,
these and the rest toil and sustain
the world
with their world-wide varied labour,
I have known them from a corner
banished to a high pedestal of
society reared by renown
Only the outer fringe have I
approached,
not being able to enter
the intimate precincts.

Thirty-one years ago he wrote a poem, included in the Bengali **Gitanjali,** addressed to his Motherland, referring to the treatment accorded to the "untouchables". Its first stanza runs as follows (translation).

O my hapless country, those
whom thou hast insulted—
To them shalt thou have to be equal
in thy humiliation.
Those whom thou hast deprived of
the rights of man,
Kept them standing before thee,
not taking them on thy lap,

All of them shalt thou have to equal
in humiliation.

Rabindranath has prayed in one of his poems, "Give me the strength never to belittle the humble and the poor," God granted his sincere prayer and gave him strength in abundant measure.

As regards the poet's ideal of womanhood, the passage in Chitra, beginning,

"I am Chitra, No goddess to be worshipped, nor yet the object of common pity to be brushed aside like a moth with indifference. If you deign to keep me by your side in the path of danger and daring, if you allow me to share the great duties of your life, then you will know my true self" is well known. But to get a complete idea of what he thinks of Woman, many other poems and prose writtings of his have to be read. For instance among poems: "Sabala"(The Strong-souled woman") in **Mahua** written with reference to the word "Abala" (The Weak"), a Sanskrit word denoting woman; the series of poems named "Namni" in the same work; "Nari" in **Arogya**; etc. Gora and some of his other novels and many short stories enable the reader to know his ideals of woman-hood though he wrote as an artist, not as a preacher.

Regarding our unfortunate sisters stigmatized as fallen women, though their betrayers, ravishers, and exploiters are not called "fallen" men, read the poet's "Patita" ("The Fallen Woman") in **Kahini,** and "Karuna" ("Compassion") and "Sati" ("The Chaste Woman") in **Chaitali.** These too, have not yet been translated into English. The story of Nanibala in **Chaturanga** should also be read in this connection.

As an educationist, he preserved in his ideal of Visva-Bharati, the international residential university the spirit of the ancient ideals of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the *tapovanas* or forest-retreats of the Teachers of India—its simplicity, its avoidance of softness and luxury, its insistence on purity and chastity, its spirituality, its interplay of influence between teachers and students, its reverence for the Infinite Spirit, its practical touch with Nature, and the free play that it gave to all normal activities of body and soul. Up till his last serious illness, whenever he was at Santiniketan he would periodically conduct the service and prayers in the Mandir and pour out his soul in elevating and inspiring discourses. While the ancient spirit has been thus sought to be kept up, there is in this open-air institution at Santiniketan no cringing to mere forms, however hoary with antiquity. The poet's mental outlook is universal. He claimed for his people all knowledge and culture whatever their origin, as their province. Hence, while he wanted the youth of India of both sexes to be rooted in India's past and to draw sustenance thereform, while he had been practically promoting the culture of the principal religious communities of India as far as the resources of the institution permitted, he had also extended a friendly invitation and welcome to the exponents of foreign cultures as well. China's response has taken the concrete shape of the Cheena-Bhavana for the study of Chinese culture. Chinese, Tibetan and Islamic studies —and, of course, the study of Hindu and Buddist culture and of the teachings of the medieval saints of India, have long been an special features of Visva-Bharati. All this has made it possible, for any who may so desire, to pursue the study of comparative religion at Santiniketan. He wanted that there would be no racialism, no sectarian and caste and colour prejudice in his institution.

Visva-Bharati stands neither for merely literary, nor for merely vocational education but for both and more. Tagore wanted both man the knower and man the doer and maker. He wanted an intellectual as well as an artistic and aesthetic education. He wanted the growth of a personality equal to meeting the demands of society and solitude alike. Visva-Bharati now comprises a primary and a high school, a college, a school of graduate research, a school of painting and modelling and of some crafts, and music school, a school of agriculture and village welfare work, a co-operative bank with branches and a public health institute. Here students of both sexes have their games and physicial exercises. The poet's idea of a village is that it should combine all its beatiful and healthy rural characteristics with the amenities of town life necessary for fullness of life and efficiency. Some such amenities have already been provided in his schools. There is co-education in all stages. It was one of the cherished desires of the poet to give girl students complete education in a woman's University based on scientific methods, some of which are the fruits of his own insight and mature experience.

As in everything else that he wrote and spoke upon, he was an original thinker in Education.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When he is spoken of as the founder of Visva-Bharati, it is not to be understood that he merely gave it a local habitation and a name and buildings and funds and ideals. That he has, no doubt, done. To provide funds, he had, in the earlier years of the school, sometimes to sell the copyright of some of his books and even temporarily, or for good, to part with some of Mrs. Tagore's jewellery. His subsequent efforts to collect funds are well known. In the earlier years of the institution, he for a time acted as its clerk, he took classes in many subjects, lived with the boys in their rooms, entertained them in the evenings by story-telling, recitations of his poems, games of his own invention, methods of sense-training of his own devising, etc., and occasionally ran races with them, being challenged to do so, and always defeated them. For he had then a splendid physique, and was trained in wrestling by professional wrestlers in boyhood and youth. Many a day, at that time would Mrs. Tagore, who was a an expert in the culinary art, regale the boys and their teachers with dishes prepared by herself. In those days when the number of teachers and students was small, the institution was like a home for them all. Even more recently the poet was known to take some classes. And he continued to keep himself in touch with the institution in various ways.

He brought out from Japan one of the best jiujitsu experts to train his boys and girls in that art of self-defence, and gave them facilities to learn lathi-play and fencing also. Santiniketan possesses fine foot-ball grounds and fields for other games. Its foot ball teams are among the best in the mofussil in Bengal.

Student self-government, un-sectrain prayers and worship, and Season Festivals are characteristic features of Visva-Bharati. The poet also introduced the "honour system" of keeping no watch over his students in examinations. The opportunities which the pupils of Santiniketan have had to render service to the neighboruing villages, have resulted in the establishment of the Prasad Vidyalaya and the Pearson School for the Santals.

Silent mediation for 15 minute every day for each student sitting in the open part from others, is the rule and practice for the school at Santiniketan.

That Tagore is an independent thinker in education has been recognized. But one of the group of institutions constituting Visva-Bharai, namely, Siksha-Satra, has not received due public attention, and is perhaps practically unknown even to Indian educationists. It was founded in 1924. Its origin and principles were stated when it was founded and re-stated by Mr. L. K. Elmhirst in Visva-Bharati Bulletin No. 9, December, 1928, from which I make a few extracts below.

"To dig our own cave in the earth, where we could creep out of sight, much to the disgust of the matter-of-fact gardener, to chop sticks with a real axe, to be given a pair of boots

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to polish, a fire to light, of some dough to knead and back—these were our keenest joys; yet only too often had we to be content with toy bricks, toy houses, toy tools or toy kitchens; or if serious work was provided, it was in the nature of sweated labour, which - fatigued without giving play to our creative instincts.

The aim, then, of the Siksha-Satra is through experience in dealing with this overflowing abundance of child life, its charm and its simplicity, to provide the utmost liberty within surroundings that are filled with creative possibilities, with opportunities for the joy of play that is work,—the work of exploration; and of work that is play,—the reaping of a succession of novel experiences; to give the child that freedom of growth which the young tree demands for its tender shoot, that field for self-expansion in which all young life finds foth training and happiness."

As regards the age at which the child's education at the Siksha-Satra should begin, it is stated.

"It is between the ages of six and twelve that the growing child is most absorbed in gathering impressions through sight, smell, hearing and taste but more especially through touch and the use of the hands. From the start, therefore, the child enters the Siksha-Satra as an apprentice in handicraft as well as house-craft. In the workshop, as a trained producer and as a potential creator, it will acquire skill and win freedom for its hands; whilst as an inmate of the house, which it helps to construct and furnish and manitain, it will gain expanse of spirit and win freedom as a citizen of the small community."

Some of the crafts which the pupiles can learn are mentioned in the Bulletin. It is stated that,

"From the earliest years it is well to introduce to the childern some special craft, easily grasped by small hands, which is of definite economic value. The product should be of real use in the home, or have a ready sale outside..... In the carrying out of every one of these crafts, again, some art, some science, some element of business enters in."

The Siksha-satra scheme is substantially what afterwards came to be known as the Wardha scheme.

Rabindranath has been a journalist from his teens. In years past he successfully edited several monthlies, and contributed till almost the last month of his life to numerous more. He has written for many weeklies, too. He was the only man in Bengal I knew who was capable of filling a magazine from the first page to the last with excellent reading in prose and verse of every description required.

His contributions to periodicals have been copious all along, and in such work he was regular, punctual and methodical. It is easy and pleasant to read his beautiful handwriting. As an editor, he was the maker of many authors, who subsequently became well-known, by the thorough revision to which he subjected their work.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

His beautiful Bengali handwriting has been copied by so many persons in Bengal that even those who have had occasion to see it very frequently cannot always distinguish the genuine thing from its imitation.

There is an impression abroad that no English translation by Rabindranath of any of his Bengali poems was published anywhere before the **Gitanjali** poems. That is a mistake. As far as I can now trace, the first English translations by himself of his poems appeared in the February, April and September numbers of The **Modern Review** in 1912. This is how he came to write in English for publication :—Some time in 1911, I suggested that his Bengali poems should appear in English garb. So he gave me translations of two of his poems by the late Mr. Lokendranath Palit, I.C.S. Of these "Fruitless Cry" appeared in May and "The Death of the Star" in September, 1911, in The **Modern Review.** When I asked him by letter to do some translations himself, he expressed diffidence and unwillingness and tried to put me off playfully reproducing two lines from one of his poems of which the purport was, "On what pretext shall I now call back her to whom I bade adieu in tears ?" the humorous reference being to the fact that he did not, as a schoolboy, take kindly to school education and its concomitant exercises. But his genius and the English muse would not let him off so easily. And I, too, had not ceased to remind him that his Bengali poems should be translated by himself. So a short while afterwards, he showed me some of his translations, asking me playfully whether as a quondam school master I considered them up to standard. These appeared in May **Review.** These are, to my knowledge, his earliest published English compositions. Their manuscripts have been preserved.

He was all along very diffident in writing English, though even when he was a student of Henry Morley in his teens that strict judge of English praised his style and diction before the British class-mates. The subject of what Rabindranath wrote and submitted to the professor was "Englishmen in India", who came in for much severe criticism in his composition. Henry Morley asked his British students to note what Rabindranath had written, as many of them were likely in future to serve in India in some capacity or other.

I have referred to his beautiful hand. All calligraphists cannot and do not become painters, though, as Rabindranath burst into fame as a painter when almost seventy, the passage from calligraphy to painting might seem natural. I do not intend, nor am I competent, to discourse on his paintings. They are neither what is known as Indian art, nor are they any mere imitation of any ancient or modern Oriental or European painting. **They are unclassed.** One thing which may perhaps stand in the way of the commonalty understanding and appreciating them is that they seldom tell

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a story. They express in line and colour what even the rich vocabulary and consummate literary art and craftsmanship of Rabindranath could not or did not say. He never went to any school of art or took lessons from any artist at home. Nor did he went to imitate anybody. So, he is literally an original artist. If there be any resemblance in his style to that of any other schools of painters, it is entirely accidental and unintentional. In this connection I call to mind one interesting fact. In the Bengali Santiniketan Patra ("Santiniketan Magazine") of the month of Jyaistha, 1333 B.E., published fifteen years ago, Dr. Abaindranath Tagore, the famous artist, described (pp. 100-101) how his uncle Rabindranath was instrumental in leading him to evolve his own style of indigenous art. Summing up, Abanindranath writes :

Bengal's poet suggested the lines of Art, Bengal's artist (i.e., Abanindranath himself) continued to work alone along those lines for many a day. (Translation).

It was my happy privilege some twenty-three years back to live at Santiniketan as the poet-seer's neighbour for long periods at a stretch. During one such period, my working room and sleeping room combined commanded an uninterrupted view of the small two-storied cottage, "Dehali," in which he then lived—only a field intervening between. During that period I could never at night catch the poet going to sleep earlier han myself. And when early in the morning I used to go out for a stroll, if by chance it was very early I found him engaged in his daily devotions in the open upper storey verandah facing the east, but usually I found that his devotions were already over and he was busily engaged in some of his usual work. At mid-day, far from enjoying a siesta, he did not even recline. During the whole day and night, he spent only a few hours in sleep and bath and meals, and devoted all the remaining hours to work. During that period I never found that he used a hand-fan or allowed anybody to fan him in summer. And the sultry summer days of Santiniketan are unforgettable !

His serious illness before the last and the infirmities of age had necessitated changes in his habits. But even then he worked longer than many young men. Not long ago during Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Santiniketan, he had to extort a promise from the poet that he would take some rest at mid-day.

Both in youth and in old age he would sometimes make experiments in dieteties, which he had studied carefully. He strongly condemned the waste of food-values in a poor country like ours. In his opinion, research in dietetics should take into consideration both the taste and the nutritive values of food-stuffs.

His own plate he had succeeded bringing under control. There was time when neem leaves were a principal part of his daily menu. Home-made bread prepared from dough kneaded with a little castor oil at one time formed part of his meals.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He liked to take vegetables uncooked and preferred gur to sugar. He was not given to smoking tobacco in any form. It was not his habit even to chew pan or betel leaves with bits of nut and spices.

I have all along looked upon him as an earnest "Sadhak." He was not, however, an ascetic, though earlier in life he practised some austerities—nor is he, of course, a lover of luxury. His ideal of life is different. "Deliverance is not for me in renunication," he has said in one of his poems.

Deliverance is not for me in renunication. I feel the embrace of freedom in thousand bonds of delight.

Thou ever pourest for me the fresh draught of thy wine of various colours and fragrance, filling this earthen vessel to the brim.

My world will light its hundred different lamps with thy flames and place them before the altar of thy temple.

No. I will never shut the doors of my senses. The delights of sight and hearing and touch will bear thy delight.

Yes, all my illusions will burn into illumination of joy, and all my desires ripen into fruits of love (Gitanjali).

The poet has been so reticent regarding his personal relations that, before Srimati Hemlata Devi, eldest daughter-in-law of his eldest brother, wrote an article on "Rabindranath at Home," in the Bengali monthly Prabasi, little was known of his home life. Her pen picture revealed what a loving and devoted husband, what an affectionate father and what a kind and considerate master to his servants he was. He was a widower since November 23, 1902. We can here extract only a few sentences from an English translation of Srimati Hemlata Devi's article, beginning with his ascetic experiments.

Sometimes the Poet would begin dieting for no earthly reason with such rigid determination that the whole family would feel concerned .... On occasions when his dieting reached almost the "starvation level," we would approach his wife to exert her influence and prevent a catastrophe. She knew her husband better and so she did nothing of the kind. I remember she once said: "You do not know, he insists in doing what he is asked not to do; one of these days his body itself would protest and then he will take to his food."

He is an affectionate father. He nursed his first -child—a baby daughter—with a mother's care..... We have ourselves seen the Poet feeding the baby, changing her linen and making the bed.

And then this sacred picture of the poet tenderly nursing his wife during her last illness.

Member of the family still remember the picture of the Poet patiently sitting by the sick bed nursing his wife literally day and night close on two months before death finally released her from her pain. His constant ministering to her comfort was instinct with love

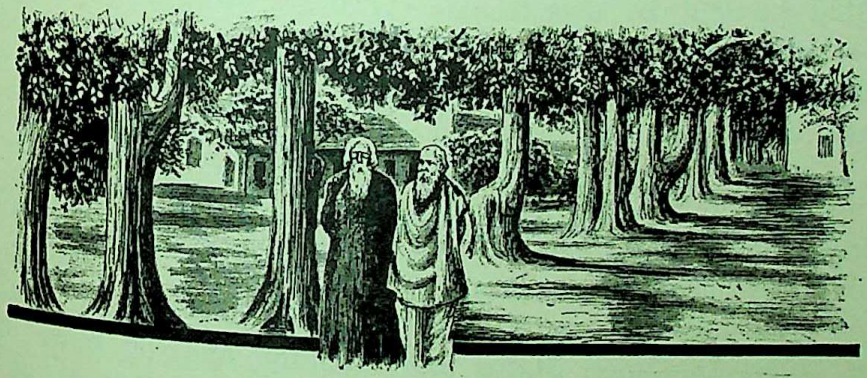
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and concern. Electric fans were not known in those days ; I see a distinct picture of the Poet moving a palm-leaf hand-fan, to and fro, fanning his wife to sleep with tender care. In those days in affluent households it was almost a custom to engage paid nurses. The Poet's house was perhaps the first exception."

If Rabindranath Tagore had not been a great poet and sage and seer, this devoted and tender nursing of his beloved should and could have rendered him adorable for all time.

The Modern Review for September, 1941
(Pp 261-274



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Jawaharlal Nehru

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

No one has questioned Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's ability. That he is possessed of energy and enthusiasm in ample measure does not admit of any doubt. He knows the history of the world from ancient times and is aware of the causes of the rise and downfall of nations. Contemporary history and current world politics have no keener student among our leaders. He can afford to and does devote all his time and energy to the service of the country. Hence it can be safely predicted that he will be able to discharge satisfactorily the duties of the high office to which his countrymen have called him for the third time.

He believes in winning independence for India. He does not believe in any halfway-house like Dominion Status—we would not ourselves, however, reject Dominion Status as as a stage in the country's political progress. We do not know of any politically-minded Indian who would not have independence if it could be had. The objections which can be urged against a non-violent struggle for independence, for that is what Congress has in view, are mainly five. One is that independence can not be won. If a man believes that it can be won, why should he not be allowed to try to win it? He does not ask and cannot compel doubters to take part in the struggle. The second objection is that it is risky. If a man is able to take the risk and does not request doubters to run any similar risk, why not let him have his way? The third is that a struggle for independence is likely to plunge the country into misery. But is the country now enjoying heavenly bliss? The fourth is that India will not be able to maintain her independence even if she becomes independent. But Congress is not asking for the boon of independence. It wants to win it. Surely people who are equal to winning independence, would be equal also to keeping it. The fifth and last is, that both the struggle for indepence and independence itself, when won, will result in the loss of the friendship and help of Great Britain, which are needed in the interest of India. The reply is, neither the hostility nor the friendship of any nation is a constant factor. A nation—say the British nation—may be and is at one time friendly and at some other time inimical to another nation according to its own interests. Surely, it may be presumed that Britain will find it advantageous to herself to conclude an alliance with an India

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

strong enough to win independence. Moreover, if Britain be not wise enough to do so, there are other strong nations with whom treaties of alliance can be concluded.

All these are problems of the future.

It has been objected that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is a socialist. We are not socialists ourselves. But just as he wants to remove the poverty of the masses of India, so do we. And we do not think the opinion of any objector is worth considering who does not desire a radical remedy for the galling poverty of our masses. Different men have suggested different remedies. The socialists' remedy is socialism. Those who are not socialists are welcome to apply theirs. But why denounce socialists for cherishing their opinions—particularly if the objectors cannot produce a practicable substitute?

(**The Modern Review**, January, 1937, Pp. 114-15)



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ramananda Chatterjee —A Homage

HIRANMAY BANERJEE

It is said that the pen is mightier than the sword. History can testify that this is profoundly true. There are many instances where seeds of thought expressed in written words germinated into mighty ideas which changed the course of history. The pen of an editor is no less a potent force, as he is also wielder of pen. This is borne out by the story of the life and achievements of Ramananda Chatterjee whose birth centenary we are celebrating this year.

Born in a middle class family in a remote corner of West Bengal, he lost his father in early age. Though bereft of financial assistance, he found for himself the necessary means to educate himself, by virtue of his own merit as a student. He took the different examinations of the Calcutta University in the late eighties of the last century in easy strides and passed his M.A. in English with a first class. A brief interlude followed in which he distinguished himself as an outstanding teacher, till he discovered his true vocation. Even while continuing as the Principal of the Kayastha College at Allahabad he found himself in the role of an editor of a Bengali Paper meant to cater to the Cultural needs of the people of Bengal who lived far away from him. That is how he happened to name the journal as *Prabasi*, the Sojourner. A few years of experience as an editor gave him enough confidence in his capacity in this new role to discard his old avocation as a teacher. Small wonder he resigned his principalship and come over to Calcutta to turn into a wholetime editor. Soon after that he started the English journal *Modern Review*. Thus began his new role as the editor and founder of two journals to fulfil his destiny as one of the great sons of the country.

For those who were not born and brought up during the first three decades of the current century, it is difficult to visualise what great role these two journals played in the history of our country. While the *Prabasi* served the people of Bengal, the *Modern Review* served the people of India as a whole. Each in its own field set up a new standard of excellence in jouranlism which had not been reached in the past. These decades covering that phase of our recent history when intense political consciousness was awakened and the freedom movement intensified, both journals were naturally staurated with patriotic feelings. They were thus discharging a proper role in shaping our history. Additionally, they served the cause of culture and education by dishing out such select pieces of articles as could provide nourishment for the intellect as well as entertainment to the aesthetic sense. By creating a taste for a high standard of journanlism they made themselves indispensable to the cultural needs of the educated community. No wonder they played a great part in the political

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

educational and cultural history of India in general and Bengal in particular.

One single example will suffice to show how it shaped the taste of the people and promoted the cause of culture. Reproduction of coloured pictures in magazines was an unknown feature in those days. It was Ramananda Chatterjee who conceived the idea first of illustrating his Bengali journal *Prabasi* with coloured reproductions of paintings. To make this feasible many problems had to be solved. In the fiirst instance the right kind of pictures have to be found out. Supposing they became available, there was the more difficult problem of technological equipments essential for bringing out coloured reproductions of pictures of quality. But Ramananda Chatterjee would not be daunted. In the business-like manner characteristic of him, he persuaded Abanindranath Tagore to paint pictures for reproduction. As regards technical assistance it was made available to him by his friend Chintamoni Ghosh the proprietor of the Indian Press of Allahabad. That is now *Prabasi* made history in 1903 by publishing coloured reproductions of paintings.

These two journals exerted great influence on the mind of the students during the formative period of their life. During childhood an individual is lost in the life of his family. His life is extremely circumscribed. When he joins a school he is brought in contact with the outer world through his teachers and his class fellows. He also picks up some acquaintance through reading with the outer world. Consequently, his horizon is widened. It is, however, in the college that the student discovers himself for the first time in his proper bearings. His personality grows, he becomes conscious of the part he is expected to play in future life and by virtue of being placed in a bigger field, he finds opportunities for imbibing thoughts and ideas on a much larger scale than before. The influence that these two magazines exercised on their growing minds was tremendous.

About the nature and quality of this impact I can speak from my own experience. I had developed a particular attraction for the *Prabasi* on account of its own intrinsic merits. Thanks to the ingenuity of its resourceful Editor, it became endowed with features which made it both educative and attractive. For example, there was a special section which collected together different kinds of information which can help adding to the stock of the reader's general knowledge, under the title *Panchasasya*. Naturally, the young inquisitive mind of a student which hankers for knowledge fell to it with all the relish of a hungry man. There was also another item under which selections from outstanding articles which had appeared previously in other journals were published. It was more or less of the nature of a reader's digest and helped the reader to get at one place all the best materials served by different journals. It appears that these features were subsequently discontinued.

The miscellaneous editorial comments under the title *Vividha Prasanga* from the pen of the Editor himself set a new standard of journalistic etiquette. The accounts of diverse items of news were short and succinct and were commented on adversely or favourably according to their merits. These comments evinced an impartiality of attitude which is worthy of emulation. Like the model Judge, they dispensed praise or admonition without fear or favour to anybody. By adhering to such high principles of journalistic convention they served the public in two different ways. They not only helped the general public to form

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a correct opinion about the merits of a particular act of public importance, but also helped sustaining public morality by passing severe strictures on unfair actions committed even by men of position and power.

The central piece of attraction, however, in the *Prabasi* in those days was the poems of Rabindranath Tagore which seldom failed to make their appearance in every issue of the journal. In fact, the opening pages started with the latest poems coming from the pen of Tagore. For years, therefore, the *Prabasi* had the privilege and distinction of playing the role of acquainting the reading public with the latest writings of our great Poet.

These are some aspects of the achievements of Ramananda Chatterjee which escape the eye. One should not forget that he was more than an Editor of distinction. The way he used his position helped him to play a much more significant role than that on a much bigger platform. While he fought a relentless war against imperialism, he sustained public morals by his forthright critical comments on public actions and by feeding the intellect and the emotional faculty of the readers of his journals he helped them develop their personality. His pen produced an impact on many aspects of our national life in a meaningful way.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ramananda Chatterjee

BIDHU BHUSAN SENGUPTA

Few men have attained so much eminence as Ramananda Chatterjee. He was one of the greatest men who among others brought in the renaissance in India. A distinguished journalist and a lover of humanity, he had made it a mission for the upliftment of the people, to mirror their sorrows and sufferings, and their hopes and aspirations. He was a man of faith and courage—faith in the destiny of the nation and courage in its fulfilment. In those days when the British ruled the country with an iron hand, Ramananda never faltered to say the truth whatever might be the consequences. Many of his fellow journalists became alert, but Ramananda's writings could not be curbed—nor could he be put in jail. The reason is his writings were based on unchallengable facts. Truth was his watch-word and public service his motto. That was the secret of his great courage and popularity. He has always tried, despite his own poverty, to lending a helping hand to the solution of the burning problems of the day. He had started his first paper *Dashi* in 1892 and he left the mortal world in 1943 editing *Prabasi* and *Modern Review* till the last day of his life.

During these fifty years of his eventful life Ramananda was a pillar of strength to the Renaissance movement. The work of Ram Mohan Roy and afterwards of Rabindranath Tagore, Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose, Abanindranath Tagore, Acharya Prafulla Chandra Roy Brajendranath Seal and Asutosh Mookerjee gave him strength and inspiration to awaken young Bengalees for service in every field of life. New ideas, new thoughts and new dreams filled the atmosphere. Ramananda gave up the conservative path for awakening the country and helped the people to believe in *Atmasakti* and independent thinking. He had through his papers shown how the Bengali Nation had tried to uplift themselves in all fields of life.

During his early days he had to struggle against great difficulties but all the same passed all examinations including the MA almost topping the list of candidates. He had to take up the post of a teacher in Allahabad to ward off poverty, and made a great name by his educational and social service activities. But his greatest fame was the starting of *Prabashi* in Allahabad which in its get-up and richness and varieties of material far surpassed all monthlies of the day. To reach a wider public and to fulfil his desire of preaching his ideals throughout the world he came to Calcutta in 1908 and before long started the *Modern Review*. These papers electrified the atmosphere and sent a thrill of sensation throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Ramananda was an unbiased independent and forceful writer. He had a mind as wide as the sky, a character as faultless as the fire; truthfulness as firm as the mountain, child like simplicity and belief,—all embracing love like that of the earth; sharp intellect like that of the sword. He was stern like the thunder and soft like the flower. No wonder Ramananda was sent out to mould the life of the people. No wonder he achieved success in all his activities.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

After a few days of his arrival in Calcutta his eldest son Kedarnath Chatterjee who used to study with me in the City College took me one day to their house in Brahma Samaj Road and I had the good luck of seeing his great father on the ground floor office. He treated me like a son and gave me advice about life and ideals. I had edited a book called "Mahatma Gandhi and India's struggle for Swaraj". This was a short history of Gandhiji's activities in the 3rd Round Table Conference. Ramananda Babu wrote a foreward of that book which I quote with pride "the Satyagraha Movement is the greatest political movement of the world in modern times. It owes its greatness to its ethical and spiritual character. It is widely believed to be an effective moral substitute for war and, when successful, is destined to be generally accepted as such.

"It is necessary that the history of such an important movement from its inception onwards, with all the documents and pronouncements connected with it, should be available in a handy form. The present volume, edited by Mr. B. Sen Gupta, supplies this want. It will prove useful to publicists and to all other students of the contemporary political history of India—Ramananda Chatterjee."

Thus grew up an acquaintance which lasted for long after occasional intervals—mainly through the Free Press and the United Press. He was then taking great interest in political affairs. The suppression of one community by another—cruelty to Hindus—he could not tolerate. He started a campaign through his papers and even addressed public meetings. I was by his side in his political activities. His editorial notes received wide attention. People from different provices wantd to read them quickly. He sought my advice. We came to an arrangement by which he would send proof copies to me. I would get them typed and send then to all our offices by mail who used the same as telegraphic news. This received great appreciation and continued for many a year.

Another vital contact with Ramananda Babu was that when I was the Secretary of the Indian Journalists Association of Calcutta he was the President. We used to meet often to discuss matters.

During these fifty years of his journalistic life there was not a phase of Indian activities which did not receive his magnetic touch. He edited several newspapers one by one to awaken his fellowmen. But the divine touch was given by *Prabashi* later by *Modern Review* which with all its wonderful editorial notes, pictures, get up and articles on all subjects—Art, Literature, agriculture, economics and social uplift, education, transport problem, Book-reviews, and so on.

Ramananda was a proudman—proud of his intellect, proud of Indian Civilisation, proud of his journalistic achievement—but that pride is mellowed by sweetness of his temparament. He was sweet and soft like a flower but hard like a stone. He would love all and specially the down-trodden. His pride was an ornament to his character.

To him no better tribute could be given than the address that was presented to him in his sick-bed on behalf of the public by the late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee—"On your seventynine birth day we, your countrymen, are offering you greetings. Your sacred character, unalloyed patriotism and life-long service for the country have overwhelmed us. We offer you our respect and love.

"About fifty years ago having denounced the life of luxury and fame

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

you took up the very difficult and poor work of a teacher. Your patriotism and the magnetic touch of your sacred life have given inspiration to many students and kindled the spirit of National Service in them. You are unique among men to spread ideas. You took up the editing of monthlies for a bigger field of service. Your *Prabasi, Modern Review* and *Bishal Bharat* have given the country unprecedented strength, the spirit of purity and beauty. You have started a new era through the monthlies you edited.

"Our National Art was the object of indifference of our countrymen for a long time. Defying all opposition you have given a new light to your countrymen through your *Sadhana* and *Prachar*. We remember this today with greatfulness.

"Your work in bringing together the scattered sons of Bengal in love and ideas is unique. Your love for your own province has made you love India, and your love and service for the whole country more glorious. You are adorable.

"Our motherland is proud of your 'Tapashya' for alround improvement of the country. Your fearless pen with unchallengable facts have given your countrymen a new strength. May you have the joy of fulfilment.

"Your attempt to make Indian culture a partner of world culture is worthy of recognition. Human poverty ignorance, and misery you have never tolerated. You have felt the agony of foreign domination at the very bottom of your heart and in the independence struggle you have lent your full strength and resources. May your *Sadhana* be fulfilled."

Similar addresses were presented by Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Viswabharathi, Bankura Sanmilani, Indian Journalists Association, Calcutta, and Abanindranath Tagore. He gave short significant replies in voice choked with emotion and weakened by illness.

Roma Rolland after having spent some hours with Ramananda Babu in his garden wrote : How sympathetic he is by nature ! the momnt one sees him one must love him. He radiates so much of affection and goodness; and so simple and modest he is! *His patriarchal figure makes me think of a Tolstoy* more sweet and *compassionate*." Greater tribute cannot be conceived.

It is good the centenary of the birth of such a great man is being celebrated before long. We raise our hands in salutation and pray for his guidance.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Editorial Notes on Population & Food

We reproduce in this section selections from editorial notes published in **The Modern Review** and all of which were written by Ramananda Chatterjee over a period of years on the vital questions of Population, Food, Famine and Pestilence. These notes would appear to be representative of the writer's very definite and emphatic views on these vital public questions. What would, we feel, add to the interest of these reproductions is the fact that some of the facts analysed in course of these notes and the views expressed with the writer's characteristic forthrightness, are still amazingly relevant although the political context and the social environments would appear, on the face of it, to have passed through a sea-change in the meanwhile.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Lord Curzon on Famines in India

The speech made by Lord Curzon on famines in India on February 15th last, at a small gathering in London, reveals the man, as nothing else and no other subject could have done. We are accustomed to the self-gratulation of rich people, whose egotism takes the peculiar form of idealising all connected with themselves. But few natures yield with such *naivete* to the full tide of this enthusiasm as that of the English gentleman in question. Never did a man take himself so seriously. Never did anyone, in unguarded moments, so completely unmask. Never was there anyone who, by the things he chose for admiration, gave so easy an opportunity to others of plumbing himself to his depths. The depths in this particular case, as regards heart and mind, would not seem to be great.

With regard to famine relief in India, then, Lord Curzon hardly knows how to say enough.

"The English in India, he says, have 'evolved a science of famine relief, a science sufficiently elastic to be capable of adjustment to the circumstances and requirements of different times and localities, but at the same time sufficiently precise to be embodied in great codes of famine procedure'."

The tortured land cries out in vain, asking why there should be famine at all, amongst her people. No country, no civilization under normal conditions of health, suffers from such disaster easily. Nowhere in the world ought it fall upon all classes alike, within a given area. Nowhere ought it to be on the increase. In India, however, famine has become chronic. An English editor only the other remarked in a communication to India.

'No one, you see, can do anything for a famine in India. Its always there. Its chronic.'

Nor could this be otherwise under a system of Imperialism. In England itself, as in every imperialist country, the people are the victims of an increasing poverty, while the means of livelihood are being progressively absorbed by the privileged classes. Ten days of hard winter weather are enough to throw the population of East and South London into state of famine. Nor could it be otherwise. A country requires labour of all its people for its full development. But under imperialism a great proportion of the population are drafted away to make the army and navy, necessary for the protection not of the homes of the 'imperialising people, but of the areas of investment which have been seized in other parts of the world by their privileged classes. The army and navy therefore represent, as far as the home-land its concerned, pure idleness. The bulk of the remaining population, again, is drawn into cities, in order to manufacture those products whch are, when sold in distant exploited areas, to make a fortune, not for the thousand workers, but for the single employer and organiser of the factory.

Under imperialism, therefore, even in the imperialising country, the condition of the peoples becomes daily more and more miserable. The villages are depleted. The farm lands fall out of cultivation. The workers become more and more dependent, not on the stores which the earth yields from harvest to harvest, but on the day's wages for the day's work. And the day's work for the greater part, the tending of some huge machine, in some subordinate capacity, or some task or other connected, not with production, but with distribution of food and clothing. Let a crisis occur in trade, or a failure of supply take place in some distant part of the earth, and millions of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

men fall out of employment at once. That is to say, famine occurs.

If this however be the inevitable condition of the worker in England, and to a lesser degree in other countries of the west also, how much worse must it necessarily be amongst the imperialised. Here, everything pays tribute. Government ought to cost a people nothing, beyond the tine and maintenance of the men who carry it on. In this case, however, a Government is created, at an extrapagant wage. The industries of the country ought to supply the peasant with clothing and tools. The peasant ought to supply the artisan with food. But here, as far as possible, the artisan is driven out of his proper work, and the peasantry as far as possible are turned into coolies, working on railways, or organised on the land for the growing of such imperial crops as tea, indigo, opium, and jute. The imperialised country does not even learn the trick of imperial organisation, for that task is carefully reserved for themselves by the imperialisers.

A railway is only a distributory, not a productive, enterprise. But the characteristic industry of the imperialisers is the railway. It is created and organised by him. It is for his purposes only. And it pays tribute to him, it is as much his and the creature of his interests, as the stamp affixed to legal agreements.

An imperialised country, therefore, is drained in many ways, not in any one alone. Yet it would take all the labour of a people to keep their country on the normal level of self-development, that is to say, to keep the food-supply at its proper point of sufficiency. What then could we expect in India, where the labour of the people is uniformly directed to the comfortable maintenance of the upper middle and higher classes in England, in their seats of West London, Brighton, Bath, and Bournemouth, and to the enrichment of great manufacturing and trading houses in that country? What could we expect? Moreover, since every famine breeds worse famine in the future, since every famine means further restriction of the cultivated area, we can see that famine once beginning in an imperialised country must grow worse from time to time, and must quickly become chronic.

This reasoning is completely bourne out by the history of Indian famines under Imperialism. Only last year the Rev. Dr. Aked, addresising a London audience, said:

'Famine in India was chronic, and things were going from bad to worse. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century there were five famines with a million deaths, and in the third quarter, six famines, with five million deaths, and in the last quarter, sixteen famines, with twenty-six million deaths. The average income told the same tale. India had retrogaded materially, and the simple fact was that the longer our rule continued the worse the condition of things became.'

Having created such a state of things, however, an imperial Government must needs evolve some method of coping with it. Partly, doubtless, because human beings are not, after all, devils. But also partly because if the tax-payers died to a man, the exchequer would be emptied. Every worker saved, is a future source of income. It might be answered here every fortune saved, every rich family kept on its feet, meant a future source of still greater income, so that the interests of ruler and ruled were identical. But this, in the present case, is not wholly true. It might hold good if the civilians, who are the actual rulers of the country, were the only class whose interests were involved. But there are planters, engineers, manufacturers, whose one ambition is to organise and control Indian labour, and as far as these interests are concerned,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the more and the sooner the labourer is reduced to the condition of a slave as in the tea gardens of Assam, the better.

Every working-life and potential working life saved, is a future source of income. Under these circumstances

'We have evolved a science of famine relief, a science sufficiently elastic to be capable of adjustments to the circumstances and requirements of different times and localities, but at the same time sufficiently precise to be embodied in great codes of famine procedure.'

Shame to the man who can venture thus nakedly to exalt in a virtue of his own which he has to admit as inadequate to the occasion, ... and which, moreover, has been made possible only by the most terrible of human disasters ! How he exalts is seen in the following words :

'When people wanted to know what the British Government was capable of doing in India they should go out in prosperous times but, sad as the experience might be, when the country was in the throes of a great famine. They would see there what no Government in the world had ever attempted to undertake in the past, what no Government except our own was capable of undertaking now and what he firmly believed, no Government, European or Indian, by which conceivably we could be superseded or succeded, would attempt to undertake in the future.'

Lord Curzon's book, however, on his travels in Korea and the far East makes us understand how entirely sincere is this rejoicing which we have stigmatised as 'naked and unashamed.' He never, in that book, deals with basic facts regarding the peoples amongst whom he travels, their mode of life, their standard of comfort, their thought, their poetry, or the like. His remarks on such subjects are confined to a few hackneyed, though apt, quotations. His facts are always bureaucratic, of the census, of import and export, of facilities of transport and the like. The book is a perfect manual for the would-be exploiter whether poltical or mercantile. He sees nothing, apparently, in any country, save an opportunity for organisation by the class to which he himself belongs. He is not im-moral in his geographical outlook : he is merely un-moral or sub-moral, as un-moral as nature herself.

Let us hear what, after his long viceroyalty, he has to say regarding the future of India :

That the British Government would be able to prevent famine in India, the people and the climate being what they were, within any time they could measure, he thought extremely unlikely. That they would seriously reduce the frequency of famines he hoped was probable.

And here for once we agree with Lord Curzon. That the British Government may seriously reduce the frequency of famines in India can only at best be regarded as a pious hope. That they will or ever could, things beings what they are, do anything to prevent them, we, with him, think extremely unlikely.

[*The Modern Review*, April, 1907—
Pp. 414—417]

The "Over Population" of India

'India is misirably underpopulated as any railway survey shows, she has room and potentiality for many times her present population of food-growers'.

Many a stranger who comes to India and crosses it by rail by any of the routes, asks in bewilderment, 'where are the teeming millions. The thinness of population across wide stretches of country in India is only equalled by that of the United States of America. There the railway betrays the same vast, almost

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

manless, solitudes. If only people would go to life, instead of books, for their facts!

Even for those who go to books, however, it may be familiar knowledge that Chota Nagpur is but scantily populated, or that the Himalays between Almora and Nepal, for instance, were, under Nepalese rule, many times more populous and more cultivated than now. Last year there was an outbreak of plague in Rajputana and whole fields stood in certain parts with ripe grain unreaped, because the villages had none to do the reaping.

There are slight indications by facts open to every one's personal observation that India might support more than she does. Look at the Central Provinces east of Nagpur in what was famous long ago as the district of 'heaven-born engineer'.

The Rev. J. T. Sunderland, an American missionary pointed out in 1900 (quoted by Digby in 'Prosperous British India', pp. 162-64) that the birth-rate for India is 75 per 1000 less than the average birth-rate of all Europe, and that if the agricultural possibilities of the country were properly developed, she could easily support a greatly increased population. 'There are', writes Mr. Sunderland, 'enormous areas of waste land that ought to be subdued and brought under cultivation'. By this and the proper extension of irrigation all possible increase of population for a hundred to come might easily be provided for.

III.

The names of Sir William Hunter, Mr. A. O. Hume, Sir Auckland Colvin, Sir Charles Elliot and Lord Cromer are amongst those whom Mr. Sunderland quotes as his authorities.

In all these statements we are dealing with the question of the population of India under present condtion, under these conditions it has been shown that, difficult of access as are exact facts and figures on the subject, it is nevertheless opinion of intelligent disinterested people that India ought to have a very much larger population than she actually has. When we come to the further question of *ideal conditions*, however, the force of this statement is multiplied many times.

We have, as scholars are agreed, very little conception of the possible productivity of the earth. One small piece of Europe—the country of Belgium—is cultivated up to something like a reasonable limit, and those who have travelled in that country, can tell us of its corn and fruit its kitchen-gardens and farm yards, crowding up to the very steel of the railway lines. Does this remind anyone of India? Nay, we do not need to go to Belgium itself, we have only to read a list of the Roman Catholic Mission of the world to realise what that one little country is doing morally and intellectually for humanity. The great bulk of the teaching Catholic priesthood in India would appear to be recruited from Belgium alone. Now what does this mean? It means that hard working families of decent farming people manage—in how many cases!—to educate one son thoroughly well, for an intellectual career of no mean order and that at the same time comfort is sufficients in the home, and cultural sufficient in the small township to which the home belongs, for the highest ideal to permeate the whole of the society, so that this best educated son dreams of the priesthood, of self-sacrifice, as the goal of his powers!

This is a very different story from that of 'the pressure of the population upon the means of subsistence'. This last is a phrase—when we use it, do we always think exactly what it means? Or are we not misled by the high-sounding syllables? What does it mean? It means pressure of population against the quan-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tity of food produced. That is to say, it means that the amount of food produced is with difficulty made to cover the area of consumers. This does not tally with the statement that rice is always to be had, for it is an announcement in round terms that the amount is insufficient! Now when too little food-material is produced in a country, what is wanted? Does that country need a smaller population in order that there shall be fewer to eat the given quantity? Not by any means. She wants a larger population of food-growers, in order to produce a larger quantity of food. It may be that under barbarism an added population costs more than it produces, though this obviously could only be true above a certain limit. But it is the distinctive glory of civilization that, in increasing degree as civilization increases, a man produce more than be costs. Humanity possesses no asset so valuable as human beings. The larger a population, and the greater its productive ability and vigour, the larger, within limits, the additional population that the country can support. Of course the phrase 'within limits' is all important here. What is the limit to which the Indian population might safely be raised? We do not know. No man living as wise enough to answer that question.

[*The Modern Review*, July—1907 Page 92-3-4]

Are Poverty and Famine in India Caused by Over-population? No

In his *Current History* article Mr. Rush-brook-Williams writes:

'During the latter half of the nineteenth century the two Indias followed somewhat divergent lines of development. In British India a great deal was done by British energy and British capital to secure the economic development of the country.* It is perfectly true that population proceeded to increase so fast that it still continued for the most part to exist upon the margin of subsistence. But famine, of the old type, which used to blot out thousands was mastered. ....'

Here India's poverty and famines are definitely, though indirectly, attributed to the population increasing too fast. Let us see if this is true.

First, consider the increase of population in England and Wales. According to *The Statesman's Year-book*, published by Macmillan, London, the population of England and Wales was 22, 712, 266 in 1871 and 37,886,699 in 1921. Therefore, in 50 (fifty) years there, has been an increase there of more than 66 per cent, *without there being any famines or any increase in poverty*.

According to the *Census of India*, 1921, Volume I, Part II, page 6, the population of India was 206,162, 360 in 1872 and 318,942,480 in 1921. These two figures for 1872 and 1921 are not for the same area. In page 5 of the same part and volume of the Census of India, 'areas newly enumerated at each census with their population. are given. The names of the areas would take up too much space. So we give only the total populations of the areas newly enumerated at each succeeding census after 1872.

Year of Census	Newly enumerated population
1881	33,139,081
1891	5,713,902
1901	2,672,077
1911	1,793,365
1921	86,633
Total	43,405,058

Deducting there 43,405,058 from 318,942,480, we get 275,537,422 as the population in 1921 of the areas which in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1872 contained a population of 206,162,-360. Deduction should also have been made for the increase of population in the newly enumerated areas from 1881 to 1921. But the above is all the approximation to accuracy that is possible to obtain. Calculating on the basis of these figures, it is found that in India in 49 (or, say fifty) years there has been an increase of more than 33 per cent in population.

So, in round numbers, in fifty years the population in England and Wales has increased by 66 per cent and that in India by 33 per cent. Thus we have increased at a rate which is half of the English rate. Still England is not a poor or famine—stricken country. But India, whose population has increased only half as fast as the English, is a poor and famine—stricken country, and wiseacres say that this is due to our rapidity in increase!

If no peductions, required for accuracy, were made for the areas newly enumerated in India since 1872, the increase from 206,162,360 in 1872 to 318,942,480 in 1921 would be an increase of more than 54 per cent. But that would still be decidedly less than the English increase of more than 66 per cent in practically the same period.

In 1921 the density of population per square mile in England and Wales was 649 and in India 177;—in the British provices 226, in the Indian States 101. And India's natural resources and fertility are not inferior to those of England and Wales.

But whatever the conclusion to which one may be driven by the figures supplied by British officials, foreign wiseacres will continue to ascribe India's famines and poverty to a too rapid increase in population, so long as we are not in a political position to make our view accepted.

As for 'famine of the old type' having been 'mastered' 'during the latter half of the nineteenth century', the figures compiled from official reports and from such books as Mr. W. S. Lilly's 'India and its Problems', do not support the writer's statement. According to these there were five famines in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, two during the second, six during the third and eighteen during the fourth. The mortality figures are too harrowing to contemplate. According to Mr. Lilly's 'India and Its Problems', 'during the first eighty years of the nineteenth century, 18,000,000 of the Indian people perished of famine'.

[*The Modern Review*, Sept., 1923]
Pp. 351-53

Man Power Needed

It is not because we have any liking for men being used as cannoon-fodder that we have been laying stress on the importance of man-power. Our point of view is that, when men are under the necessity of fighting, it is an advantage to have a very large population to draw upon for recruits.

But a large population is an advantage for productive and creative purposes also. A large population ensures an abundant supply not only of workers but of consumers, too. The industrial nations of Europe cannot consume all that they produce. They have, therefore, to reduce foreign peoples to eithrr political or economic subjection or both forms of subjection to find consumers for their goods. Big producing nations need not be guilty of such unrighteous and immoral conduct. They can themselves consume much of what they produce and supply their surplus produce and manufactures, if any, to other nations by friendly arrangement.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

China is not merely fighting. She has been developing and utilising her agricultural and mineral resources and promoting all her handicarfts. Her exports are increasing—not to subject peoples in dependencies but to such great and independent countries as the United States of America.

May India never be under the necessity of using her immense manpower for war purposes! She requires her vast population to develop her cultivable areas and her forest, mineral and river and maritime resources to the full. If that were done and there were an equitable distribution of all that was produced, India would be able to maintain in comfort according to a civilised standard of living even a much larger population than what she has at present. Apart from the moral objection to the use of contraceptives, it can be shown that it is both harmful and unnecessary from the economic point of view.

(The Modern Review, July, 1940, p. 12)

"TOO FEW CHILDREN"

. . . . Why then are there too few children in France? It is not that the fecundity of the French people is comparatively lower than that of other people naturally. The French Canadians are increasing not more slowly than other Canadians, rather they are increasing faster.

The fact is, as mentioned by Marshal Petain, the French people have become too pleasure-loving. French women in general do not like to bear children and French fathers are unwilling to take the trouble to bring up children, to the extent that other peoples do so. So they use contraceptive methods and contrivances, more than other people, to prevent the birth of children.

The patriotism, valour and tenacity of the Fhench soldiers have extorted the respect and admiration of the world. But the French people in general seem to have become decadent and seem to heading for national suicide.

In the long run it is not the bullets so much as babies that enable nations to service and hold their heads high.

(The Modern Review, July, 1940, p. 10)

Buying up a People's food

Bengal has been thrilled of late to her very depths, by a new extension of the process of exploitation. A well-known European firm is trying to buy up the rice of the country, while the crops are still in the fields. It is understood that this is the beginning of the operation known as 'making a corner' in rice. The country is startled by the fact that now for the first time, the *chasha* is approached by the European dealer direct, ignoring the *faria* and the *mahajan*. A widespread movement is necessary to meet this and protect the farm-folk against it. If it goes on, a few years may be expected to make of the fertile province of Bengal one great *smashan*. We unhesitatingly, therefore, urge the peasants to repudiate any engagement they have entered into on this subject. If they have already spent the money, let them consider it as a debt, and pay it when they can. But let them on no account part with their rice, at the time of the *Aus* crop. Let the word 'Hold the rice!' sing throughout the land, and let all the vigours of social ostracism be brought upon any man who fails to obey. This may involve a cetrain amount of suffering. But any suffering, any 'crime' for the individual, is better than that a province should lie at the mercy of an English firm in the city, for the price of its food.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

We are glad, since writing the above, to read in the papers of the formation of an 'Annarakhshini Sabha', with branches. (The Modern Review, April, 1907, p. 420)

India Government's Evasion of Food Problem

Government of India's Food Member, Sir Muhammad Azizul Huq, has announced the Government's decisions on measures to meet the food situation. The decisions were :

"Rationing in urban areas to be taken up in a progressively increasing measure and almost immediately.

No statutory fixation of maximum prices at the present stage but every possible step to be taken to bring down the general level and to stabilise the prices of all commodities.

Provinces and States to be left free to take administrative measures to bring prices under control within their region.

A merciless attack on the hoarder and the profiteer to be launched immediately throughout India by all provinces and States.

Free trade not to be considered except as an objective for the return of normal conditions. Procurement operations in execution of the basic plan to be carried out either directly by Government or by agencies under the full control of the Provincial or State Governments.

Deficit provinces and states to be free within the limits of their basic quota to make a direct approach to surplus areas and wherever possible make direct transport arrangements with the railway or shipping authorities.

Government of India to do their best to see that the present shortage of consumer goods is corrected as soon as possible.

Problems of long range planning to be discussed by representatives of States and Provinces in a Conference to be convened early in September."

A giance at the decisions would convince anybody that the problem has been evaded behind carefully coined phrases. Even Mr. Amery, the greatest champion of the Central and Provincial Governments in London, failed to congratulate the Linlithgow Administration for their handling of the food situation. The Central Government has, of late, announced their decision to stop any further export of rice ; but is it out of sympathy for the famished and starving masses, or because the prices have soared too high even for them?

(*The Modern Review*, August, 1943, Page 89)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

On an Indian Lingua Franca

The question of a national Indian language of genuinely Indian origin to replace English has long been one potent with explosive contents. Unless it were Sanskrit from which most Indian regional languages have been derived, no others could legitimately claim national status without arousing severe opposition and deep-seated suspicion and resentmnt. The problem does not seem yet to admit of a universally and nationally satisfying solution and the recent violence and disorders were symptomatic of the temper of the nation on this vital question. In the following pages some selections from Ramananda Chatterjee's editorial notes in *The Modern Review* would give a realistic picture of his own views on the question. We have also added, as an appendix to the series, a report of the Madras Hindi Prachar Sabha's proceedings of many years ago as an interesting contrast to recent occurrences.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

What is Implied in Making Hindustani India's Lingua Franca

Both those who are in favour of making Hindustani the Lingua franca of India and those who are opposed to it should know what is implied in such a step. Some of its implications are mentioned below.

Unless and until a common script is agreed upon and adopted by the advocates of the Nagari script and the advocates of the Arabic or Persian script, it is evident that all who would use Hindustani in the letters, articles, pamphlets, books, ect., written or printed by them must know both the scripts. If any one writes in Nagari to a person who uses and knows only the Arabic script, the latter must go to a person who knows Nagari to get it read. That would be troublesome and cause delay in correspondence. But if both the senders and receivers of written communications know both scripts, exchange of news and views would be easier and quicker. As the adoption of Hindustani as the lingua franca is meant to promote intercourse between all religious communities, provinces and linguistic groups, that object cannot be fully gained unless all Indians (and it is implied that they are all to be literate—at least in Hindustani) know and can use both the scripts.

In the case of printed Hindustani literature of all kinds—newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets and books—either both scripts must be used in paralled columns or opposite pages to suit the convenience of the knowers and users of either script, or all readers of such literature must know both the scripts, so that they may be able to read and profit by the perusal of what is printed in Nagari as well as of what is printed in Arabic. Otherwise, those who know and use Nagari will get the benefit of only what is printed in Nagari and those who know and use the Persian or Arabic script will get the benefit of only that which is printed in that script.

So it is implied in the adoption of Hindustani (Hindi and Urdu) as the lingua France of India that all over India people must be able to read and write both scripts—unless and until of course, as said before, a common script is devised and is accepted by all. And in addition they must know the script of their own mother-tongue, if it is different from Nagari and Persian.

As regards the language to be used, in Hindi-speaking and Urdu-speaking areas the language of ordinary conversation contains both Sanskritic words and words taken from Arabic and Persian. Such words in current use are understood by all—though educated Musalmans and Lalas use a comparatively larger Persian vocabulary and educated Brahmans and other Hindus (except perhaps Lalas) use a comparatively larger Sanskrit vocabulary. So much for the language used in ordinary conversation.

As regards the language used in political discussions and speeches, my expereince is (and, of course,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

speak not as one who knows much of Hindustani but knows only a little) that I can grasp the substace of discussion and speeches in Hindi but cannot understand what is said in Urdu. I say this with special reference to the language used by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and with reference to the language used by the late Dr. Ansari in his speeches at the last Karachi session of the Congress and by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in the course of the Unity Talks at Allahabad some years ago.

So my conclusion is that, except for purposes of ordinary conversation, if one wants to understand and speak both Hindi and Urdu as used in political discussions and speeches, he must master both Sanskritized and Arbicized-Presianized vocabularies to a considerable extent, though the grammatical frame-work of both the dialects may be the same. There may, of course, come a time when both the dialects may be fused into one language.

We now come to the language of printed literature.

Ordinarily the language used in Urdu text-books for schools is somewhat different in vocabulary from the language used in Hindi text-books for schools. But it is possible to write text-books having the same vocabulary to be printed either in Nagari and Persian script or both. Such text-books have been written.

But when we come to higher text-books for colleges and universities, written in Hindi or Urdu and printed in either script, we find that there is greater divergence. Hindi text-books written for the Benares University or for the Kashi Vidyapith and printed in Nagari characters, will not pass muster in the Osmania University of Hyderabad if printed in Persian characters, nor can the Urdu taxt-books of the Osmania University be used in the Benares University and the Kashi Vidyapith if printed in Nagari. The reason is, in conveying modern knowledge to India adult educated readers in all subjects—philosophy, history, economics, physical sciences, social sciences, archaeology, mathematics, political science, ...—we have to use many words which are not to be found in any modern Indian language as used in ordinary conversation or even in ordinary works of fiction. These have either to be taken or coined from some classical language. Now writers in Hindi naturally prefer to go to Sanskrit for the purpose and writers in Urdu as naturally resort to Arabic and Persian. As Sanskrit is not less rich in words and roots than any other language, in the world, as it is an Indian language, and as words taken or coined from it harmonize perfectly not only with northern Indian modern tongues, but also with such southern tongues as Tamil, there is no reason why Hindi writers should have recoures to any other language than Sanskrit for new words. And it would not at least be expedient or politic to try to persuade writers of Urdu to go to Sanskrit for new words.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

What has been said above with reference to higher educational text-books is true also of all serious literature for adult general readers.

So one who wishes to read higher literature in Hindi and Urdu —and one must be able to do so if one wishes to have the full advantage of the Hindustani lingua franca —must have some amount of knowledge of both Sanskrit and Arabic-Persian vocabularies. If, in addition, he wishes to be the producer of such literature in both Hindi and Urdu, he must have sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian to be able to cull and coin words from them for his own.

Objection to Sanskritized and Persianized Hindustani

In the United Provinces and Bihar persons interested in the progress of Hindustani literature, and elsewhere in India also persons similarly interested, sometimes say that Hindustani should not be unnecessarily Sanskritized or Persianized. They are right. But if it be meant that, so far as modern Indian languages are concerned, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic have the same standing as 'sourcetongues' to draw from, they are wrong. Sanskrit is an Indian language and is genetically connected with all the main north India and middle India languages, and even south Indian languages like Tamil have a large Sanskritic vocabulary. Therefore, it is far more natural to draw from Sanskrit [illegible] from any non-Indian tongue. [illegible] there is an advantage in having [illegible] course to Sanskrit. If any [illegible] language enriches itself thereby, [illegible] wealth can be easily shared by [illegible] modern Indian tongues. That is [illegible] of the reasons why Bengali [illegible] have been translated in consid[illegible] able numbers into other Ind[illegible] languages—it being comparative[illegible] easy to translate from a Sanskr[illegible] language. The late Pandit Sakha[illegible] Ganesh Deuskar, a Maharashtr[illegible] Brahman by lineage, whose mo[illegible] tongue was Bengali but [illegible] mastered Marathi, the mother-tong[illegible] of his ancestors, imported into [illegible] Bengali writings many Sanskr[illegible] words in Marati but not in Beng[illegible]

(The Modern Review August, 1938 Pp 126-127)

Is It Shameful not to have an Ind[illegible] Lingua Franca?

Recently in the course of [illegible] speech delivered by Srijut Subh[illegible] Chandra Bose at Wardha he [illegible] reported to have said:

Last year when the spea[illegible] was in Vienna, some of the Indians [illegible] including Mr. Bose, were invited [illegible] dinner by a European friend. The[illegible] they began to speak in Engli[illegible] among themselves. The Europe[illegible] friend was rather surprised [illegible] asked them why they conversed [illegible] English, and they had to hang [illegible] heads in shame.

We fully appreciate the burn[illegible] love of independence and the stro[illegible] desire for national unification [illegible]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which such sentiments are born. But we are afraid, Mr. Bose and his Indian friends in Vienna felt ashamed rather unnecessarily. People can be naturally and logically expected to be ashamed of some state of things which is discreditable and for which they themselves are responsible—but not otherwise.

It is discreditable not to have an indigenous lingua-franca in India, surely Mr. Bose and his Indian friends were not responsible for its absence; nor are any other Indians responsible. From ancient times India has had many languages. The present generation of Indians did not create them. In ancient times among the educated perhaps Sanskrit served the country, and among the common people perhaps some form of Prakrit. These have been cultivated by many educated persons, but rarely spoken.

It is very often said that India equals in area the whole of Europe minus Russia. Now in this large area of Europe minus Russia the number of the principal languages spoken is larger than that of the principal languages spoken in India—we mean those which have alphabets and literatures of their own. In this large European area, there is no lingua franca which is indigenous to each and every country of Europe. This may be inconvenient to Europeans but is not discreditable to them. Many Europeans who are neither Frenchmen nor Englishmen converse with one another in French or English. They are not ashamed of doing so. No doubt, if Europe minus Russia did not have so many languages but had only one, or had a common language in addition to the mother-tongue of each country, or if the mother-tongue of some European country had been understood by all the inhabitants of all the other countries, that would have been more convenient for ordinary and commercial intercourse. But Europeans are not ashamed that the state of things is different.

It may be objected that the big area of Europe minus Russia is not one state or one country, but consists of many separte independent countries, and it is these separate countries which have different languages; whereas India is one country, one state, and different parts of India, called provinces, have different languages. But considered from the standpoint of the whole of humanity, this difference between Europe minus Russia and India is not a fundamental difference. What is province in one age, century or generation, may be a separate country in another. What were provinces of the vast ancient or mediaeval Roman Empire became separate countries afterwards. But such historical argument and speculation need not be resorted to. Only some two decades ago, Vienna, where Mr. Bose felt ashamed of conversing in English with fellow-Indians, was the capital of one State, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the then province of which are now separate countries. But neither then when

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

they were parts of one State, nor now when they are separate countries, did they or do they have an indigenous lingua franca—if any. They did not and do not think such a state of things shameful.

Mr. Bose spent part of his exile in Switzerland. In this small country and state three languages are spoken in different parts, German, French and Italian, none of which is spoken or understood by all the Swiss. Besides these, Romansch and other languages are spoken there. This is inconvenient, but the Swiss do not consider this state of things a disgrace.

We are not here arguing against our trying to have a common language. It would be convenient if we had one. What we mean is that we need not be ashamed of having no common language. Nor need we be ashamed of using English, the language of the foreign rules of India did not come under British rule, many of us would be using it as the independent Chinese and the independent Japanese use it. A Chinese lady, Rose Quong, writes in the Asiatic Review for July.

"In the hotel (in China) where I stayed I had a regular procession of boys coming to my room offering to fill up my teapot or water-jug, all in the hope of learning a word of English. Everywhere I found this eagerness to learn what is, as you know, the secondary language in China."

At one stage of their school education Japanese boys and girls learn English.

We know, of course, the difference between the Chinese and the Japanese learning and using English and the people of India using it. They use it of their own free will and for their own convenience. We have to use it because it is the language of the foreign government. It is this feeling of being obliged to use it which hurts our self-respect. But nothing is gained by being too sensitive.

And after all, are Congressmen really ashamed of using English? Or is it somewhat of a sub-conscious Hundred per cent Swadeshism pose? When and if the shame becomes deep-seated they will cease to write books, pamphlets, bulletins, newspaper articles, addresses, and the like in English, and cease to converse with one another in English—whether in Vienna or in any Indian town or village.

(Sept. 1938 Pp 282-83)

Will Hindustani Oust the other Provincial Languages?

President Subhas Chandra Bose is reported to have said further:

The public in Madras Presidency is opposed to the introduction of Hindustani in the secondary schools on the ground that Hindustani will oust or crush the provincial languages. This is a grave misunderstanding. Hindustani is to be introduced only in place of English as the medium of inter-provincial intercourse.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If we remember aright, it was to the same audience which Mr. Bose addressed that Mahatma Gandhi sent a message to the effect that the object of the Congress was to give to Hindustani the position which has been attempted to be given, without success, to English.

Perhaps extreme Indian advocates of English—we doubt if there is any appreciably large number of them—may desire that it should become the medium of interprovincial intercourse even among the masses. That desire—if cherished by anybody—can never be fulfilled. At present English is used for the following purposes: as the medium of interprovincial intercourse among English-knowing persons; as the language of commerce between different parts of India and often of commercial transactions in the same town or province; as the medium of intellectual and cultural intercourse with foreign countries; as the language of law-courts, legislative bodies, law-codes, government offices, etc., as the language used in the proceedings, discussions, debates, etc., of our own political, social and other associations and organizations; as the language of many of our newspapers and periodicals; and as the cultural language in almost all our colleges and universities.

As Mahatma Gandhi's message was very brief, it did not specify whether Hindustani was meant to be used for all but one of the purposes for which English is at present used, the exception being its use for intellectual and cultural intercourse with foreign countries.

We have tried to show in our note on "The Language of Universities Under Congress Rule" in our last number, (page 133,) that the local and natural outcome of making Hindustani the State language of India under Congress rule would or should be to make it the cultural language, too, of those universities in India of which English is at present the cultural language, and they are the majority. If what we have said be correct, the development of the Hindustani language would receive a very great impetus, and at the same time the development of the other provincial languages would be arrested. For as we have said in the aforementioned note, "no language, no literature can attain its full stature if it be not the medium of the highest education and culture."

So, if our anticipation be correct, making Hindustani the State language of India under Congress rule will be very favourable for its growth.

Of course, so far as one can peer into the future, Hindustani will not oust the other provincial languages as media of ordinary intercourse and of elementary school education though it will stunt the growth of the latter.

But as the Congress has not placed all its linguistic cards on the table, progrestication is very difficult, if not impossible.

As the Congress is against secret diplomacy, secret conspiracy, and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

other secret methods, it should tell the public in detail what position it wants Hindustani to occupy under Congress rule.

(The Modern Review September, 1938 page 284)

"Hindi", "Hindi"

There are some persons who, even in non-Hindi-speaking provinces, would insist on all speakers making their speeches in Hindi. When some speaker begins to speak in English, they cry out, "Hindi", "Hindi". Thereby they do not show excessive courtesy to the speaker. If he cannot speak Hindi, why cherish the desire to exercise any pressure or compulsion on him? Let Hindi win by its own merits.

At the Surat session of the Hindu Mahasabha also there were such tyrannically—disposed lovers of India. The first man whom they interrupted with their favourite cry was Dr. Raeji, the Chairman of the Receiption Committee, whose printed address was in English. He read what he had written, not minding the interruptions, He is a Gujarati. Some other speakers also were subjected to such interruptions. There was a similar outburst at a subjects committee meeting also.

Our advice to all Indians whose mother-tongue is not Hindi is to learn to speak and read it, if not to write it also. It will pay, both in the literal and figurative senses, and wll save them much annoyance.

To the ardent lovers of Hindi also we wish to make a very humble submission.

Let them by all means try to extend the use of Hindi by education, by improving modern Hindi literature so that it may be pleasant and profitable to read Hindi, and by propaganda of all sorts. But pray do not think of compulsion, direct or indirect. Please do not be moved by any idea, however vague or subconscious, of linguistic conquest and imperialism. For then there would be plenty of linguistic passive resisters in India. And may we remind those literate persons whose mother-tongue is Hindi that the Hindi-speaking regions in India are the most illiterate in India? It is their duty to enable the illiterate persons in the Hindi-speaking areas to read, at least simultaneously with, if not before, making efforts to spread Hindi in other areas.

It should also be remembered that there is no necessary connection between the promotion of the cause of Hinduism and the use of Hindi. Ages before Hindi or any other modern Indian language was born, Hinduism existed in India. The Hindus of those days were perhaps as good Hindus as the speakers of Assamese, Bengali, Gujrati, Marathi, etc., and probaly even as good Hindus as the Hindi-speaking Hindus. There is no particular virtue in speaking Hindi or any other language, and no sin in not speaking any of them. It is all a matter of use and wont and convenience and expediency.

The case of Hindi should not be

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CURIOSITY
Debiprasad Roy Choudhury

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

orders by the Educational Department. He understood that the students who wanted to learn Hindusthani should produce certificates of approval from the parents. He hoped that it was not true. He added that the Government should do everything in their power to encourage the study of Hindustani.

Wishing the Hindi Week success, Mr. Satyamurti hoped that those who were prejudiced against the compulsory study of Hindusthani would be converted to the view that an educated Indian in future ought to know at least two languages, Hindusthani and his own mother tongue. His ambition was that every Hindu should be conversant with Sanskrit and he thought that a knowledge of four languages, namely the mother-tongue Hindusthani, English and Sanskrit, would not be too much for them.

The Utilitarian Aspect

Lt. Col. Pandalai referred to his early official career in the medical service at Kohat which necessitated his learning Hindusthani and added that in northern India it was necessary to have a knowledge of the language. In the army, English was absolutily unknown. There he became acquainted with what was called Hindusthani which was a mixture of the spoken languages of the north and which was fast growing. We must acquire a knowledge of Hindusthani through which alone we could come into contact with the greatest proportion of the people of India. Personally, he thought there was no need for compulsion; people will learn Hindusthani. But the problem was how to make those who had learnt the language, avoid forgetting it. Dr. Pandalai suggested that they should increase their social contacts with Hindi-knowing people who had settled here. They could also see good Hindi films and he had been doing it personally.

It was absolutely wrong to say, Dr. Pandalai said, that if Hindusthani grew in popularity, some other language would die. On the other hand, as Hindusthani grew the local or regional Languages would also grow. If any argument were needed that Hindusthani was already unquestionably the leading language of India, he would point out to them that in all foreign broadcasting stations, broadcasts intended for India were given only in Hindusthani, because all foreigners knew that it was the only way of reaching the largest number of people in India. Personally Dr. Pandalai thought that if Hindusthani was made an optional subject in higher schools and colleges, there would not be much opposition. Concluding he appealed to the people of Madras to take part in the Hindi Week and become "admirers of Hindusthani—a beautiful language."

Mr. K. Sanjiva Kamath and Mr. R. Chinnaswami Iyengar spoke exhorting the people to learn Hindustani.

Mr. B. Jagannath Das, proposing a vote of thanks pointed out that since the change in the Government order regarding the compulsory

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

teaching of Hindustani, 30 more schools had introduced it and the actual number of pupils learning it was substantially large.

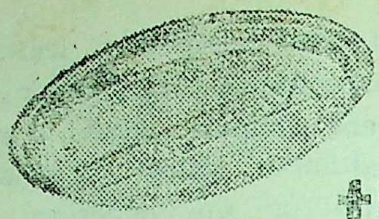
The speakers seem to have taken Hindi and Hindusthani to be synonymous, which they are not.

If, as stated by the last speaker, making the study of Hindusthani optional has resulted in increase in numbers of the schools in the teaching and the pupits learning it, that shows that the making of Hindustani compulsory was a mistake and the policy of sending people to jail for opposing the compulsory teaching of that language was wrong, as we have held all along.

(The Modern Review November 1940, Pp. 475-476)

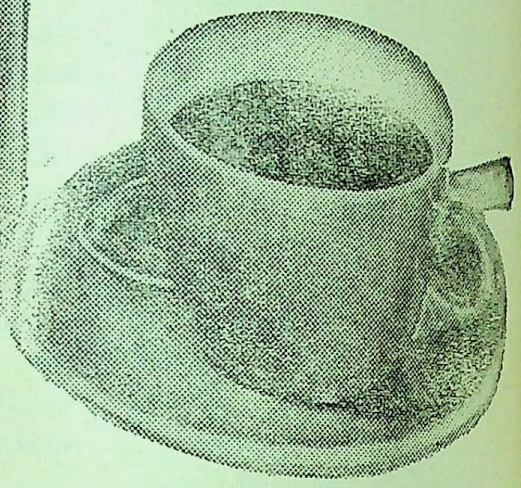
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



More coffee enjoyment than ever before

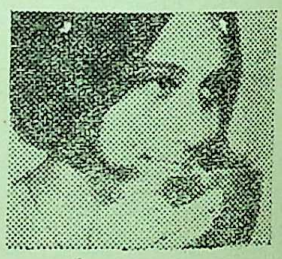




only Nescafé

brings you all that rich coffee flavour!

Nescafé is prepared from the choicest coffee beans . . . skilfully blended and roasted — specially for you - Open the tin . . . relish that satisfying aroma of freshly roasted coffee beans-the beans which give Nescafé instant coffee its superb flavour . . . make it so full bodied, so robust, so deliciously good. Buy some today.



Made in just **5** seconds

Nescafé comes to you as pure instant coffee that's already brewed and percolated. Just a teaspoonful of Nescafé in a cup . . add hot water and you have perfect coffee! No brewing, no fuss, no bother, just the quickest, most wonderful cup of coffee you've ever enjoyed.

NESCAFÉ* India's finest coffee . . 100% pure

NESTLÉ
A NESTLÉ PRODUCT

JWT-NCE-5804

*NESCAFÉ is a registered trade mark to designate Nestlé's instant coffee.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

On Agriculture and the Agriculturist

We, in this country, have only been recently and, rather tardily, coming to realize the place of agriculture in any fruitful scheme of Indian economic growth and progress. What Ramananda Chatterjee said on the subject many decades ago, may yet appear to be extraordinarily relevant and especially apposite in the context of the present Indian economic scene.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Extension and Improvement of Agriculture

It is true man does not live by bread alone. But it is also true that his bodily existence is impossible without food. The supply of a sufficient quantity of wholesome and nourishing food ought, therefore, to be the first concern of every country. But though India is a vast country having sufficient arable land, there is chronic scarcity of food here for the mass of the people and frequent famines. The production of food must, therefore, be increased;—though even if we produced enough food for our purposes, the politically powerful and wealthy nations of the West may bring about such extensive exports of food stuffs from India as not to leave enough for its inhabitants. To prevent such exports, the people of India should make strenuous and persistent endeavours to gain perfect internal autonomy. But leaving aside the question of export of food stuffs, let us see how more food can be grown. And in considering the means to be adopted one does not know where to begin. Improved agricultural methods may be taught, to some extent even to illiterate and uneducated peasants, but for thorough success as a cultivator one requires both general and agricultural education.

A mental awakening of the agricultural population has to be brought about. That can be done by (i) free universal compulsory education of all boys and girls, (ii) by the provision of adult schools in villages and small towns, (iii) by visual instruction by means of the magic lantern, the cinema and the radio-opticum, (iv) by dotting the country with demonstration farms and running demonstration trains by arrangement with the Railway Board and Companies, and (v) by holding exhibitions for agricultural produce, implements, cattle, manure and seeds. India is woefully backward in all these respects.

Agricultural education has to be provided in addition to general education. In this too India is deplorably lacking. A comparison will bring out this fact. England and Wales are mainly manufacturing, not agricultural countries and their population is 35,000,000. Yet there are *nine* institutions there providing full courses of instruction in agriculture and the allied sciences. They are of university rank and the highest courses can lead upto a degree. Course of a less advanced character are also provided at them. Courses more or less complete but not leading upto a degree are held at six more agricultural collges. In addition there are *thirteen* institutions which either give general agricultural instructions of a less advanced character or confine themselves to some particular branch. India is at present mainly an agricultural country and has a population of 315,000000. But according to Mr. Sharp's tables in "Indian Education in 1917-18," there are only *five* agricultural colleges with 435 scholars in the whole of India. Nor is the paucity of higher agricultural institutions made up for by sufficiency of agricultural schools of a lower standard. For in Mr. Sharp's tables we find only *six* such schools with 237 scholars for the whole of India. Th population of the United States of America is less than one-third of that of India. But there not to speak of the fiftyfive colleges and departments in universities teaching agriculture only to white students, there were in 1912-13 (figures for any later years are not at hand) 2,300 agricultural high schools alone, and the number of elementary schools teaching agriculture was much larger. Agricultural schools and colleges for Negroes numbered 426 in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1913. The total Negro population was only 10 millions.

Irrigation, the supply of good seeds and good manures and the introduction of new food crops are some of the other means to be adopted. The conservation of cattle and the improvement of their breed, the provision of sufficient pasture land and the cultivation of fodder have also to be attended to. The indebtedness of the ryots should be put an end to and agricultural banking facilities provided.

The agricultural departments, Imperial and Provincial, should be Indianized in more senses than one. Not only should the staff be Indian from top to bottom, Indian students in considerable numbers being sent abroad for education at State expense for the supply of officers, but in all reports, books, pamphlets and leaflets which must be assumed to be meant for the people, the *vernaculars of the provinces must be used as the languages in* which to write them. (Italics ours). However unintentional, but it is none the less a cruel irony that for an illiterate agricultural population, agricultural literature in English should, in the main, be provided. Such literatures in vernaculars would also be cruel in the present illiterate condition of the masses, but slightly less cruel. Of course a crushing reply to our observation may be given by the agricultural authorities, saying, "who told you that we print agricultural literature in English for the people of India? We do it simply to show that we are doing something in return for our salaries and in some cases in order that Europeans engaged in some kinds of agriculture may take advantage of what we write." We may be demolished in that way, but have not yet been.

We learn from Mr. Sharp's "progress of Education in India 1912-17" that the subject agricultural education in India has engaged the attention of the Government of India in one form or another *ever since it has had an agricultural policy*. Side by side with the organization and expansion of agricultural departments, colleges have been opend and syllabuses of instruction framed; but the *results have hitherto been disappointing* (Italics Modern Review's).

It must be great relief to learn that the Government of India has an agricultural policy, but unfortunately this feeling of relief immediately vanishes on learning that the results have been disappointing, in spite of agricultural departments, colleges and, above all, of syllabuses of instruction. This disappontment becomes keener when one learns that there is a Board of Agriculture and there were conferences at Pusa in 1916 and at Simla in 1917. Gigantic agricultural phillanthropy like this has never been so ill rewarded in any other country. At the Simla conference one of the conclusions was that each of the principal provinces of India should have its own agricultural college as soon as the agricultural development of the province justified the step. Why then is there no agricultural college in Bengal? Is it not a principal province? Or, has there been no agricultural development here? If so why? For the non-existence of an agricultural college in Bengal, we do not blame Government alone. The two parties who can establish and ought to maintain such a college are Government and the Land-holders. They are both to blame. (The Modern Review, March 1920, P. 347)

Collectivization of Indian Agriculture

India, like the U.S.S.R., has enormous possibilities of developing her agriculture through collectivization. In a meeting of the East India Association in London, Sir John Maynard discussed

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

this subject. The following short report has appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* :

While reading a paper on 'Collectivization of Agriculture' before the East India Association in London, Sir John Maynard said he was of opinion that the roughness and the suddenness of the methods pursued in the course of collectivization were rather characteristic of Russia than essential to the policy itself but the rapid collectivization such as the Soviet Government desired in order to secure from the peasantry a larger share of the products of agriculture and make possible a swift increase in industrial development inevitably demanded some roughness and some suddenness. The policy must be regarded as a whole and as a whole it was one making the U.S.S.R. a powerful industrial state without incurring foreign debt. The Soviet Government expected to be attacked and forestalled the danger.

Sir John Maynard arrded: It is natural to ask whether the methods which the Bolsheviks have applied to Russia might with an advantage be applied to rural India in order to diminish poverty in that country and facilitate its wider industrialization.

India now has her national planning committee which was formed and started functioning when the Congress was in power. Since the resignation of the Congress Ministries the activities of the Committee have not been in the limelight, but it has continued its labours. It has nearly completed the general survey according to plan and its report will be of immense value when conditions will again be favourable for the Committee to function vigorously and decisively. The Planning Committee has long realized that collectivization of agriculture and industrialization is necessary for diminishing the poverty of the Indian masses.

(*The Modern Review*, March, 1943, p. 174)

Constructive Work For Kishan and Labour Leaders

No one whether connected or unconnected with any public movement or institution or with any manufacturing or agricultural industry, can fail to have noticed the acuteness and volume of unemployment in the country. Everyone who is or is supposed to be related to an employer of labour, or has or is supposed to have some influence with some employer of labour or other, is requested or importuned with greater or less urgency by many persons every day to secure some job or other for them. They say they are ready to do any work, however humble for a bare living.

This fact, of which we have distressing experience wherever we go, has led us to think that, though there is not the least doubt that India requires freedom and independnce and therefore there must be a very vigorous and active freedom movement, and though there is no doubt that the men behind the plough and the workers in the factories have many grievances and troubles, the immediate and the most pressing problem in India is that of unemployment among all sorts and conditions of men—and of women too, in many cases.

It is believed that in free and independent India there will be no or less unemployment. But nobody can say when India will be free, and the hungry and half-naked masses cannot be fed and clothed merely by holding out to them the hope of freedom in some uncertain future.

Those Kishan leaders who try ear-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

nestly to redress the real wrongs of the tillers of the soil and those labour leaders who try sincerely to put an end to the real troubles of factory workers are entitled to praise, though one cannot but observe with pain that there are kishan leaders and labour leaders whose sole occupation appears to be to bring about kishan satyagraha and labour strikes. Leaving aside the latter, we may be permitted to draw the attention of those labour leaders who really have at heart the welfare of the masses of the people that, in addition to the work which they have been doing, there is urgent need for considerable constructive work.

Kishan leaders should see to the increase of agricultural production both by extension of cultivation, wherever possible, and by the improvement of agriculture, which is necessary and feasible, generally speaking, in all provinces and states of India. This is a constructive way of bettering the lot of the peasantry.

As regards those who seek to make a living by working in factories and who are daily turned away from the gates from centres of industry by hundreds, the only way to help them is to promote industries. If new industries are started, thousands of idle hands can find something remunrative to do. It is at the best a defective ideal of labour leadership which leaves the work of industrialization of the country to the capitalists and reserves to itself the work of finding fault with the conditions of labour provided by the capitalists. Fault should certainly be found and remedied where it exists. But labour leaders should also be able to show that they, too, can create work and find employment for the jobless.

As things stand, good kishan leaders and labour leaders are only useful grievance-finders, grievance-ventilators and grievance-redressers, and bad kishan leaders and labour leaders are trouble-creators and fishers in troubled waters. What is wanted is that good kishan leaders and labour leaders should also be work-creators and work-finders and that the bad variety of so-called leaders, who are really *mis*-leaders, should find for themselves some ostensible means of honest living and leave the kishans and the labourres alone.

We do not know how far it is correct to say that almost all kishan and labour leaders want a revolution; but that is the general impression. If the impression be correct, the question may be asked what kind of revolution do they want or expect. Like that of Russia, or that of Italy and Germany? In any case, those who are for a revolution believe that in revolutionized India there would be no unemployment and that there would be enough for all to live on. But, assuming that belief to be correct, nobody can forecast when the expected revolution will come. When Congress accepted the policy of Non-co-operation, it was declared that on certain conditions being fulfilled there would be Swaraj in the course of a year. But many a year has come and gone since then without ushering in Swaraj. Of course, a revolution may come about unexpectedly and sooner than anybody imagines. But the poverty-stricken masses of India require other food than the possibility of a revolution. It is only the extension and improvement of agriculture and the industralization of the country which can bring food to their mouths.

The better class of kishan and labour leaders should feel called upon to take part in the constructive work of extending and improving agriculture and promoting industries.

(*The Modern Review*, August, 1939, p. 134-35)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Milk Problem in Bengal

Milk problem in Bengal is becoming increasingly acute. Price of milk is steadily going up every-day and the Department of Civil Supply does not appear to have any concern about it. Want of milk for a prolonged period will make to-day's children grow up as a generation of weaklings. This is a serious matter and deserves due attention of the authorities. In many quarters in Calcutta, the price of milk has gone up to 2 seers in the rupee and in some $1\frac{3}{4}$ seers in the rupee is being charged. We consider this to be profiteering.

Production of milk in Bengal is already serously defiective. The daily consumption of milk in this province is only 6 ounces as compared with 40 in Britain and 45 in Australia. The annual production of milk per cattle in India is 30 gallons as compared to 387 in Denmark and 380 in Switzerland.

The Government of Bengal are not being asked to increase production of milk here and now. But the people have a right to demand check of profiteering in this commodity of primary nourishment for the children.

(*The Modern Review*, Sept., 1943. p. 166)

Gram : Coke Plant Phone : 23–8621 (8 lines)

The Durgapur Projects Limited

(A Government of West Bengal Undertaking)

Regd. Office : 10, Middleton Row, Calcutta-16

Would Welcome Trade Enquiries Regarding :

COKE OVEN PLANT PRODUCTS

1. COKE, BENZENE, TOLUENE & TOLUOL,
. BENZOL (MOTOR, REFINED & INDUSTRIAL GRADE II).
3. HEAVY SOLVENT NAPTHA.
4. LUX MASS & XYLENE

TAR DISTILLATION PLANT PRODUCTS

1. PROCESSED & ROAD TAR (RT 2 & RT 3)
2. NAPTHALENE & NATHALENE OIL,
3. OIL (CARBOLIC, ANTHRACENE, WASH & TIMBER PICKLING)
4. SODIUM PHENOLATE
5. PITCH & RESIN.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In the Service of the Nation

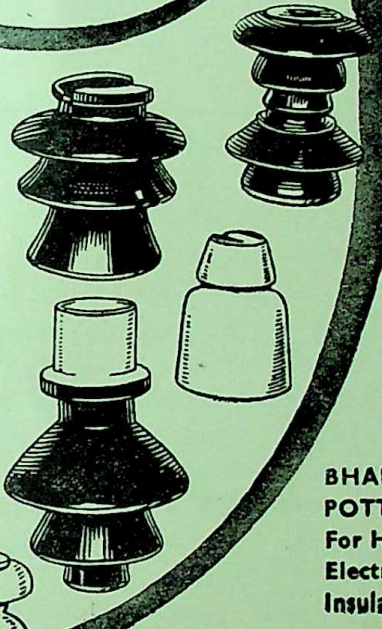


for Hotels & Homes

Best Fine
Tea & Tablewares
Hand Painting a
Speciality



INDIA FILTER
First of its kind
in India



BHARAT
POTTERIES
For H.T & L.T
Electrical
Insulators

Manufacturers & Exporters

INDIA POTTERIES LIMITED

91, DHARAMTALLA STREET, CALCUTTA-13

Sole Selling Agents :
COMMERCIAL CONCERN
17, Old China Bazar Street, Calcutta-1

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

On Civilization and Morality

In the following pages some excerpts reproduced from his Notes in the **Modern Review** would yield a representative index of Ramananda Chatterjee's vigorously modern thinking on various aspects of Civilization, Society, the Individual and the concepts of Morality. They would seem to present certain immutable values which constitute the very foundations of civilization and progress.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Individual and Collective Morality and Honour

A man who commits murder and robbery is a criminal, but nations undertaking aggressive wars of conquest and their leaders are considered heroic. Lying is dishonourable in an individual, but diplomacy, which is often lying for the 'good' of the state, is thought harmless and necessary . . . . Evesdropping and opening and reading other people's are dishonourable when private persons do these things, but it is allowable for the agents of a state to do them. But whatever the state of public opinion may be today, the men who do the criminal and dishonourable things, whether as private individuals or as agents of a state, certainly become degraded and corrupt. And those states which require such agents in large or increasing numbers, are rotten at the core and cannot long endure.

(*The Modern Review*, July 1909, p. 84)

Defective Civilization

There are some fatal defects in what we call civilization. Let us point out only one. It is that large classes are doomed by it to live without the joyous, restraining and chastening influence of family life. Take the case of standing armies. It is well known that privates are either really or virtually bachelors. The result is an unclean life for the soldier, making chapels and brothels go together so far as army arrangements are concerned in many 'civilized' lands. This cannot but sap the manhood of nations. Next take factories. Here, too, large masses of men and women are promiscuously thrown together without the joys and restraints of home. The resulting immorality is often shocking. Take, again, domestic service in cities. The menials in the cities do not go out of their family homes every morning to serve their masters and return to these homes in the evenings as they may do in villages. Whether they live in the houses of their masters or herd together in hovels, they are without the advantages of a family life. In Calcutta, for instance, most of the maid-servants lead immoral lives and the male servants, cooks or scullions, form some illicit connection or other. We think similar evils exist in big cities in other countries. For instance, in Western cities bar-maids must be subject to much temptation.

It is clear that a civilization which has such fatal defects cannot endure in its present form.

(*The Modern Review*, June 1910 p. 612)

Crime and Its Causes and Remedies

It would be foolish to suggest that there should not be unremitting efforts made for the prevention and punishment of crime. But it is not statesmanship, but its opposite, that the object can be gained merely by increasing police expenditure. Some crimes there are which are due to economic causes and, perhaps, these form the majority. Some there are which are due to insanitary conditions and conditions which stand in the way of decent and moral living. Some are due to bad social customs and arrangements. Some are due to the facilities created for obtainnig drinks and drugs. Some are due to animal propensities and the force of immorality not being curbed or eradicated by proper education culture, recreation etc. Some are due to political and politico-economic causes.

Therefore, while adequate police arrangements ought to be made to cope

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with crime, the more important and statesmanlike step to take is to strike at the roots of crime.

Why is it that Government has often borrowed large sums for war and police expenditure, but has never, to our knowledge, borrowed such amounts for educational, industrial and sanitary purposes ?

(*The Modern Review*, March 1925, p. 366)

Man's Animal Heritage and His Spirituality

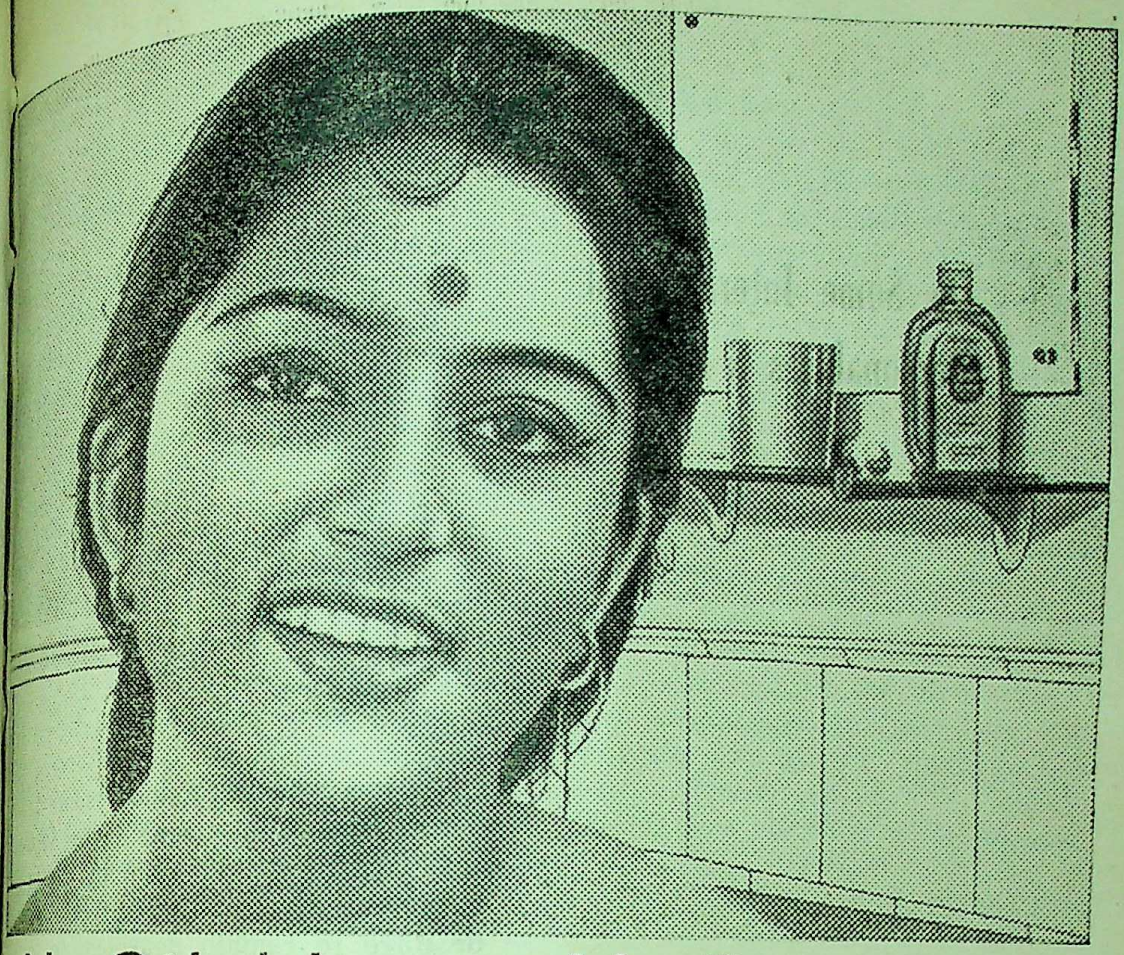
Whether men in the mass will ever outgrow their animal heritage and become completely spiritualized, cannot be foretold. But as things stand at present certain amount of healthy animality is necessary for national survival in a state of freedom. It is not only sensuality and voluptuousness which induce the softness and weakness that make a people fall a prey to nations having more of the barbarian's brute strength in them. What may be called over-refinement, over-civilization and over-spiritualization may also lead to national enslavement. The enslavement of India was probably due more than once to both sets of causes. This was the case with Greece and Rome too.

How to strike the golden mean between extreme animality and extreme spirituality is a difficult problem. But on its solution depends the perpetuation of freedom and civilizd order.

(*The Modern Review*, July 1940, p. 22)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



No Stickiness, No Dryness No Dullness ever

Do greasy hair oils make your hair sticky? Is dry-scalp your problem? Turn to Keo-Karpin, the herbal hair-oil that is both food for your scalp and health for your hair. Use Keo-Karpin daily and say goodbye to stickiness and dry scalp. See your hair takes on a lustre, a glow that it never had before! Buy a bottle today.

Keo-Karpin

THE *Double Purpose* HAIR OIL



Dey's

DEY'S MEDICAL STORES PRIVATE LTD.

Calcutta • Bombay • Delhi • Madras • Gauhati • Patna • Cuttack • Jaipur • Kanpur

PXDMKE-6

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

On Some International Personalities & Events

Here we reproduce some of Ramananda Chatterjee's Notes dealing with some eminent international personalities who are destined to remain deathless in the annals of the human civilization. We also include an appeal addressed to the world by M. Romain Rolland and others—to which Ramananda's signature was also invited—to stop the barbarous destruction of the spanish civilization and the rape of the helpless Spanish people by the usurper Franco. From all these would seem to emerge Ramananda, the Universalist, who truly eked out a niche for his own country on the cultural map of the modern world.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Professor Dr. M. Winternitz

Professor Dr. M. Winternitz of of Prague, Czeckoslovakia, who died in January last at the age of 74, was an Indologist of world-wide reputation. It is not on the world-wide character of his reputation on which it is necessary to lay stress to give an idea of his worth. His knowledge of ancient Indian literature was deep and extensive. And the man was, perhaps, greater than the scholar. Some idea of his work and worth is conveyed in Principal Kshitimohan Sen's article on him published elsewhere. Principal Sen had the privilege of coming into close contact with him both as a co-worker and a neighbour when the latter stayed at Santiniketan for some time as a visiting professor of Visva-Bharati.

We had a similar privilege both at Calcutta and at Prague, though only for a few days. He was a man of unaffected simplicity and humility. In his unworldliness he resembled our Sanskrit pandits whom we could still find in our younger days but who have now become rare. It was natural for him to do a good turn to friends and acquaintances in any way that lay in his power. The present writer remembers how the great professor used to bring in a bag resembling those used by our post men, to the hotel, where the poet Rabindranath Tagore and party stayed, all the letters and packets addressed to them C|O. himself. This writer also cherishes the memory of some other acts of kindness done to him by the professor, his wife and his youngest son.

Dr. Winternitz contributed some valuable articles to the *Modern Review*.

(*The Modern Review*, March, 1939, p. 369)

Sun Yat Sen

Reuter has killed Sun Yat-Sen, the great Chinese statesman, for the third time without giving any explanation as to why he was killed twice before, or without following up the latest news of his death with any information regarding his funeral, the tribute of gratitude paid to his memory by fellow-countrymen, or other similar details. We cannot be sure, therefore, that he is dead. But whether his body be dead or alive, he will live for ever in history as, *par excellence*, the maker of modern China, a statesman who framed for her a constitution which was not a mere copy of the constitution of some occidental countries and a true patriot who, though he overthrew the Manchu Dynasty and set up a republic, did not covet the office of the President of the Chinese Republic.

(*The Modern Review*, April, 1925, p. 491)

An Appeal of M. Romain Rolland

Reader will find "An Appeal of Romain Rolland" which M. Francis Jourdain of the World Committee Against War and Fascism has sent to the Editor of the *Modern Review* with the covering letter printed below:

1st December, 1936

Ramananda Chatterjee Esq.,
"Modern Review",
Calcutta.

Dear Friend,

We are enclosing herewith an eloquent appeal addressed to the conscience of the world by Romain Rolland.

We feel sure that you will associate yourself with this appeal and therefore we make bold so as to make you send us a few lines expressing your opinion on the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

terrible bombardment which the civilian population in Madrid has endured already for so many days.

We attach particularly great value to such a personal declaration from you. Its publication in the press and particularly in Spain will be an important testimony to world opinion and a mark of solidarity with the Spanish people.

Thanking you in anticpation,

Your sincerely,
For The World Committee
Against War and Fascism
P. P. Francis Jourdain

We have sent M. Jourdain our personal declaration.

Personally we feel and all those sons of the soil in India who can understand the news from Spain feel that the Spanish Government and its troops have been fighting the battle of the people and of democracy all over the world. It is with horror we read Spanish news. Every success won by Government troops we hail as our success. News of their failure or repulse anywhere we read with a feeling of depression. Our sympathies are entirely with the defenders of Spain. We grieve that we are helpless and can do nothing more for Spain than exprss sympathy.

(*The Modern Review*, January, 1937, p. 120)

An Appeal of Romain Rolland

To All The Peoples
Come To The Help Of The' Victims
Of Spain

A cry of horror rises from the smoking stones of Madrid. The proud city, once the queen of half the Old World and the New and one of the radiant centres of western civilization, has been put to fire and sword by an army of African Moors and Legionnaires whose rebel leader dares claim for themselves the cause of Spain which they are plundering and of the civilization which they are trampling under foot.

Thousands of women and children have been massacred, mutilated, burnt alive. The crowded quarters of the city are the chief targets. Hospitals have not been spared. Glorious palaces are in flames; to-day the palace of the Duke of Alba, to-morrow the Prado. Centuries of art crumbles under the bombs. Valesquez dies with his people. . . . .

And it is this hour of agony of the heroic town whose former kings saved Europe from Arab invasion that Mussolini and Hitler have chosen for recognizing the Government of the African Franco, who is murdering Spain with the arms provided by Italian and German Fascism. Franco is paying them by handing over the wealth and the strategic points of Spain. ... The mad men who do not see that one day the blood of their criminal bargain will fall back on the heads of their own people, and that barbarism, unleashed by them, will set its torches to their own cities! After Madrid and Barcelona (for to-morrow Barcelona will also be bombed), it will be the turn of Rome, Berlin, London, Paris. .. The great nations of Europe, the great mothers of civilization are, like wolves., savagely devouring one of their own number, the noblest of them, before flying at each others' throats. Woe for the hour that is in store, the hour that is at hand—the hour that is already here!

Humanity! Humanity! The appeal is to you. The appeal is to you, the men of Europe and America. Come to the help of Spain. Come to our help! For it is you, it is all of us, who are menaced. Do not allow these women, children and world treasures to perish. If you remain

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

silent now, to-morrow it will be your children, your wives, all that you hold dear, everything which makes life beautiful, will perish in turn. If you do not oppose the bombardment of hospitals and museums, of thickly populated areas, of children at play, you too, peoples of the world, will suffer sooner or later the same fate. Who will be able to check the havoc of conflagration if you do not extinguish it at its beginning? The whole world will be affected.

Quick! Quicker still! Rise, speak, cry out, act! If we are not able to stop the war, let us compel respect for the rules which international conventions impose. Let us save the helpless and the innocent! May a common impulse, above all divisions of race, party or religion, unite the peoples and rouse them to hasten to the aid of the victims. It is the brotherhood of all the sufferers, of all the living, must be affirmed.

Romain Rolland

20th November, 1936.

(*The Modern Review*, January, 1937, p. 105)

Kamal Ataturk

By the death of Kamal Ataturk the world the world has lost one of the greatest soldier—statesman of this century, who was the liberator and regenerator of his country. But for his leadership in war Turkey would perhaps have fallen a prey to the land-hunger and rapacity of some European power or other and disappeared from the map of Europe as an independent country. He saved his country from that calamity, and made the "Sick Man of Europe" a hale and hearty and vigorous personality. He could have become the Sultan of Turkey, but he made the coun'ry a republic and became its first President. He was no doubt a dictator, but a dictator of a different kind from what Mussolini, Stalin and Hitler are.

Under him Turkey ceased to be a theocratic State with Islam as the State religion. He made it a throughly secular State like many other modern civilized states. Under the Sultans the Quranic law was the law of the land. He abolished it and substituted for it up-to-date modern civil and and Criminal Codes on the French and Swiss models. The theological or religious teachers of the people, those who are generally known as Mullas, Maulvies or Maulanas, ceased to have any power or influence in the state and over the people.

He abolished the Khilafat. Just as he could have become Sultan if he had any imperial ambition, so he could have become the Caliph if he had any personal ambition of a socalled religious character. But his object was of a different character. He wanted to make his nation strong, prosperous and progressive, his country civilized in the modern sense. So he resolved to keep his country clear of any theocratic colouring and himself of any socalled spiritual glamour. Hence the abolition of the Khilafat.

His educational reforms had the same kind of object. Like the existing *maktabs* and *madrasas* of India, those institutions in Turkey were the strongholds of bigotry and obscurantism. He therefore, abolished them and established in their stead educational institutions of a modern, enlightened and progressive type.

His penalization of the use of the *fez* and his prescription of the wearing of the hat instead may be interpreted as an attempt to denationalize his people. But, as we shall see, he was a staunch nationalist. He wanted his people to feel that they were as modern and strong and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CITY BOOK SOCIETY

THE PIONEER PUBLISHERS OF ILLUSTRATED JUVENILE LITERATURES

Books of Late Jogendra Nath Sircar entertained & enlightened the Children of Bengal
&
Enthused Lakhs of Non-Bengali Children to learn Bengali.

Hasi Khusi I
99th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Hasi Khusi II
38th Edn. — Re. 0.80
(The two most outstanding books to learn Bengali)

Mojar Galpa
25th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Asare Swapna
18th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Ranga Chhabi
31st Edn. — Re. 0.80

Khelar Sathi
27th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Chhabir Bai
25th Edn. — Re. 0.70

Bane Jangale
9th Edn. — Rs. 5.00

Galpa Sanchaya
5th Edn. — Rs. 4.50

Khukumanir Chhara
17th Edn. — Rs. 3.50

Chhabi -O- Galpa
19th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

Chhotoder Chiriakhana
7th Edn. — Re. 1.87

Hasi Rasi
33rd Edn. — Re. 1.40

Chhotoder Ramayana
36th Edn. — Re. 1.12

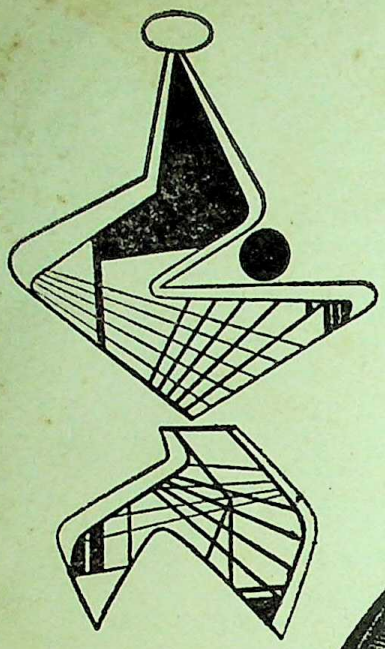
Chhotoder Mahabharat
36th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

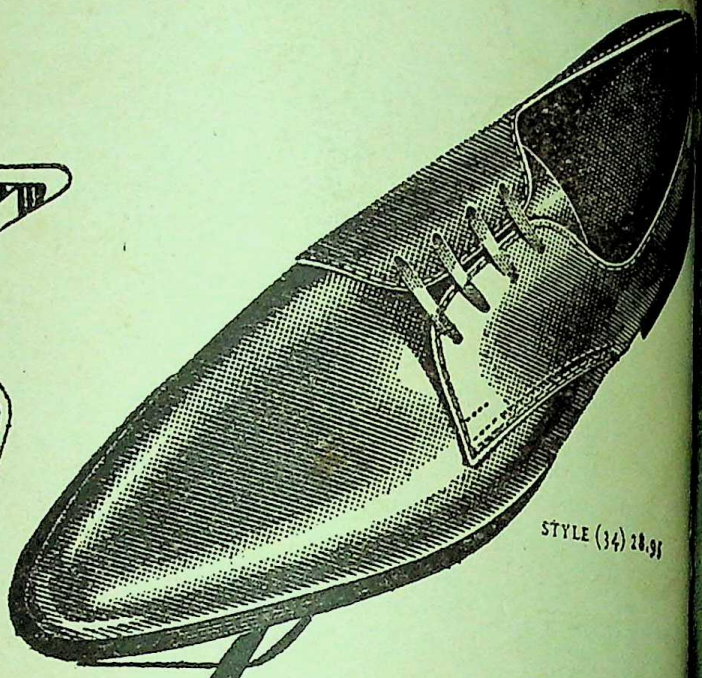
CITY BOOK SOCIETY

64, College Street
Calcutta—12.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
Subscription—Ind. & Pak. Rs. 15.00, Foreign Rs. 24.00, Single copy Rs. 2.00 or





STYLE (34) 28.95

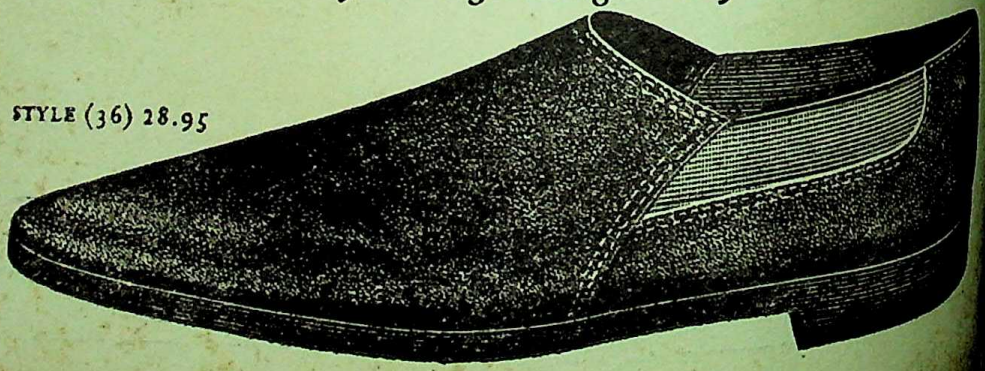
Bata

Exclusive

A bold new concept in men's shoe styling

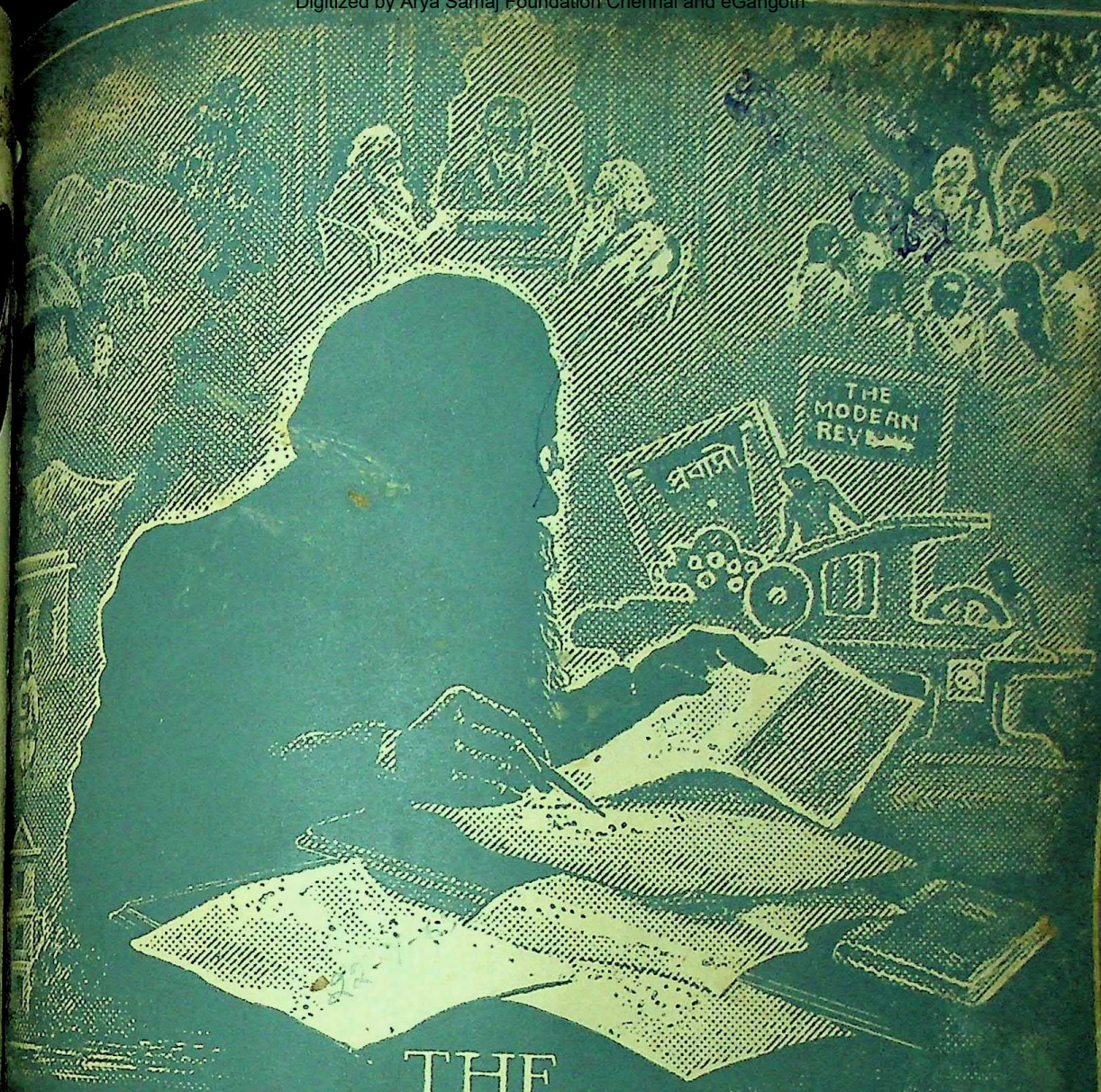
Polished, persuasive, discreet, Bata Exclusive is a bold new concept in men's shoe styling, with an appearance, a feel, a heft, a comfort—men's shoes haven't known for a long time : the result of new developments in construction. You get more shoe with less weight and bulk than ever before, with full sole wear. Men are saying wonderful things about the Bata Exclusive. Bata say wonderful things about you.

STYLE (36) 28.95



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY : 1965



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

—Advertisement Rates—

ORDINARY POSITION

	Rs. P.
Full Page	150.00
Half-page or one column	80.00
Quarter page or half-column	50.00
One-eighth page	30.00
One-eighth column	20.00
Page next to and or opposite contents	180.00
Ditto half-page	100.00
Ditto quarter-page	60.00
Ditto one-eighth page	40.00
Ditto one-eighth cloumn	30.00

SPECIAL POSITIONS

Full Page facing second page of the cover	200.00
„ Page facing third page of the cover	190.00
„ Page facing last page of the reading matter	195.00
„ Page facing back of the Frontispiece	210.00
Ditto half-page	110.00

POSITION WITHIN READING MATTER

Full Page	220.00
Half-page	120.00
Quarter page	70.00
„ col.	50.00

Space within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

COVER PAGES

Second page of the cover
Third page of the cover
Fourth page of the (*One-colour*)
(*Bi-colour*)
(*Tri-colour*)

SUPPLEMENT size 8½" × 6" (to be printed & supplied by the advertiser)

8 pages (or 4 slips) ..
4 pages (or 2 slips) ..
2 pages (or 1 slip) ..

MECHANICAL DETAILS, Etc.

Type area of a full page	8" × 6"
„ „ „ half page	4" × 6"
Number of columns to a page	2
Length of a column	8"
Breadth of a column	3"
Type area of half-column	4" × 3"
„ „ „ quarter-column	2" × 3"

Only Mounted Stereos & coarse screen blocks (
screen) are accepted.

Subscription Rates 1 year Rs. 15.00. Half yearly Rs. 8.00
Single copy Rs. 1.25P. including postage.

Prabasi Press Private Limited
77/2/1, DHARAMTALA STREET,
CALCUTTA-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



INVOKING THE MONSOON

(Barsha-Mangal)

Artist : Amar Das Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY 1965

Vol. CXVIII, No. 1 WHOLE No. 703

NOTES

Bankruptcy, Starvation and Defencelessness

India is not actually bankrupt but the fear of bankruptcy assails the heart of the rulers of India. We would refer to Sri Krishnamachari's recent statement that while he was there India was not going to be bankrupt. Such a statement cannot be made in an uncalled for manner and one may assume that doubts are creeping into our minds as to the solvency of India. The rupee, they say, now has a purchasing power equal to one sixth of its pre-war value. This is quite obvious from the price of rice and other foodstuff. Meat is now sold at a price which is about seven times what it sold for before the war. Fish, when available sells at seven, eight or ten times its pre-war value. An eight anna piece of sweet looks like an anna size pre-war piece. Before the war a cotton suit cost anything from twelve to twenty-five rupees. Today the same suit will be sold for a hundred to two hundred rupees. Shoes cost forty to eighty rupees a pair and a dozen roses may sell for ten rupees. Books that sold for eight annas now cost four or five rupees and a loaf of bread costs a rupee. Rents are twenty times higher than in 1939. One could go on in this manner to prove that the rupee has fallen in purchasing power to an extent which causes alarm. Land sells at Calcutta or Bombay at prices which are fantastic. Thirty, forty or fifty times the pre-war rates. Wages, naturally, have gone up by ten or fifteen times and, yet the wage-earners have less than a bare minimum of existence. Middle class people live like the unskilled workers of the thirties and unemployment stalks the land in an uncontrolled manner. Industries are the passion of our rulers and they tax the people to devastation so that industries may be set up; but industries cannot run smoothly for want of machinery, raw materials, skilled workers and orders at a steady price. There is something very wrong with the State of India and those who flounder in nameless ecstacy in the mess they have made, know not what is wrong. But they have not the honesty to call the nation to conference to discover methods of recovering economic health. They find time, and plenty of it, and foreign exchange to visit other lands to make inane gestures in the field of international relations. Internally India is in a position which may not be called bankruptcy yet, but her economy is suffering strains and stresses in various directions and showing ominous symptoms of falling to pieces. In such a situation her international trade cannot flourish. If foreign buyers obtain only Rs. 13/6, which is the official rate of exchange, per pound (sterling), their purchase of Indian goods will be naturally at an exorbitant price on account of the rupee's vanishing buying power. They will only buy Indian goods if exports are subsidised by our Government, which perhaps is done by the State Trading Corporation by quot-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ing deflated prices to foreign buyers. But there is a limit to such subsidies and we believe the exchange earning power of India through exports is not commensurate with her production of exportable commodities. Her production of such goods is also hampered by want of imported components, machinery and parts. Bankruptcy in the sense of a tottering economy is therefore a fact which cannot be side stepped by the Congress leaders by the simple expedient of going abroad very frequently. That causes a waste of foreign exchange which is preventible.

India imports food. In case of war this import will stop automatically and as many people will die of starvation as are now kept alive by imported food. This is a very dangerous position for a nation with nearly five hundred million people. There is constant talk about population control but with about 75% illiteracy, the talk is only for keeping departments and jobs in existence. There must be other methods of population control than press and radio propaganda which communicates the advantages and the urgency of this matter to only those few who can read and listen in. Food production must be increased at a rate which will soon give us the quantities of edibles that we require to be self-sufficient. Fish, poultry and other live stock have not been fully exploited. Dairy farming too has been neglected. These must be stimulated and encouraged by supply of stock in a village-wise fashion. A few Haringhatas or Anands will not feed the millions who will starve to death at some future date. Statesmanship is founded on the powers of anticipation that the Statesmen have. Anticipation is dependent upon enlightened imagination, which in its turn draws its nourishment from education. Our leaders are not famous for their education and training. They have had greatness thrust upon them by their Party organisation. But in times of emergency a nation has to have trained men who can deliver the goods. There are such men available in India but not among those who live by hero worship and wait to become heroes themselves.

Training naturally directs our [illegible] to warfare, for India is harassed by [illegible] on all sides and she requires trained [illegible] to defend her borders. These men [illegible] be found through political party [illegible] During the NEFA emergency not [illegible] any, Congress men joined the army [illegible] the air force. The superannuated [illegible] of course were unfit to join the forces [illegible] they had sons and grandsons. How [illegible] these younger men volunteered to fight [illegible] National defence? In Europe or [illegible] the sons of the highest social or economic [illegible] classes join the forces in times of [illegible] emergency. Our V.I.Ps, both political [illegible] commercial, do not share these [illegible] emotions with their counterparts in [illegible] lands. Our patriotism as noticed in [illegible] political and commercial classes is of a [illegible] ful nature. There is no spirit of sacrifice [illegible] it. The nation cannot afford to lionise [illegible] who are not lions in courage and stature. One may think that a lion is recognised [illegible] the fact of its share of the national wealth. Sometimes one finds a lion's skin draped [illegible] a lesser animal to dupe the spectator. The regrettable human subterfuges cause much suffering and humiliation to the people [illegible] the world.

Membership of Political Parties

A political party in India is like an exclusive club of which membership can be obtained only with the approval of the ruling members of the party. Any applicant can be "black balled", that is refused admission if he is not popular with the leaders of the party. This exclusiveness has been intensified since political parties have discovered its profit potential. The profit is not necessarily in money. Parties in power can grant selected members highly paid and powerful positions, business opportunities and all sorts of desirable privileges. It is that men do naturally seek the membership of political parties in order to achieve their business objectives and personal ambitions. Now that the elections are approaching and the Congress is hoping to be returned to power membership of the Congress

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...rected by many. We cannot say that the ...emberships are being granted to persons ...ho can buy them; but we can say that ...any are being refused membership for ...easons which are known only to those who ...ve the privilege of choosing new mem... In a democracy all nationals are ...ndered equal and all should have equal ...s, opportunities and freedom to aspire. ...political parties functioning in a demo... should also be open to all who fulfill... the terms and conditions of membership. ...emocratic party should not be like a ...e Shop Trade Union. If the parties ...me too exclusive, democracy will suffer ...the party system will slowly but surely ...me oligarchical and exploitative.

...desh

There have been notices in the press ...t the manufacture of **Sandesh** will be ...hibited. **Sandesh** is prepared from ...k and sugar and the reason for it's ...posed abolition is that 3000 maunds of ...k is used up daily for making the ...n. If this milk is conserved it can be ...d for drinking purposes by large num... of children. We suppose more milk is ...d by tea drinkers than by **Sandesh** ...rs and we know that tea drinking is a ...habit while **Sandesh** is a first class ...d. The late Sir Nilratan Sircar who was ...of the World's greatest physicians con...ed **Sandesh** to be of great nutritional ...e. Many have been the people suffer... from loss of health who were prescribed ...desh by Sir Nilratan Sircar. One ...icular variety of **Sandesh** was named ...ari Pak on account of the fact that Sir ...tan Sircar laid down the rules for its ...aration. **Sandesh** is not a mere luxury. ...a food article of great dietetic value. ...ust not be subjected to prohibition like ...s and spirit or other articles which do ...benefit the consumers. The best way ...btain 3000 maunds of milk per day is to ...about 10000 good cows. The City of ...utta is rich enough to organise a few ...e dairies which can produce all the ...k that its inhabitants can consume. That ...ch causes the maximum of inconvenience and discomfort to the people is not necessarily the best and the most effective solution of social problems.

Dirty Currency Notes

It has always been the practice with note issuing banks to withdraw from circulation all currency notes which were damaged, discoloured and about to fall to pieces due to wear and tear. Indian currency notes were also issued or withdrawn according to this principle. But during last several months currency notes in India have assumed such a dirty and moth eaten appearance that quite often one has payments refused on account of the appearance of the currency notes that one pays with. The reason for this highly objectionable state of affairs is perhaps the same old conservation of foreign exchange. India has to buy the paper for her currency notes from foreign countries and has no foreign money to buy the paper with. So India has to reissue the dirtiest and filthiest currency notes over and over again. This foreign exchange business is slowly reducing India to a condition in which it will only be possible for the most backward type of people to live in India. The better types will die out due to lack of proper amenities of existence. Only those who can remain alive without proper food, proper clothing, proper housing, proper medical aid, proper schools, playgrounds and recreations; and with endless dirt, disease and discomfort will continue to live. Survival of the worst will be the order. The Chinese once said that if due to atomic war the peoples of the world mostly died out, the few survivers will be Chinese, they being the largest in number among all nations. These Chinese will then repeople the Earth with a pure Chinese population. After India has achieved socialism by her Spartan methods of toughening up the population with no food or adulterated food, rags for clothes, hovels and kennels for houses, distilled water for medicine, no education, no foreign travel, no delicacies to keep alive the physical and mental tastes

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which constitute civilisation; we believe India will have no "soft" living persons left. India will then be a land of the ascetics who wear no clothes or very little, eat bovine or equine food, use no soap nor toilet goods and buy no furniture, crockery, cutlery, linen or art objects. It would then be like a vast **Ashram,** only, unfortunately, there will be a great concourse of factories built under the serially endless plans.

Algeria

The Algerian fight for freedom began many years ago. But the first organised battles against the French took place in the early Fifties of this Century. In 1958 the first free Algerian Government was formed. Algeria thereafter continued to be in a state of agitation until President de Gaulle took action in the early sixties to give Algeria a stable Government. On 3 July 1962 President de Gaulle proclaimed the independence of Algeria and on the 25th of September of the same year the National Assembly elected Ferhat Abbas President and Ahmed Ben Bella Prime Minister. On the 15th September 1963 a national referendum made Ben Bella President and Prime Minister. Col. Honan Boumedienne was Ben Bella's Defence Minister. He remained **true** to his Chief for a little less than two years and has now captured power by a **Coup d'Etat** which has not yet consolidated and taken a firm footing. The Chinese recognised the new Government with indecent speed and laid themselves open to charges of being in league with Col. Boumedienne. Algeria is a fairly civilised country physically in so far as she has 12 cities with large populations, a University with about 7000 students and numerous schools. She has 146 public hospitals with 40000 beds, 1200 doctors, 449 dentists etc., etc. There are lower Courts, higher Courts and a Supreme Court. After Algeria became free and formed a relatively stable Government the USSR granted her a loan of £36 million and China £18 million. The Algerian air force uses Mig-15 jet-fighters of Soviet design. Other planes are also of Soviet design. In these circumstances and view of the relations existing between the USSR and the Peoples' Republic of China one may easily conclude that the Sino-Russian squabble for ascendancy over under-developed countries is at the root of this new revolution. Just as Hitlerism is debased and takes the form of international power politics, so patriotism degenerate and go down the cess pool of competition for more power. A military **Coup** is by its nature anti-democratic and dictatorial. The Chinese love military coups for their own Government is dominated by a fighting General. Her ally Pakistan is under military dictatorship. Indonesia, N. Vietnam are no better. Those nations which love liberty and equality cannot be swayed emotionally by China. Individuals or small anti-social gangs may find a hope of greater adventure by associating with the Chinese. The Shastri Government has done very well by keeping away from Algeria and we congratulate the Prime Minister for his last minute decision which we sincerely hope he will stick to.

Pakistan Fights

The history of Pakistan is interesting from the military angle in so far as the new born offspring of imperial malice perpetrated in a Fleet Street Test Tube by British inventors, fought her war of independence in street riots with daggers, clasp knives, acid bulbs, soda water bottles etc. Hooligans were engaged by politicians who, perhaps, obtained funds from the British and stabbing affrays were the main features of this "war". A few hundred thousand men, women and children died in the riots. The men were mostly beggars and low paid carriers of loads and the women and children were such as were temporarily undefended. The British controlled police moved away from all places where the soldiers of Pakistan got the upper hand and they turned up with lightening speed wherever Indians could assemble in sufficient numbers to fight the hooligans.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

type of warfare has no name. The Pakistanis call it **Zihad** but that is a slur on those great soldiers of Islam who fought the crusaders. Men who kill defenceless women and children by stabbing and other foul means cannot be called soldiers and their crime is not fit to be called a crime. It was killing in a cowardly, insidious and criminal manner. In guerrilla warfare soldiers fight soldiers. The various resistance movements occasionally called for killing persons of military importance but not beggars, women and children. We shall not therefore try to give a name to the Pakistani style of warfare as we found it fought in the back lanes of Indian cities before the partition of India. Since independence and the partition, Pakistan has won a status in the world of nations. Her soldiers wear uniform and are members of the regular army, navy and air force. Apparently Pakistan has a recognised government and embassies in civilised courts. But her military ethics has not changed. She still tries to achieve political ends by letting loose her hooligans in the dress of soldiers of a nation which the world expects to have a sense of decorum and national prestige. These hooligans shoot off their guns and fire mortar shells at people who are at peace with Pakistan. Whenever possible the soldiers of Pakistan forcibly move into Indian territory, steal cattle, loot the property of poor peasants or build outposts in order to claim these places as Pakistan territory.

Pakistan's moral sense has surely not come out of the holy **Quoran** and no conclave of **Maulavis** will ever condone the actions of Ayub Khan from the stand point of Islamic ethics. Yet Pakistan goes on, hand in hand, with the usurpers who ousted the Dalai Lama from the Theocratic kingdom of Tibet. Communism, Islam and the American way of life have found a friendly meeting ground in Rawalpindi. The monarchical Commonwealth of the British is providing background music for the farcical performances indulged in by the U.S.A., China and Pakistan. We could laugh at it but one requires a very desperately courageous sense of humour to laugh at bullets, mortar shells, the threat of nuclear bombs and of stoppage of food supplies. Then we are progressively going deeper into a financial mess and hoping to be fished out of it by the Anglo-Americans who do not particularly love us. The hooligans are experts at beating up the minorities in Pakistan and to push them out of their ancestral homes. They have, in this manner, dispossessed millions of Hindus, Buddhists and Christians and driven them out of Pakistan. These people have entered India to seek a home. They bring with them little handfuls of the earth of their ancestral home land to remember the homes that have been taken away from them by brute force. They mix this with the soil of their new homes. So, Pakistan has an army of hooligans in uniform which fights in plain clothes too with civilian collaborators against her own nationals! This hired hooliganism has become a national characteristic of the Pakistanis and they are now beginning to hire themselves out on a national scale to the U.S.A., Great Britain or even to China for a consideration. A mercenary nation of more than a hundred million people is a source of danger to the world. For though Pakistan now fights India in the back lane stab-and-kill style, she may be induced someday by interested nations to make the attack in force. Unscrupulous leaders with no sense of morality or even national integrity and honour can turn vicious any time and without provocation. Pakistan does not lack such leaders. We do not know what our External Affairs Ministry do to enlighten the civilised nations of the world about this danger to world peace. Apparently nothing which has succeeded in its aim.

Foreign Exchange and Education

Foreign Exchange shortage has taken us back a hundred years. For in spite of modern travel facilities Indians can no longer visit foreign lands unless they could wangle their way into a committee, delegation, team of observers or some such thing approved of by the Ministry of Finance,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

who appear to know what is good for us in the way of contact with the oustide world. They know, for instance, that invidi-dual Indians, not connected with the Government or its various appendages, offsprings and feeder organisations, have no reason to visit foreign countries. An artist, a historian, an economist or a person well-versed in music, drama and literature cannot just want to go over and spend a few months in the British Museum, the Vatican Galleries, the Louvre, the Bibliotheque Nationale, the Pitti, Uffizzi or Dresden art galleries and go about among the sights of Egypt, Rome and Greece. For that will not, according to the Ministry of Finance, increase our exports or national output of steel, copper, machine tools or something else. The Ministry will also not approve of anyone going to foreign universities for the study of "Art subjects", that is History, Economics, Classical and Modern Languages, Philosophy, Linguistics, Political Science or Law. Science subjects are good for the nation's economy. A man studying nuclear physics, astronomy, paleontology, genetics or hibernation among rodents will immediately increase our exports, our production potential and revenues. Study of Humanities were an essential part of I.C.S. training. Good administrators have to have a broad and comprehensive outlook which specialised knowledge in Chemistry cannot by itself produce. But we shall be told by the Ministry of Finance Humanities can be taught in India. We agree; but so can the sciences be learnt in our Universities. Not to that degree of excellence; will be the Ministry's reply. We shall also say that, English, French, German or Russian cannot be learnt very well in India. Nor can one learn History, Linguistics, Economics, etc., to that degree of excellence in this country. Apart from that there is such a thing as the finishing of one's education by foreign travel and by mixing with University Dons and students of other lands.

In any case, if we have not enough foreign exchange to allow all who want to go abroad for higher studies freedom to do so; let us lay down rules restricting travel and studies abroad in a manner. Let there be standards which students must attain in all subjects they have studied in order to qualify foreign study. Let not hide bound red mongers decide who should study and who should not. And there must standards too for qualifying for just travel for grown up persons. Writers, Administrators, Artists, Musicians, Dramatists and others should attain certain recognised standards in their sphere of work to qualify for travels abroad. Universities, learned societies, recognised associations etc., can easily determine who are the best and the most representative men and women in their particular lines of work. They can thereafter go abroad in greater or lesser numbers for longer or shorter periods according to the funds which the Ministries can allocate for this purpose. But in no circumstances should Governmental departments be given the power to decide who will travel or go for higher studies and who will not. For that will be the end of Civil Liberties.

Mt. Everest, Climbed Again

There is justifiable criticism of the British habit of naming well-known geographical features according to their wish. They have not named **Kanchenjungha** or **Nanda Devi** after one of their civil servants or soldiers but they have named the highest peak of the Himalayas after one such person on the ground that the height of the peak was first measured by an Indian assistant of his department. The Indians certainly had noticed this peak and named it too. So had the Nepalese and the Tibetans. The Indian name of the Peak is Gouri Shankar or Gouri Shringa, but the Indian Government has not taken the trouble to insist upon giving it the right name. Not that they do not care for such mundane matters. They have named practically everything worth naming after their own fashion and without reference to the history of the places, such roads, etc.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

However, what's in a name? Let us refer to this well-known Peak as Everest. The main point is that an Indian team of mountaineers have climbed it four times in one expedition. This is a feat which has not been equalled by any other nation and is an achievement worth recording and being proud of. India does not hold a very enviable position now in the world of politics, economic development, sports, scholarship, military achievements or anything else that matters internationally. This exceptional feat of climbing has clearly put us in a leading position and we are proud of those strong, tenacious and disciplined men who have achieved this great feat. Can our politicians try to emulate this example set by Kohli (The leader who did not climb to the top), Gyatso, Gombu, Cheema, Vora, Angkami, Wangyal, Rawat, Lachuwalia and Dorji and begin to achieve things rather than to waste their time and the country's finances in aimless movements which somehow leave us in no better a position in any sense than before. Internationally we have now first places in Hockey and Mountaineering. Hockey has suffered from politics at times, but mountaineering, so far, has not been tainted. Let us hope our brave climbers will for ever keep clear of those who bring politics into everything and create difficulties for those who can make this nation strong, great and progressive.

Castro Condemns Boumedienne

Dr. Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba, has declared that Ben Bella "is the leader of the Algerian People". "He holds a historic position", says Dr. Castro, in the fight for independence carried on by the Algerians for many years. Dr. Castro condemned Col. Boumedienne who was the Defence Minister of the Ben Bella Government and organised a military **Coup** to get rid of Ben Bella. Whether Col. Boumedienne had any support from the people of Algeria or whether he carried out his **Coup** with foreign assistance and for a purpose which cannot be nationally advantageous to the people of Algeria, is not clear yet. But one has noticed the undue eagerness that China, Pakistan and Indonesia have displayed in "putting things in order" in Algeria. They have now taken a lead in "Postponing" the Algerian conference to November 1965, though they have been opposing the idea all along. Actually, the explosion of a bomb at the Conference venue by pro-Ben Bella people and the strong attitude adopted by the African nations and India forced Pakistan, China and Indonesia to sneak out of their previous anti-postponement position in a manner hardly in keeping with political dignity. Pakistan and China, no doubt feel exhilerated if they can do some dirty work; but their interference in the internal affairs of other nations in order to build up an international front with China and France at two extremes, is dirty work of the first degree. This Algerian **Coup** must be examined carefully by capable students of politics to find out what secret hands helped Boumedienne. In the crime novels that used to be written before China became a powerful nation militarily the villains were always impressive looking pseudo mandarins in silk robes. They sneaked into courts, palaces and embassies with snakelike ease and committed murders or abductions with a rare audacity. The fact that a Chinese dignitary walked into Marlborough House during the Commonwealth Conference and collared the Pakistani Foreign Minister to induce him to act according to Chinese dictation, shows up the criminal effrontery of the Chinese. The British too appeared to be too meek and obliging to be truly disinterested. Or what prevented them from throwing the Chinaman out when he entered Marlborough House?

It seems that international politics will now adopt the cloak and dagger method for "negotiating" treaties, loans and **ententes.** The American gangsters of the bootlegging days are now doing small time jobs in landing queer cargo in queer places and bumping off stray persons of not very great importance. But they may have a greater future if they took part in the Pakistan-China type of politics on a large enough

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

scale. There is a growing scope for murders in the political field. We have not forgotten the "War" that Pakistan fought to attain "freedom". Her men had their inspiration from the **goondas**. We do not know what happened in China. The hooligans of Indonesia have a fairly important position. North Korea, North Vietnam are also active in this type of unprincipled behaviour. Secret societies and gangsters will surely not miss this opportunity.

Vietnam and Vietcong

The Indian Government is run in a manner which would appear like a fantasy to those who did nor know about our relations with the World at large. We have been like an aged spinister aunt to all nations since 1947. We give an opinion on all matters that do not concern us and volunteer our suggestions for the solution of all problems of which the true dimensions are quite unknown to us. Vietcong is fighting Vietnam with Chinese support and Vietnam is defending her territory with American assistance. If Vietcong can wipe out Vietnam and force a Communist Goveernment upon the people of that area ; the Chinese will become all powerful in S.E. Asia. It is bad for India to allow China to grow in strength. Yet we want China to win in so far as the Vietcong forces are a branch of the Chinese army. If the Americans go on blasting the Vietcong bases, the Chinese should do something about it. They may for instance attack the American bases out in the pacific. If they cannot do so, they lose face and the people of South East Asia will realise that the Chinese are not strong enough to attack the Americans. If the Chinese allow Vietcong to call in the Russians, then again the Chinese lose their prestige in Asia. The Russians and Americans may come to a settlement about the Vietcong-Vietnam squabble. That will damage China's position very badly. Her bid for Asian leadership will then end ignominiously. All this is very well-known to us. Yet our leaders go out of their way to meddle in other people's affairs in an uncalled for fashion.

Defence of India

The defence of India depends on the protection of our frontiers. It also depends on the protection of the entire territory which may be made unsafe by activities of enemy fifth columnists, agents hoping to bring off a revolution, overthrow the Government established by law and by such other peoples as undermine the Nation's strength and prestige in various ways. We find that our frontiers have been violated and our territory occupied by enemy forces at many places. On the Tibetan frontier the Chinese have occupied large tracts of India territory by force and they have not actually vacated all that they had occupied. There is also a sort of mystery about our sovereignty in the NEFA where our armed forces cannot move about freely right upto our frontiers. We may be mistaken, but we think that the Government are carrying out the orders of the Chinese, in a manner of speaking, in certain parts of India's national territory. The Chinese have also acted in a similar manner in the Ladakh region. We do not know how far our troop movements in that area are restricted by Chinese threats of military action ; but we have a fear that the Chinese are lording it over us in certain parts of Ladakh too. They have also taken over entirely portions of Kashmir and Pakistan by a friendly arrangement. Pakistan had forcibly occupied a large slice of Kashmir long ago and they stuck to their illicit gains in spite of all appeals, correspondence, diplomatic negotiations, intervention by the U.N. and neutral countries, which means the late Pandit Nehru decided India. Pakistan had occupied little bits and pieces of Indian territory in other places too and the Government of India had not been able to do much about these acts of aggression. The latest act of aggression was committed in Kutch. Pakistan occupied certain places in Kutch, made a show of the fighting capacity of the Indian Army and sat tight while the American people cooed gleefully at this display of territorial strength against a Democracy.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

latest position in Kutch is delightfully vague and nobody knows quite clearly which part of Kutch was, would be or should be Indian territory. This vagueness is advantageous to Pakistan.

The Government's defence of India on the Bazar front is much stronger than on the military front. Here the Government has routed and made "Prisoners of war" a number of Dalwallahs and others who sell food in the black market. In the various sub-sectors of this front, viz., the Ange salient, the Mustard oil line of actual control and the Fish infiltration zones, Government forces have captured much munitions of war. The enemy have made their attacks with gold, diamonds, cultured pearls, transisters and swiss watches but some of these para-troopers have been caught. In fact the defence of India is being effectively pursued on this front due to the unconstitutional lull on the battle-fields which are in enemy hands.

Punishment and Reward

The time honoured system of punishment for not getting things done and rewards for good work still remains operative with all governments in the civilised world to punish and reward their officers to keep up the efficiency of their departments. If anything goes wrong the American will immediately ask, "Have they sacked him?" meaning, of course, the person responsible for the failure. In India we have started numerous departments which do all kinds of work which during British days were left to the Govts. Today the Govt., have undertaken food supply, medical aid, education, irrigation, economic development, electrification, supply of gas, oil drilling and a host of other things on a grand scale and the work is carried on with borrowed money. Famines on an imperial scale have now become unknown and generally speaking things somehow get done sometime before total collapse. Efficiency, reliability, precision, punctuality and proper standards have not been achieved. The reason is that no one "gets the sack" in government departments, particularly the top men, for failure to get things done according to the standards, dates, costs, quantities, etc., laid down. If a survey is made departmentwise of all failures and of the punishments meted out to those responsible for the same; it will be probably found that the Leaders and the Ministers have protected the people deserving punishment. This protection racket stretches to extramural regions and all sorts of anti-social people are benefitted by it. Good men are usually ignored so that the useless and evil elements can live happily. Recently a large number of rice godowns were found waterlogged in a low-lying part of Calcutta and thousands of maunds of rice got damaged. Who built these godowns in such a place? Who sanctioned it with their eyes shut and without enquiry? Will anybody be punished?

For the Good of the People?

The present age is by no means the most peaceful period in Man's history. During the last one hundred years more major wars, minor wars, battles, revolutions, mutinies, rebellions, **coup d'etats**, rioting and civil commotions have taken place everywhere in the world than ever before. It all began for liberty, equality and the freedom of the peoples of the world. The world, no doubt, was full of injustice, persecution, exploitation, slavery and the immoralities of the social order that offended our Humanity, and many of the upheavals and the consequent losses of life and property were actually useful for establishing Human Rights on a surer foundation. But as time passed vested interests began to grow in the field of democracy, socialism and freedom too. This man, that group or those groups of people were antagonistic to some other man or cliques of men on grounds of faith, belief or opinion, often of a make-believe type and there were fights, assassinations, revolutions and what not. The great wars of 1914 and 1939 were not people's wars in any sense of the term at least to begin with. The Russian Revolu-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tion was and so were many of the post-war revolutions. But these were followed up by "palace" intrigues and **coups** which were not for the good of the people but for the benefit of ambitious power hunters.

The recent capture of power in Algeria by Col. H. Boumedienne is a good example of this sort of power hunting mixed, with international power politics. Boumedienne's usurpation of power and removal of Ben Bella was carried out with the assistance of persons who were not Algerian patriots. We do not know who they were. There may have been even mercenaries paid by foreigners interested in the removal of Ben Bella. The character of the deposed leader and his undoubted patriotic zeal make it quite clear that he was no oppressor nor exploiter of his people. His people loved him. He also trusted Col. Boumedienne and made him the Defence Minister of Algeria. Boumedienne must have taken an oath of office too and had been working in the government of which Ben Bella was at the head. Then Boumedienne suddenly discovered Ben Bella was not a good man. World opinion is largely in favour of Ben Bella and against Boumedienne who has to prove to the world that he acted rightly and for the good of his people. He will also have to prove his case against Ben Bella.

In Vietnam and the Vietcong invisible hands direct the fighting and provide arms to the fighters. Americans, Russians and the Chinese are using this part of South East Asia for the propagation of their political theories and are causing the death of innocent men, women and children in the hope that Asia will eventually be entirely Communist or free from Communism. The ancients might have asked would democracy or communism grant the Asians Immortality? We may ask would any of these political systems give us true happiness? These fights for democracy or socialism are now destroying peace and happiness everywhere.

When China invaded Tibet and destroyed the peace and happiness that prevailed in Tibetan homes in order to "liberate" the Tibetans, the lords of democracy kept silent. They perhaps fondly hoped that a strong China will counteract the growing strength of Russia.

Heavens on Earth

Human freedom and happiness go hand in hand. Where children do not laugh and play and the women pass their time in sighs and tears, there cannot be any freedom, no matter what Marx said or Lenin. The same is true of democracy and of the gurus of every political creed. Whoever or whatever destroys human happiness cannot be considered to be establishing any ideals worth establishing unless it could be proved to the hilt that the eventual gain in happiness would be far greater than the loss of happiness involved. We have found over and over again in history that promises of happiness and glory are seldom fulfilled. Dynasties have changed with great promises of prosperity; but people have remained poor and in abject slavery. Revolutions have swept over many lands and there have been no great changes in the well being of the people. Forms of government have changed, constitutions have been recast, political theories have been rejected and new ones accepted; but the people have gone on eating inferior food, wearing rags and living in hovels. Their children have died without medicine, their menfolk have slaved for a pittance and their women suffered silently. So, all who make prophesies and boldly declare that the world will be a heaven on earth if all people believed one another in order to have a single faith, a single way of life and a single form of social and political order; should stop and think. For Russia is not a heaven on earth; China is hardly so; and America is not a land of bliss and happiness either. India is in no position to sell anything to the buyers of ideals, excepting **Ahimsa**. It is a good thing provided one is not obliged to practise it due to lack of strength. **Ahimsa** destroys the people's happiness and should be rejected too.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

Preparations For The Fourth Plan

While preparations for the coming Fourth Plan are reported to be going briskly forward, there appears to be a great deal of uncertainty about the ultimate shape and size that the Plan would be likely to assume. For one thing, the uncertainties about covering the foreign exchange resources for the Plan which was originally estimated at around Rs. 3,200 crores in the tentative draft of the Fourth Plan issued some months ago and which, according to the principal executive of the Planning Commission, the Vice Chairman, Mr. Asoke Mehta, is now likely to be considerably larger, appears to have substantially deepened in the meanwhile. It is reported that while the members of the Aid India Consortium have generally fulfilled their commitments to India for the last year of the Third Plan, West Germany has already cut down Aid and has brought it down from the expected Rs. 95.5 crores to about Rs. 86 crores or by about 10 per cent. There has, of course been promises of increased aid from Moscow, but from an agency report in the national dailies it appears that the Soviets leaders have also at the same time sharply criticised India's training programmes anent Plan projects. The U.S.A., the largest single aid-giver to India for our Plans so far, appears to have grown considerably lukewarm of late, and in a recent issue of the **New York Times** the celebrated commentator Sulzberger has very sharply criticised the manner in which India and other under-developed countries in the Orient have been utilizing aid being given by Western countries for their development programmes. Indeed, Mr. Sulzberger has very sharply pointed out that with slow progress of plan-development on the one hand—which, according to him, has been consistently and substantially below envisaged targets throughout—and with rapidly accelerating population increase on the other, the burden of Planning has been proving all too heavy both for the developing countries and the aid-givers at the same time. These sentiments would seem to indicate an increasing hardening of attitudes on the part of aid-givers to India in her development programmes and it might not be all too easy to find the large foreign exchange resources required for the implementation of the Fourth Plan in the manner it has been formulated.

Export earnings, it is claimed, has substantially improved over the last few years and, although it is always to be preferred that we earned our own foreign exchange rather than borrowed or begged it from our more affluent Western neighbours, the net gains from this source have, so far, remained rather disappointing. In the result the foreign exchange crisis that we have been passing through during the last decade appears to have considerably deepened of late rather than to have improved and our balance of payments position on current account remains as critical as it has been over the last several years. As an inevitable corollary the Government have been compelled to further harden their import restrictions which are now affecting also a considerable range of essentials including essential industrial raw materials, spare parts and other items which have been having the effect of slowing down the rate of production. Altogether, so far at least as our foreign exchange position is concerned, prospects do not seem to be at all happy and do not

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

seem to auger very well for the resources of the coming Fourth Plan.

It may not be considered altogether impertinent to refer in passing, in this connection, to the rather paradoxical attitude of the Government of India in regard to the spending of foreign exchange by ministers of Government, Central and of the States,—mostly Central—their retinues and other officials and missions of a nondescript variety. The frequent travels abroad of the peripatetic Mr. Manubhai Shah, our Union Minister of International Trade—who seems to spend a far larger proportion of the year travelling round the world than applying himself to developing new items of export trade at home—may be justified on the ground that his journeys abroad have been considered essential for developing trade and boosting foreign exchange earnings; but it would be interesting to learn the net yield in foreign exchange that his travels abroad have been producing for the country. Even more so the visits of several of our Ministers and their retinues abroad on various pretexts and excuses at the outlay of precious foreign exchange of which even some of our vital industries are being starved, appears to need careful evaluation and assessment. If, as we suspect, not all of such visits are either essential or even important from the administrative or national point of view, it would seem to be extremely unfair, not to say downright wrong, that they should be allowed to so freely spend from our all too slender till of foreign exchange, mostly at public expense, while others are denied the privilege and even essential industries are starved of their necessary quota of foreign exchange for purposes of importing needed raw materials or spare parts. This is a matter to which, we feel, not sufficient attention appears to have been bestowed by either the Union Ministry of Finance or by the Union Government as a whole. The whole thing may have, as we suspect, been stemming from the independent initiative that is said to have been left to individual ministries and their secretariats for taking decisions in this behalf. While under normal circumstances it might be appropriate to leave to the individual initiative of the Minister concerned or of his office to decide what travels abroad should be undertaken, in a time of acute stringency like the present one, such decisions must, we feel, conform to strictly laid down rules formulated in this behalf at the highest Cabinet level and any needed deviations should only be allowed after prior special sanction by the Cabinet. It would be unfair to leave the whole matter to the discretion of the Finance Ministry for that would obviously be likely to cause embarrassment to the former which it may reasonably wish to avoid. But this is only by the way although we attach a considerable measure of importance to an appropriate consideration of this aspect of the matter at the highest Government level.

States' Plans

A considerable proportion of the gross Plan is naturally and inevitably filled in by the States' Plans. For the Third Plan the original allocations for outlays in the State sector was envisaged at Rs. 3,847 crores which, it now appears, would be exceeded by some Rs. 200 crores and be of the order of somewhere around Rs. 4,052 crores which would include Rs. 30 crores for additional outlays on intensive farming and a further Rs. 20 crores for advance actions and schemes in the Fourth Plan. Of the States Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and the States of Jammu & Kashmir would be likely to spend a little less each than their original allocations, Gujerat, Mysore and Kerala would be likely to fully appropriate their original allocations, while the rest of the States would be bound by various margins to exceed their estimates. Most of the excess outlay is said to be accounted for by agriculture, while there would be shortfalls in outlay on irrigation, community development, village and small industries, housing, etc. It is noteworthy, according to Shri Ashoke Mehta, the Chairman of the Planning Commission, that in spite of such additional outlays,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...d grains production, which was estimated ...the Third Plan to go up by 23.6 million ...ses over the entire Plan period, would ...likely to fall short by more than 4.5 ...on tonnes which would be even larger, ...the irrigation and fertilizer targets were ...fulfilled. It appears that there would ...a shortfall of some 1.3 million tonnes ...tilizer availability and the irrigation ...ial which it was envisaged, should ...a target of 16.2 million acres and its ...ation to a level of 12.8 million acres ...not now be expected to exceed 7.9 ...n acres and 7 million acres respec-

...n the other hand the estimated out- ...n power development which, in the ...was envisaged at Rs. 882 crores would ...prove to be of the order of Rs. 1,000 ..., although additional installation of ...rating capacity envisaged at 7 million ...would not be reached by more than 2 ...n kW. It is some consolation that the ...t of rural electrification would be ...ded by 40 per cent during the Third ...which would account for a 15 per cent ...se in the outlay in this behalf. While ...e subject of rural electrification, it ...d be pertinent to take note of the ...ly published observations of the ...man of the West Bengal State Elec- ...y Board—rural electrification in this ..., he confesses, has not proceeded ...ding to schedule and now waits upon ...1 crore subvention from the centre ...further progress—that the little exten- ...of electric power that has already ...made to rural West Bengal, has not ...found to be an economic enterprise, ...consumption has been very low and ...has been no indication that new indus- ...have been eager to take advantage of ...availability of electric power for ...opment in the rural areas. This leads ...o the inevitable conclusion that imme- ...extension of electric power in rural ...es may have been postulated more on ...mental grounds and possibly as a vote- ...ching expedient rather than as a sound ...omic measure. On the other hand there ...evidence to indicate that most urban and semi-urbanized industrial areas have been woefully starved of the needed minimum and uninterrupted supply of electric power and it would be far more legitimate, immensely more profitable and less wasteful if necessary measures were taken by the State Electricity Boards to fill the needs of these urban and suburban areas on a priority basis, than to fulfill a certain target of rural electrification by a certain date which coincides with Mahatma Gandhi's birth centenary.

For the Fourth Plan, the States were asked to limit their aggregate Plan outlays within Rs. 7,760 crores or roughly within twice the amount of outlay envisaged for the Third Plan. The States' Plans which have been received by the Planning Commission and which are now under discussion at Yojna Bhabana, is found to aggregate Rs. 9,870 crores. The Planning Commission have been very clear that both the magnitude of outlays as well as the sectoral priorities in the States' Plans must fit in with the over-all national priorities and balances, but the States do not seem to have been especially concerned over these very vital requirements. It is doubtful if the Planning Commission would be able to maintain even a Rs. 7,760 crores aggregate States' Plan in view of the States' very poor response to the appeal that they should contribute, together, at least Rs. 1,250 crores towards the needed additional resources of the Plan. The Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission has suggested that the States might exploit such sources as the land revenue, surcharge on commercial crops, betterment levies, irrigation rates and higher electricity duties for raising the needed additional resources, but their reaction to this does not appear to have been very enthusiastic. The fact, frankly, appears to be that the burdens of taxation are already much too high in the States; various expedients of the Central Government adopted upto date do not appear to have made any dent whatsoever on the price factor, especially in the essential consumer sector, and the State Governments are naturally reluctant to impose additional

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

burdens of taxation upon the people with the general elections looming only about two years further ahead. In the ultimate analysis, the battle of the polls have to be fought primarily within the States' boundaries and with the Governments already as unpopular as they are, they are not very eager to add fresh burdens to their load of unpopularity by imposing fresh taxation measures which would be bound to be of the indirect variety and which are very likely to correspondingly stimulate the consumer price factor.

Prices and Planning

In fact although conceding **sotto voce** that the inflationary price spiral which has been continuously on the rampage over the last three years, especially since after December 1962 following the Chinese invasion of the Northern boundaries of India and the consequent increase of expenditure on defence, has been distorting both Plan achievements and Plan implementation, not adequate attention would yet seem to have been bestowed upon this very important factor in development planning. One of the basic **sine qua nons** of successful Plan development, it has to be conceded, is a stable economy, and a stable price regime is one of the basic postulates of stability in the economy.

It has been claimed as some sort of an extenuation of the price situation that inadequate production increase, especially of primary consumption goods such as food grains and other consumables on the one hand, an accelerating annual increase of the population on the other and, thirdly but not the least, the increased outlays on defence and development have been having the effect of inflating demand to an unprecedented extent with inevitably heaviest impacts on consumables in marginal supply. The obvious remedy is that either supplies should be commensurately increased or that demand should be contained to conform to the limitations of supply. It is obvious that supplies cannot be increased to match demand over any short period. The only other remedy should be to de... demand. The latter requirement ... either a commensurate attenuation ... lays—assuming that outlays on defence ... not be decelerated without danger ... country's national integrity, the only ... where outlays might have been ... would be on account of development ... last cannot be accepted by the powers ... be without agreeing to halt, in corres... ing measure, the process of economic ... lopment. Some interim measures ha... doubt, been adopted in the meanwhile ... the declared objective of at least contai... if not quite attenuating demand ... view to holding the price spiral. ... measures have mostly been in the nat... fiscal devices, but on the background ... increasing consumption expenditure ... Government both on Plan and no... account, these have, so far proved ... quite ineffectual. The last rise in ... Reserve Bank's lending rate for ins... appears to have only stimulated the ... borrowings in consequence. Accordi... a report, the gross borrowings by ... from the Reserve Bank of India have ... substantially higher since after the ... rise in the Bank Rate than during ... previous corresponding period.

The interest market thus usher... appears to have had exactly the opp... effect from what it was expected it ... be. Industry and commerce appear ... depending far more heavily, in the circ... stances, on loan capital rather than on ... ties and the slow rate of equity investm... does not appear to have received any ... from these measures. After all, the un... tainties involved in equity investm... both as regards the security of the in... ment as well as the rate of yield, would ... bound to give far higher precedence to ... capital in a market where banks would ... prepared to borrow capital at as high a ... as 6 per cent or even higher. In the ... it appears that the Government's ... measures for the avowed objective of ... tricting credit have, instead of contai... demand, been having exactly the oppo... effect on the price situation.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The only possible device which might expected to have some measurable re- s towards containing demand and hold- the price line in consequence would be position and administration of physi- controls over distribution and supply, ally in the essential consumables with food articles being given the t priority. In other words rationing seem to be the only answer. This ed to more or less coincide with the Government's thinking at the end of s year before the new harvests came but with the bumper crop of rice and substantial increase also in the crop eventually, together with the ction of massive food grains import, risis on the food front has been consi- ly relieved, at least for the time being. this the sense of urgency that prevail- earlier appears to have considerably ted and none of the States, except Bengal was agreeable to assume the administrative and other burdens that ng involved. The building of a sub- l buffer stock of food grains at the which would appear to be the very stone of a rational and national food appears also to have somewhat re- in the background. True, it has been that rice procurements for the l pool is said to have been very satis- —it has been stated by the Union Minister that procurements so far aggregated 1.9 million tonnes against rlier target of 2 million tonnes, but e of massive wheat imports, stocks in entral wheat pool do not appear to far been as substantial as one might xpected it to be.

arious suggestions have been made by s people as regards the shape, size irections of the Fourth Plan. In the lenary session of the Indian National ss at Durgapur, the Congress Presi- leaded for a smaller Plan as, accord- to him, the poorer sections of the e were no longer able to sustain its ns. The Prime Minister was once ted to have counselled that the Plan uld have a poor man's orientation and its objectives towards building the infra- structure for the self-generating take-off should be adequately matched by arrange- ments for the supply of consumables. Re- cently in an article in the **Statesman** Mr. K. Rangachari suggested that the Plan should have a political approach. Whatever may be the cogency or otherwise of these various and varied suggestions, the fact remains that for much of the acceleration of the present rate of infructuous demand with its inevit- able impact on the price structure, the in- herent imbalances of Planning, as so far essayed, along with the visible disparities between investment and implementation, have been responsible. The Planning Com- mission are now said to be addressing them- selves to formulating the sectoral priorities of the Plan and integrating the States' Plans into the over-all structure with a view to ensuring a national balance in Planning. But these seemingly minor details of market conditions which seem to have been vitiat- ing Plan progress in very large measure ever since the Second Plan was launched, have a vital bearing on the whole process which the Commission could only ignore, as they seem to be doing, at the peril of the nation.

The Steel Muddle

In a recently reported statement to the Lok Sabha, Shri Sanjeeva Reddy, Union Minister of Steel, was said to have confess- ed that although he has been presiding over the Ministry for over the last eleven months and longer, he was still far from having acquired a full grasp of the subject under his charge. That this is so would be bound to be indicated by his recent deal with the Soviet Union anent the projected Bokaro Steel Plant. It may be some consolation that he has, at long last, been able to put the Bokaro Steel Project on a firm footing and that the uncertainties about getting the Project going which had been earlier in evidence have now been dispelled. But the terms on which he was able to procure Soviet aid for the project has engendered a very large question mark about the ultimate

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

wisdom of the basis on which the deal is now said to have been concluded.

There is no denying the fact that India is in vital need of rapid and rather substantial development of her steel capacity within the immediate future. But in a long view of the matter it would be conceded that an even more vital requirement is that India should be able to develop her own capacity for development in this behalf without external aid as rapidly as possible. In the earlier stages of the studies on the proposed Bokaro plant, a very important step forward in this direction was taken when a hundred per cent Indian firm of consulting engineers, Messrs M. N. Dastur & Co. were invested with the responsibility for drawing up the project report for the plant. That Messrs Dastur & Co., with their large staff of young and enthusiastic Indian engineers, each one of them an acknowledged specialist in different branches of construction and metallurgical engineering, have been giving a very good account of the vital responsibility they had assumed, has been acknowledged by every one who is competent to speak on the subject. It was hoped that the lead taken by the Dastur organization in this field would soon be emulated over a wider area and that in the not too distant future India would be able to develop her own unaided technical and technological potentials for the construction of large, modern and integrated steel plants in the country.

That India would nevertheless continue for many years yet to have to depend upon imported plant for steel manufacture and the necessary imports of know-how and other ancillaries that such imports make it inevitable and unavoidable, was largely due to the so far inadequate development of our heavy engineering potentials. The first step towards eliminating this vital lack had already been taken, and it was hoped that in course of time the country would be increasingly free of her dependence upon foreign imports in this behalf. But it was hoped that with the work that Messrs M. N. Dastur & Co. had been carrying out so successfully in project design, lay-out and construction, the country would, at ... independent of foreign assistance ... limited field of steel capacity expans... valuable experience and the bold ... ing efforts of this great little ... specialist organization appears now ... been wholly thrown overboard ... submission by the Union Steel Min... the demand by the Soviet Union that ... must be what has been known as a ... deal with India and any Indian organ... or institution that might be associated ... the laying out of the Bokaro Steel P... must be subject to their order and ... While conceding that the urgency of ... down the Bokaro Plant as early as p... —this plant, it may be recalled was ori... scheduled to be completed, at least the ... stage of it, within the Third Plan per... had induced the Steel Minister to ... these terms which were put forward ... of the essential conditions for Soviet ... putting down the plant, he should have ... the imagination and the sense of self-... to realise that this was a condition ... N. Dastur & Co. would be wholly unable ... accept without loosing their standing ... engineering industry of the country.

That it has since been publicly ann... that Messrs M. N. Dastur & Co. would ... entrusted with the responsibility for ... ing up the project designs and lay-out ... well as for construction of other ... steel plants in the public sector in the ... is small consolation for the shabby ... ment that the Steel Minister has, in ... present instance, meted out to them. ... further unconfirmed report that accord... the Steel Ministry India would be in ... position to put down a **wholly Indian** ... plant by about 1971, presumably with ... assistance of Messrs Dastur & Co. is ... small consolation for their now ... divorced from the Bokaro project.

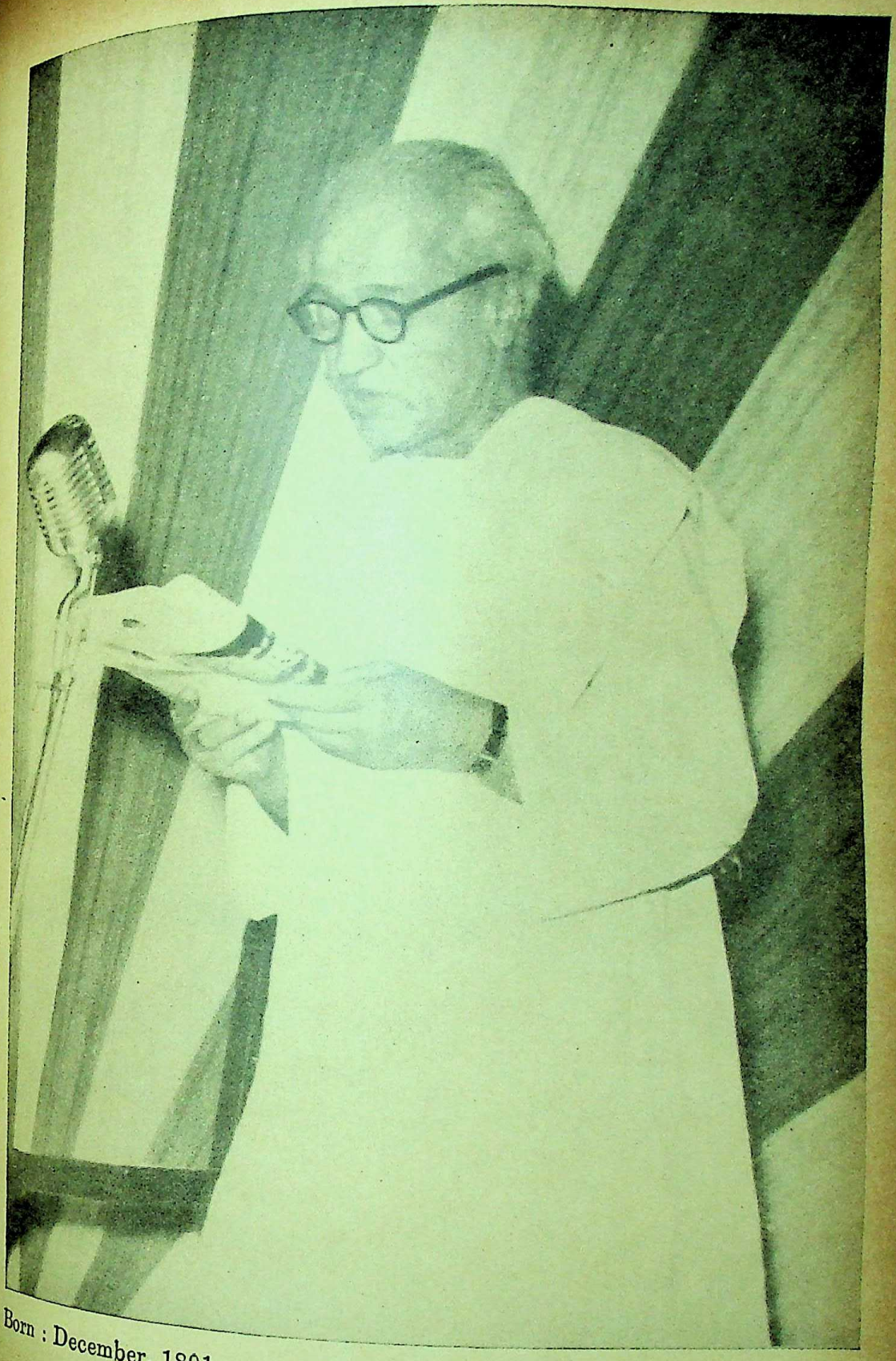
The matter of steel development ... whole, we have also commented in ... columns in the past, appears to have ... somehow muddling through over the ... without any very purposive design ... objective. Development of steel capacity ...

(Continued on Page 69)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kedar Nath Chatterji



Born : December, 1891

Died : 16th May, 1965

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

KEDARNATH CHATTERJI
The Great Liberal

DEEPANKAR GHOSE

The challenge of the times we live in is not nuclear arms or the conflict of the economic "isms" or the lip service to co-existence by either bloc. The challenge is to appreciate that the two blocs have moved closer to each other in the last few years or so, to be prepared even to shed some of the starting points in one's politics and to contribute to a new world order as good unborn, or as Bertrand Russell said at Oxford in 1955, "A comparative paradise."

The challenge is to believe in one of the two politico-economic structures we know to exist and yet be high-minded enough to attack publicly the oversights and wrongs of commission in one's own structure. The challenge is to have the best of both the politico-economic worlds and not their worst.

This challenge can only be accepted by great liberals like Kedarnath Chatterji, the second editor of **Modern Review** and Prabasi. In his editorials, and other writings, in his lectures, and in his talks, one could always discern his passion for freedom and the free world as we know it. But what endured even more was the patient ear he always had for the other man's point of view. This, more than anything else, gave to his writings and convictions a rare grace and charm.

He had the historian's catholicity to condemn both Communist subversion and the long chain of booms and depressions of the laissez faire economic societies of the 19th century. He would point out to the hard-of-the-road laissez-fairists that Llyod George and his championship of limited planning after World War-I had saved the whole world's economy.

It is difficult to choose between Kedar Chatterji the man and Kedar Chatterji the liberal. It is difficult to say that one or the other was greater. Perhaps to say that one was the complement of the other would just about be right.

With him is gone for ever the empirical "guru," ever patient and ever-willing to share his opinions and experiences with the initiate. A treasure-house of experience Kedarnath's certainly was. What was striking was his magnanimity in entering the treasure house so sweetly and with such refreshing lack of ostentation. In an age of sermons on the mount, platitudes from the platform and the intellectual's casual reference to a recent work which was a must for the initiate, Kedarnath's zestful and kind communication of his ideas, beliefs and experiences was a most stimulating exception.

He would delve deep into his memory with such wonderful ease. So replete his reminiscences were with warmth—Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha, Motilal Nehru, the patrician of a politician in his living room at Allahabad, in his element and talking politics, Harrow and Cambridge-returned Jawaharlal, struggling, searching and gradually finding his feet in Indian soil—these were but a few of his rich reminiscences.

For the writer of this article it was a privilege, greatly cherished, to have come in contact with the great mind. As it so happened, international issues and among them the working of the U.N. cropped up in conversation during the last year of our teacher-taught relationship. As always Kedarnath expressed his views with the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

force and clarity which were so much his. One or two of his views I will record for the benefit of the student of politics.

He believed that on the U.N. the future of the world depended and the U.N. must be given a chance to be effective, really effective. For this a revision of the Charter is necessary.

"There are too many red herrings", Kedarnath said to my question, "In which regard, Sir" ?

For instance, the U.N. has chosen to remain silent on the competition among religions. It has done nothing to neutralize the manouvres of organized religion, which even today stirs the gamut of turmoil across the globe—in Cyprus, in the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent, in South Vietnam, in Malaysia. The Christian Church openly talks in terms of "new offensives" in Asia and Africa, which because of mass poverty and ignorance, offered big prospects for conversion. "This will make things more complicated even than they are", Kedarnath mused.

The U.N. has never volunteered to organise a world congress of religions. Psychologically for man, religion will remain so long as his aspirations clash with his reality, so long as man feels the need for the world of spirit to fall back upon. But religion should be shorn of its competitive character and made synthetic. In this the empirical Vedic conception of the Brahma and "Ekamebadyitiyam", will always be an unfailing guide.

One of the many other red herrings is that of a country's "internal matter" in which the world body cannot intervene under the Charter. For the greater cause of world peace and stability "it is becoming imperative to subordinate the concept of the nation-state to the larger vision of world sovereignty". The 1956 Suez Crisis, which occasioned the first U.N. intervention through an army nucleus of neutral powers was always an important milestone for Kedarnath.

A fervent democrat and a true [illegible] KNC had just the right balance of [illegible] to the concepts of nationalism and [illegible] nationalism. To those who said "Nationalism is out-moded" KNC would point that in the present order of things it is not possible to be a good internationalist without being a good nationalist. To a chauvinist he would mention the danger of nationalism becoming militant and misery given to the world by militant nationalism.

What he believed in was that sig[illegible] but surely the world's nations should [illegible] to give shape to the vision of world sov[illegible] ignty. It will be a difficult and delic[illegible] task and will not be achieved overnight. world confederation of nations was a co[illegible] cept worth working for.

On the national front he was optimi[illegible] despite the state of things. His chief p[illegible] of criticism was industrialization in I[illegible] should be slower and agricultural deve[illegible] ment faster. A Gandhian, this was [illegible] expected of KNC. What was striking [illegible] that this view had been arrived at after very realistic appraisal of the Indian e[illegible] nomy of recent years. In KNC's vi[illegible] India's disappointing balance of payme[illegible] position was chiefly due to the big imp[illegible] of capital goods for our industries. "Y[illegible] yet even today Indian exports to a big e[illegible] tent are agricultural." In his view a bigger emphasis on agriculture with commens[illegible] rate development of industry would stabi[illegible] lize the rural population and the econo[illegible]

The working of democracy in In[illegible] interested KNC greatly and he did n[illegible] endorse the view that the people got th[illegible] government they deserved. He believed that the moral duty lay with the group in power to promote consciousness among the people so that they are made good enough to deserve an efficient Government.

The task of making the people consc[illegible] ous was difficult he said. It needed "good a bit of high-mindedness" for the party in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

power to speak out home-truths or to liberalize the sources of the dissemination of news. For the consciousness of the people to be a reality, the present trend of a chain ownership of newspapers in India and the rest of the free world was a hindrance. The Communist system did concede that a free Press was not something it boasted of. So "the matter can be left at that".

KNC believed that the free Press in India was threatened. He agreed that the existence of the broadcasting machinery as a Central Department was not at all healthy for democracy.

A grave danger of holding the reins of power was the proneness to equate subtly and cleverly the interests of the group in power with the so-called interests of the people. That form of government was yet to emerge which was fool-proof against this proneness, KNC thought. This proneness had reared its ugly head in India in recent years.

British democracy had the surest foundations, KNC believed, with no stifling of opinion and with some 400 years of thinking and research on political economics forming the bed-rock of the British structure.

The hall-mark of British democracy was its sub-strata which thought independently of pressure groups, party or class interests, which said what it felt like saying without fear of being harried and hounded for not having toed the line of the establishment, which assisted and helped in good measure the group wielding the machinery of power.

It is a great pity that this wonderfully clear-spirited human being has been plucked away from life at the zenith of his powers. It is unfortunate that he did not live to write his contemplated book on the issues of the day. But his message remains.

There is nothing else to say in tribute, ineffectual and meagre as it is. Only this. It was good learning at his feet.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

KEDARNATH CHATTERJI

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

Kedarnath Chatterji was born in December 1891. He was the eldest son of Ramananda Chatterjee who was, at the time of Kedarnath's birth, a professor of English in the City College, Calcutta. About this time, the intellectual and moral renaissance of India was well advanced and persons of talent and quality abounded in the cities of our great Sub-Continent. This renaissance began with the advent of Raja Ram Mohun Roy in the second half of the Eighteenth Century and took about one hundred years to unfold to perfection. Nineteenth Century India had such a profusion of talent that one could assert without any risk of being guilty of an overstatement that no country in the world had ever produced so many great men and women within so few years at any period of history. India's religious, moral, cultural, political and intellectual rebirth was spectacular. Art, literature, music, drama, social reform, the revival of the glory that was India; all found a new expression and an ardent awareness of a greater destiny illuminated every Indian heart. Ramananda Chatterjee in the nineties of the last century lived and worked in a setting which was pulsating with life and was progressive in a morally sure-footed manner. It was a privilege to be born in such a setting and at such a period of our national history. Kedarnath had the rare advantage of seeing great men and women all round him since his very infancy. As soon as he could identify people he saw men like Jagadish Chandra Bose, Shivanath Sastri, Prafulla Chandra Roy, Rabindranath Tagore, Nilratan Sircar, Madan Mohun Malviya, Lajpat Rai, Motilal Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru and scores of others whose equals it would be difficult to find in any country at any time. The eighteen fifties and sixties gave India some of her greatest men but the flow of that superior life force did not stop there. The [illegible] martyrs of our "War of Indepen[illegible] were born mostly after the eighties [illegible] many of our intellectuals were also [illegible] products of the end of the century. Ked[illegible] nath as a boy in Allahabad and as a [illegible] college student in Calcutta shared the [illegible] fields with many who later helped to [illegible] the foundations of the exploitative E[illegible] that the British built on the ruins of a [illegible] civilisation.

Among his friends in Allah[illegible] were quite a number of young [illegible] who excelled in games and sports. [illegible] Swadeshi Club of Allahabad was renow[illegible] for its prowess in football and cric[illegible] Some of its members were very good [illegible] oasts and were well-known for their p[illegible] cal strength. The older people who w[illegible] ed the younger men were also vigorou[illegible] healthy and strong. Ramananda Chatte[illegible] was a man of peace; but he could lift [illegible] throw up a heavy box weighing more th[illegible] a maund. Once he caught hold of a cr[illegible] of rowdy policemen who became q[illegible] docile when they found that the lean[illegible] professor had a vice like grip. The wri[illegible] has seen Ramananda hit out with a s[illegible] when a mad bull charged him and the b[illegible] regained its sanity and ran away bellowi[illegible] Indu Bhushan Roy was a social worker w[illegible] would think nothing of going into a plag[illegible] stricken house to help people suffer[illegible] from the deadly disease. Once when cholera attacked his son Prativa Ranjan, Indu Bhushan leapt clear over two beds[illegible] and swung a **charpois** to rout the dacoits. The dacoits recognised superiority when they found a man who could wield a **charpois** as a quarter staff and ran. There were other men who could swing a twenty foot bamboo to disperse an unruly crowd. At Calcutta one remembers a friend

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kedarnath—Hiranmoy Chatterjee—who was among those who beat back the lathi charge of the Calcutta **Bhaiyas** (up-country policemen) at Beadon Square. The police broke and ran! They dropped their "fourteen no" lathis. Kedarnath obtained a souvenir of the lathi through Hiranmoy and it was kept in a small room and was shown occasionally to young men who thought that godliness was godliness.

Kedarnath was fond of games; but he found more pleasure in walking long distances. On a number of occasions he walked from Darjeeling to Kurseong. Walking from Giridih to Madhupur through the jungle was also achieved at a later time. Giridih to the Paresnath Hill climb required strenous walking too. Walking round the Fort William a number of times of an evening was a mere constitutional. If he did not find a long road or a wide expanse of rugged fields, he would continue his walk on a verandah or a roof top back and forth like a caged lion, until he felt he had gone round the Fort William four or five times.

At Allahabad among those who befriended Kedarnath at all times were Major Chunilal Basu, a retired I.M.S. officer whose contributions to the cultural revival of India and to historical research in the field of Imperialism masquerading as a civilising force, were invaluable, and important. Major Basu and Col. Kirtiker wrote the "Indian Medicinal Plants" in three volumes containing detailed description of thousands of medicinal plants. Major Basu's brother Srish Chandra Basu was a great Sanskrit Scholar and the founder of the Panini Office of Allahabad which published many forgotten Sanskrit texts. Kedarnath had his first acquaintance with Sanskrit in the archives of the Panini Office. He also gained a very good knowledge of books at an early age. He used to pull down the heaviest volumes from Ramananda Chatterjee's bookshelves and he soon realised that knowledge was limitless. Srish Chandra Basu's son Jogindranath was a great friend of Kedarnath. He was chairman of the Allahabad Municipality for long years in later life. Kamakhya Prasad Bhargava, famed for Glass Manufacture, Anil Mitra, who was an expert on rubber tyres, Sushil Chowdhury, later on a K. C, Jivanmoy Roy and many others formed a circle of friends for Kedarnath at Allahabad. Kedarnath's mother Manorama Devi was very particular as to his choice of playmates. She was very popular in Allahabad Society for her beauty and indomitable courage. Her singing voice was beautiful, rich and true. She could handle any situation with unflinching purpose. No thieves ever visited Ramananda Chatterjee's house, for the word went round that Manorama Devi was imbued with supernatural and divine powers. During the Benares Congress in the early years of this century Mrs. Kelker a Maharastrian lady and Manorama Devi chastised a hooligan with a cane while they were on their way to the Congress Camp. In 1911, she dealt with an unmannerly Pathan in the Allahabad Exhibition grounds with similar forcefulness. A steel pointed parasol was used on this occasion. She did not mind if boys indulged in rough housing; but every one had to observe the rules of the game when she was about.

When Ramananda Chatterjee came over to Calcutta from Allahabad Kedarnath had already passed his Entrance Examinations and entered St. X'aviers' College as a Science student. During his college days in Calcutta he formed many new friendships. Prabhat Chandra Ganguly, later editor of the daily **Bharat**; Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, now India's leading statistician; the late Sukumar Roy, a great writer —father of Satyajit Roy of cine-drama fame; Sukumar Mitra, son of the late Krishna Kumar Mitra and the last editor of the **Sanjeevani**; Hitendra Mohun Bose, a Persian Scholar and a cricketer: and many others who looked at life somewhat differently from the common run of men. **Mejda** of **Nilkuthi**, so designated on account of his second place among brothers and the name of their residential house at Bhowani-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

pur, Calcutta, was a great friend of Kedarnath. He was a keen **Shikari** and Kedarnath sometimes went with him to the **Sunderbans.** Mejda, Jitendranath Ghosh, vied with Hem Chandra Naskar in the distribution of **Pan** to his friends and usually beat the latter by a few **khilis.** Gnanankur De and Sudhin Haldar, both of the I.C.S. were contemporaries of Kedarnath. They, as well as P. C. Mahalanobis and S. Roy went to England for higher studies about the same time as Kedarnath. Before going over they had all come under the influence of Rabindranath Tagore. Santiniketan became a place of Pilgrimage to Young India and many were the youthful dissidents in the field of culture who were pushed into an atmosphere of song, drama, art and meditation by their enthusiastic parents and elder brothers. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis exerted his influence over his brother Prafulla Chandra to go to Santiniketan. Prafulla was artistic and musical by nature. Kedarnath tried to induce his brothers to go too. Prasad the youngest did and Hemanta also, who was a cousin.

Kedarnath went to England on the Arabia, a P. & O. liner and sister ship to the **Persia, Egypt** and **China.** These ships had the unique distinction of going down one after another over a period of several years. The writer travelled back from Europe on the **China** in 1922 and she was then the last of the hapless quartet and many passengers cancelled their bookings on the **China.** But she completed that journey without mishap. Within a couple of years of his arrival in England Kedarnath saw Europe go up in flames in the first World War. There was no **blitzkrieg** as in the second World War but **Zeppelins** came over and bombed London. There were still a few craters in Hampstead Heath in 1920. France and Belgium were battle-fields and many towns had no walls standing, forests consisted of stumps and millions died. War became more hideous than ever before. Flame throwers, mustard gas, automatic guns, high explosives and air attacks changed chivalry to genocide. Kedarnath had a taste of man's debased hur... first hand. He saw thousands in the ... pitals whose lungs had been burnt ... phosgene and limbs torn by shell ... himself was bombed out of his ... work and suffered secondary injury ... lungs. He worked in hospitals and ... munitions factory and carried on his ... in the best manner that he could. ... in Chemistry and an Associateship ... Royal College of Science were conferr... him by the London University ... came back to India after the War was ... He was a very handsome man and a ... interesting conversationalist. He was ... fond of games. Hitendra Mohun Bose ... a practising net in their garden and Ka... nath indulged in medium fast bow... there. Kartik Bose was a little boy ... Their grand uncles, the Ray brot... Saroda Ranjan, Kulada Ranjan and M... Ranjan were well-known cricketers ... the Boses only basked in their reflec... glory. The Boses achieved fame in c... much later.

There was some talk of Kedar... joining the Hindu University of Benares ... Pandit Madan Mohun Malviya was ... that he should do so. But the idea of in... trial development overshadowed every... else at that time and Kedarnath joined ... organisation that was set up for the ... duction of glass and ceramic. He also ... perimented with matches and other ... and a couple of rooms in the house ... had fixtures with gas burners, little furn... and various appliances with which Ke... nath and his friend Manindranath ... produced sample boxes of matches ... other goods. M. N. Roy later looked ... the motor vehicles department of ... Calcutta Corporation and ended up by ... coming the Secretary of the same ... body. At this stage Kedarnath used to ... the house of Rajshekhar Bose who was ... most trusted assistant of Sir P. C. Ray ... founder of the Bengal Chemical and Pha... maceutical Works Ltd. Rajshekhar Bo... was a keen industrialist but he was also ... known as "Parasuram" his pseudonym ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

writer of some of the finest humourous stories. The artist who illustrated these derful stories was Jotin Sen who was of the greatest commercial art experts those days. But he proved himself to be erful creative artist too by his illus- ions of "Parasuram's" stories. Kedar- was a member of the inner circle of "Parasuram" group as also of the hesh" group headed by Sukumar Roy se untimely death removed from gal's literary firmament a star of rare ance. Rabindranath said after reading mar Roy's nonsense rhymes that mar had no equal in the field of his ular type of literature.

In the thirties Kedarnath was drawn political journalism by his friendship Makhan Lal Sen, who started the gali daily **Bharat.** A group of writers ed for this daily whose nationalistic ook was not clouded by the political sophy of other nations, nor by ethical iderations of a rare classical vintage. journals could be influenced, induced won over; but **Bharat** remained stead- in its attachment to the fundamentals eedom, equality and progress. It was a ult course to follow in so far as the rth Estate required the same fuel and ricants as did the other three. **Bharat** ually closed down much to the relief the ungodly.

In the early thirties Rabindranath re was invited to Persia by the Shah of Among those who went with the poet Kedarnath. The poet visited many es in Iran and was accorded grand ions everywhere. Kedarnath took many esting photographs of archaeological est and his notes were later published book-form in Bengali. It was an erience which he cherished and he also ected some valuable miniatures, enamel es and carpets while he was in Persia.

Ramananda Chatterjee died in Septem- 1943. It was a year of disasters. Floods Famine swept the land and spread death and destruction. More than two million people died of starvation in Bengal and the British rulers failed utterly to be of any help to the people. They remained shamelessly impassive and criminally inactive. The War Effort had to be carried on, no matter who died in what numbers and how! This was a heartrending experience for Kedarnath and all other patriotic men. It was a ghastly **finale** to the British Imperial drama and all who could wield a pen poured curses on the rulers of India.

The War over, India ran into a series of organised riots, which the British appeared to welcome as a suitable argument for the partition of India on a communal basis. All kinds of lies were broadcast by the British controlled Press. The two nation theory was propounded with gusto and history became a plaything of politicians. The Muslim nation had its own separate language, dress and diet. Pustu, Sindhi, Panjabi and Bangla prepared to die for a hybrid Urdu in the name of Islam while fish curry and rice faced their imminent annihilation to make room for **Kabab** and **Paratha.** The Indian Press did its best to fight back but the roaring rotaries of Fleet Street drowned the hissing of the Indian **chhapakhana.** Indian editors wrote well and convincingly but India's political leaders thought half a loaf was better than no bread and compromised with the imperial overlords. India was cut up into two antagonistic groups which remained for ever the pawns of Western Politicians. Expediency ruled the world. Truth was locked out from the Parliaments of the nations. The Peoples of the World united to give up their major rights of freedom and to earn the right to pull the chariots of Communistic Capitalism or Capitalistic Communism. Kedarnath along with all those who loved freedom wielded a pen which fought an unequal battle. The state controlled radio and the Party managed or influenced Press engaged in what may be called modified brain washing and indoctrination. Even so-called oppositions had to be synthetic and

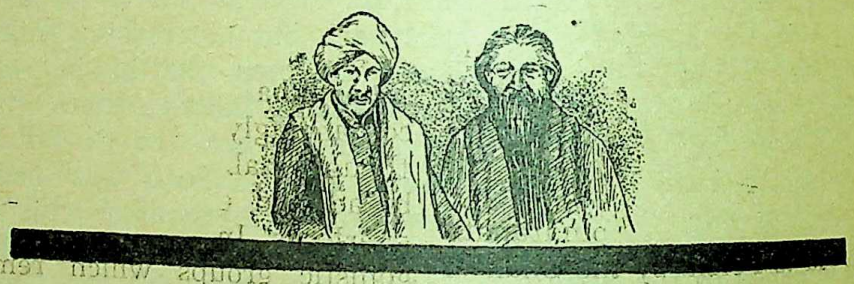
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

made to measure. In such a setting the old standards were hard to maintain and those who tried to keep the flag flying had to do so at a great sacrifice.

During the post independence days Kedarnath took a keen interest in juvenile literature. He became intimately associated with the **Mouchak,** a children's magazine. He wrote many short stories for children some of which were published in book-form and were very well received by readers. He also joined the University of Calcutta as a lecturer in journalism. He was occasionally invited by the Government to serve on special committees and he accepted such invitations.

Kedarnath Chatterji had friends. They came from all society. Scientists, artists, writers, trators, congressmen, leftists, the unclassifiable; all thought of friend and adviser. He also friendship first and opinion afterwards views never interfered with That is why today his loss is being a large circle of friends who by belong to the same camp or thought.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SATIS MUKHERJEE OF THE DAWN SOCIETY

By UMA MUKHERJEE and HARIDAS MUKHERJEE

A Maker Of Modern Bengal

...are celebrating this year the first birth ...ntenary of Satis Chandra Mukherjee (1865-...), one of the greatest characters of modern ...gal. A prophet of Indian Nationalism and a ...eer of the Boycott-Swadeshi Movement of ...ch he played a very significant role in India's ...ggle for Freedom. His educational experiments ...rified in the Dawn Society (1902-1907) and ...e National Council of Education (founded in ...) have stood the test of time. His exposition ...d unfoldment of Indian Nationalism through ...e pages of the *Dawn* (1897-1913) which he ...self founded and edited, constitutes his another ...m to immortality. A self-sacrificing soul in the ...e tradition of Indian spirituality, shunning ...thority like poison, he made a complete dedica-...n of his self to the national cause.[1] "Hardly ...dy has by character and strenuous exer-..." observed Benoy Sarkar several decades ..., "been a greater inspirer of Young Bengal ...n Satis Mukherjee, nobody a greater idealist ...d epoch-maker in politics than Aurobindo, and ...e a greater philanthropist and educational ...efactor than Rashbehari Ghosh."

Early Life (1865-1892)

Born at Bandipur in the district of Hooghly ...the 5th June, 1865, Satis Chandra in his early ...th grew up under 'positivist' influences which ...d been powerfully operating in Bengal since ...'seventies' of the last century. That was also ...e period of the activities of the Hindu Mela ...67-1880) and the literary outpourings of ...kim Chandra Chatterjee through *Bangadarshan* ...e 1872). Satis Chandra imbibed in his youth ...e romantic and nationalistic bias. Receiving ...s early education in the South Suburban School ...d his collegiate education at the Presidency College, Calcutta, he passed the M.A. Examination in English in 1886 and obtained the B.L. degree in 1890. His connection with the Calcutta High Court as a Vakil was, however, very short, not exceeding two years.

Second Phase (1893-1913)

The second phase of Satis Chandra's life commenced with his contact with Sri Sri Vijaya Krishna Goswami at whose hands he received spiritual initiation in 1893. This was a turning point in the life of Satis Chandra. He took to education as his mission and decided to live the life of a *brahmachari* to be entirely at the service of the country. In 1897 he received from his *guru* the vow of *Akasha Vritti* (sole dependence on God for all material necessities), the spiritual obligations of which were discharged by him till his last breath in 1948.

This second phase of Satis Chandra's life was associated with four striking achievements, viz., the foundation of the Bhagavat Chatuspathi (1895), the establishment of the *Dawn* (1897), the inauguration of the Dawn Society (1902) and the organization of the National Council of Education (1906), all calculated to promote in the young men love for the country and its culture.[2] Although the Bhagavat Chatuspathi was modelled on the ideals of the ancient Tols, yet its vision was broad enough to undertake other lines of activity such as the industrial to answer to the modern requirements of the country. It was the first venture of his creative idealism and served as the precursor of the historic Dawn Society.

The second memorable work of Satis Chandra in this period was the establishment of the *Dawn* (1897), first as an organ of the Chatuspathi

1. Vide the author's Bengali work on ...ya *Andolane Satis Chandra Mukhopadhyaya* ...lcutta, 1960) for his varied role in the complex ...olution of the National Movement in India.

2. Vide the authors' book entitled *The Origins of the National Education Movement* (Jadavpur University, Calcutta, 1957) for a detailed account of the activities of Satis Chandra Mukherjee during the years of the Swadeshi Movement (1905-1911).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and then transformed into an organ of the Dawn Society (since 1904) and, still later, into an organ of Indian Nationalism conceived in its broadest sense. His services to the country through this organ were such as any nation could be proud of.[3]

The third mentionable work of Satis Chandra was the foundation of the Dawn Society in 1902. At his hands it soon became a training ground for young patriots and nationalists. Located in the premises of the Metropolitan Institution, now called the Vidyasagar College, its activity was divided into three sections—General, Moral and Religious, and Industrial. Character-building was a fundamental item in the ideological complex of the Dawn Society. The activity of the Industrial section is specially significant in view of the fact that it was well calculated to infuse the swadeshi spirit into the young students and the public even before the beginning of the Boycott-Swadeshi movement in August 1905. By promoting the sale of indigenous goods, by popularising sales by lectures and exhibitions, by regularly publishing notes and news on native industries of India and their potentialities, and finally, by training up a band of devoted workers aflame with burning patriotism, Satis Chandra served as a harbinger of the Boycott-Swadeshi Movement of 1905 which developed before long into a national struggle for Freedom.

The fourth and, in a sense, the most important service of Satis Crandra was the organization of the National Council of Education (1906) which set up under it the Bengal National College and School in Calcutta with Sri Aurobindo as the Principal and himself as the Superintendent. National Education was an important phase of the larger movement for Freedom, and in this particular aspect none dominated the stage so completely as Satis Chandra. Towards the end of the year 1908 he, however, resigned his post, largely on grounds of ill health. For the next five years, his main preoccupation was with the editorial work in connection with the *Dawn* which ran on till November 1913, after which date its publication was suspended. Here ends the second phase of his life.

3. *Ibid*, Pp. 214-250.

Third Phase (1914-1948)

Satis Mukherjee, the hero of the
Revolution of 1905, went into relative
at Benares in 1914, spending his time in
and spiritual *sadhana*, and drawing to
galaxy of distinguished scholars including
Mohan Malaviya, Jadunath Sarkar, Bhagw
Shivaprasad Gupta, Gopinath Kaviraj, J
Banerjee and J. B. Kripalani. Acharya K
was at that time a Professor of History
newly founded Benares Hindu University,
was specially attracted to Satischandra
whom he "picked up an intimacy" before
It was Kripalani who really prepared the
for the meeting of the two great leaders.
be noted in passing that Kripalani was
intimate touch with Satischandra's inner
including Krishnadas, the latter's disciple.

Satis Chandra's Meeting with the Maha

It was in the year 1921 or sometime
that Satischandra saw Gandhiji for the first
Gandhiji was then out on a lecture-tour all
India in his historic campaign for N
operation. In course of his tour he came
Benares where he delivered a lecture at the
Vidyapitha at Vadaini, and Satischandra,
bidding of his Gurudeva that very morning,
been to that meeting along with Krishnadas
have a *darshan* of the Mahatma. As he himself
relates, he went on seeing and hearing
Mahatma as if he were in a "trance"
returned home "in a spirit of extreme reverence

Shortly after that Satischandra saw
Mahatma for the second time. That day
received his Gurudeva's *adesha* to offer to
Mahatma a sum of Rupees one hundred only
his personal use and not for any other purpose
Under spiritual command from high on
chandra called at the residence of the Maha
saw him, handed over to him through Maha
Desai, Mahatma's private secretary, the sum
amount brought for the purpose, and left
place. The Mahatma accepted the money
his own hand and thereafter directed Desai
meet Satischandra at his residence and enquire
him if there was any "history" behind that gift
Acharya Kripalani took Desai to the house of
Satischandra.

The principal tie connecting Satischandra with Gandhi was spiritual, not political.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...andra in his youth had once learnt from his ...ritual master Sri Sri Vijaykrishna Goswami ...efore the latter left his mortal frame in 1899, ...t India's Independence would be achieved by ...-violent methods. Although a political extre... ...e and passionate advocate of the method of ...ive Resistance during the strenuous Swadeshi ...od (1905-1911) as well as a close collaborator ...Aurobindo Ghosh on that count, yet in his ...t of hearts he had an instinctive abhorrence ...active violence or armed terror resorted to by ...band of political workers at that time. In the ...deshi days, in the heyday of his politics, he ...ntiously eschewed the path of violence and ...saw in the Mahatma the messiah of the ...age.

Satis Chandra's Offer of Krishnadas to Gandhiji

Himself keeping aloof from active politics, ...schandra contributed to Gandhiji's cause of ...-violent Non-co-operation in a number of ...ys. Besides helping Kripalani in the organisa... ...of the Gandhi Asram at Benares, Satischandra ...e a gift of his whole library containing many ...ious volumes to Kripalani who was then the ...ector of the Asram. Satischandra also made ...gift of his devoted disciple, Krishnadas, to the ...rsonal service of Mahatma Gandhi through the ...rumentality of Kripalani. Kripalani was full ...admiration for Krishnadas for his sterling ...ities of head and heart. Krishnadas' articles ...lished in the editorial columns of the ...*dependent* by way of replies to Chintamani's ...k on non-violence had also drawn the admir... ...notice of Kripalani to the columnist.

In 1921, when Gandhiji in course of his ...re tour through the country was proceeding ...m Allahabad to Patna via Sasaram, he was ...mpanied in his mission by Kripalani who ...n took Krishnadas with him. They reached ...sram at about sun-set and a meeting was due ...be held there at ten O'clock that very night. ...learn from Krishnadas that immediately after ...arrival Gandhiji set himself to work and was ...en found holding discussions with Kripalani on ...portant matters. The discussions revealed that ...dhiji felt much concern over his *Young India* ...Mahadev Desai had been drawn by Motilal ...ru to serve the *Independent*. Krishnadas ...tes in his *Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi*: "Seeing him intent on work, I left the room for the verandah outside. Returning shortly after, I found him gently discussing something with Kripalaniji. The moment Kripalaniji saw me, he broke out,—'Is there any dearth of men ? Here's Krishnadas, for instance, who, if you could but persuade him, might very well manage your work.....After a brief exchange of words with the Professor, and without questioning me at all, Mahatmaji came to the decision to send me out to Ahmedabad as assistant editor to *Young India*." Embarrassed by the delicacy of the situation and considering himself to be unfit to shoulder the great responsibility likely to be thrust on him, Krishnadas humbly pleaded his inability to Mahatmaji and also told the latter that his old teacher at Benares would be put into difficulty if he was away for long. This was followed by the Mahatmaji's suggestion that he should write to Satischandra and "get his views." While starting for the public meeting Gandhiji left instruction with Kripalani that Krishnadas also should attend the meeting.

The next morning Krishnadas begged leave of the Mahatma to go to Benares in order to obtain his teacher's permission. Instantly Gandhiji sent through Krishnadas three questions to Satischandra and wanted to know his views on them : first, whether in his view Krishnadas was fit for selection for the service demanded of him ; secondly, whether his teacher would give him the permission ; and thirdly, whether he would also bless him to bear the burden thrust on him. Gandhiji even expressed his eagerness to send a letter to Satischandra which, Krishnadas told him, was not necessary. Besides this, Gandhiji also asked Krishnadas to write out a report of his Sasaram speech delivered last night. Needless to say, Satischandra unhesitatingly gave Krishnadas the necessary permission and handed him over to Gandhiji with his blessings. Krishnadas served as the Private Secretary to Mahatma Gandhi during the years 1921-28 which synchronised with the most creative period of Gandhiji's leadership in India.

Immediately after obtaining Satischandra's gracious permission Krishnadas left for Patna to meet the Mahatma at the Sadaquat Asram there. His report on Gandhiji's Sasaram speech, which Gandhiji had asked him to prepare just to test his literary worth and intellectual acumen, was much

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

appreciated by the Mahatma who later got it published in *Young India* under the caption "*An Ideal Report*".

From August 1921 to March 1922 Krishnadas accompanied Gandhiji in his historic tours all over the country. Gandhiji's impact on India at that time was the most tremendous conceivable. His impassioned lectures and his magnetic personality made the dry bones of Hindusthan instinct with life. Krishnadas used to write regular letters to his teacher at Benares describing the important events connected with Gandhiji's lecture-tour from place to place. Satischandra preserved these letters from his disciple with the greatest care and later on inspired and helped Krishnadas to bring out in two volumes his memorable book entitled *Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi* (Vol. I, 1924 and Vol. II, 1927). The work may be appraised as a contribution to the source material of a very important phase of India's Freedom Movement. In the issue of *Young India* dated December 26, 1929 we find Gandhiji commenting on the value of this work in the following words: "I have gone through them. And the facts appear to me to be correctly set forth and exhaustively dealt with. The volumes are the only narrative we have of these seven months with which Krishnadas deals". It may be noted in this connection that in 1951 an abridged edition of this work was also published under the editorship of Richard B. Gregg of Boston, U.S.A.

Satis Chandra in Charge of "Young India"

On March 10, 1922 Gandhiji, just at the moment he had called off his mass civil disobedience after the violent outbreaks of Chauri Chaura, was arrested and imprisoned at the Sabarmati station. Two days afterwards he sent a message to Krishnadas, asking him to remain in complete charge of the office of *Young India*, and expressed his desire that "unless it is too much for you all articles must finally pass through your hands". Gandhiji also proposed the names of Satis Babu, Rajagopalachari, Swaib Kaka, Debdas and Krishnadas from amongst whom the editor should be chosen. He also said: "It would be better now if Satis Babu gave you the permission to sign articles." This comment requires some elucidation.

Satis Mukherjee was all along against signing of articles meant for publication. Gandhiji was always in favour of putting his nature to whatever he wrote. Satischandra's tention was that the publication of the name (by way of advertisement) was consistent with the spirit of service to Mother, while Gandhiji defended his the ground of owning responsibility. Kri informs us that over this issue the two often held long discussions with none ground. On the 16th March when Kri carried to the gaol his midday meal, informed the latter of his decision to charge of editorship of *Young India* to Qureshi whom he described as a jewel men. He also asked Krishnadas not to the Asram till he returned, and said further if exigencies so happened that *Young India* prosecuted, then they should try to bring "a hand-written issue of *Young India*" the compas of one sheet of foolscap paper.

During this trying period Krish overwhelmed by odds, made a personal to his teacher Satis Mukherjee to come Ahmedabad to help him in the publication the paper. At this request Satischandra over to Ahmedabad and stayed for some at the Sabarmati Asram. During this Satischandra virtually became the de editor of *Young India*, frequently contributing articles to it. But as the strain told badly his health, he left the Asram only after months and came down to Calcutta along his pupil Krishnadas, where he stayed on 1922 to 1927.

During his Calcutta stay, Satischandra to write occasionally articles for the *Servant* edited by Shyamsundar Chakravarty. "Satis Babu records a Sub-editor of that paper, "often wrote leading articles for the *Servant*. I often supplied him paper for writing. He would sit at the Sub-editor's table and go on writing with tremendous speed—his thoughts and expressions came up with lightning speed as it were. We stood looking upon his face that was aglow with the fire of inspiration. His white and beard and dishevelled white hair appeared before me as those of a saint or Rishi of the Vedic age of my imagination." In some of articles meant for the *Servant* Satish Chandra

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ered his criticism on Gandhiji's compromise ...with C. R. Das' Swarajya Party. He also often ...ed to be present and take part in the discus... ...s that took place at the residence of C. R. ...es mainly between Mr. Das and Gandhi. It ...s through Satischandra's instrumentality that ...services of a financial expert like Motilal ...ali (his nephew then working as an officer ...Currency Department) were placed at the ...sal of Gandhiji to keep proper account of ...vast sums that were then subscribed by the ...ple to the cause of the Mahatma. It was ...this period of his Calcutta stay that ...chandra helped Krishnadas in editing and ...ing out his book, *Seven Months with ...ma Gandhi.*

Satis Chandra and Rajendra Prasad

It deserves to be noted in this connection ...some of the best followers of Satis Chandra ...the Dawn Society, turned out later to be some ...the best and most loyal lieutenants of Mahatma ...hi. Rajendra Prasad, one of the most devo... ...followers of Gandhiji was an old student of ...Chandra at the Dawn Society (1902-07) ...he had received his first lessons in patriot... ...and politics. At his request Satis Chandra ...an article in 1929 on "Mahatma Gandhi ...Religion" for the Gandhi Number of the ...h Magazine *Nye Verge* (October-November, ...). The original article written in English ...also published at Rajendra Prasad's initia... ...in the Hindusthan Review (Feb. 1930) as ...as in the *Searchlight* of Patna and the ...ay Bombay Chronicle* in course of the same ...In course of that article he described ...ji as a "colossus" and "as a dynamic ...nality in the realm of action." Speaking ...his religion, the writer observed : "The thing ...distinguishes Gandhi from everybody ...including professors and teachers of religion, ...that he makes no distinction of religion as a ...apart from life. Whence it follows that ...his point of view, the secular and the reli... ...in life must not remain separated and ...distinguished one from another ; but that, ...the contrary, religion must permeate, pervade ...transform life and its varied activities. Thus ...would spiritualise the politics, educa... ...commerce, social life and the economic and industrial activities of a country ; and thus inform each with a high common purpose and make of them a unity expressing itself in a manifold diversity. If, then, the unifying factor of religion be given the go-by and a wall of separation be put up between the secular and the religious in life, then, according to Gandhi, religion is made to abdicate its high position, is relegated to a back seat and ceases to perform its true function, the function for which it exists."

About this time (1930) Satis Chandra stayed for a brief period at the Bihar Vidyapitha, then run by two distinguished Bihari leaders Brajakishore Prasad and Rajendra Prasad. During his stay at this place, Satis Chandra undertook the work of revision of Rajendra Prasad's long article, written on Non-Violence Vs. Violence. But as ill-luck would have it, Rajendra Prasad was soon arrested in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement and the article in the following period of turmoil was not anyhow returned to the writer. Long after this turmoil had subsided, Rajendra Prasad in a letter dated New Delhi, the 5th June, 1947 wrote the following words to Satis Chandra :

"The other day I was in Calcutta just for a few hours and I happened to meet Dev Kumar who showed me the correspondence relating to a manuscript of an essay on Non-Violence which I had written in 1930 when I had the privilege of being with you at my village Zeradai—I had mentioned the matter in my *Atma Katha* but I never imagined that it would be the cause of so much trouble to you, particularly at your age and with your naturally feeble health. I am, therefore, very sorry that you had been put to so much trouble.....I have not yet received the manuscript or its typed copy which Dev Kumar told me had not reached. I would ask you not to worry any more about it and let it come in due course, without taking any particular trouble about it."

In reply to this Satis Chandra affectionately wrote thus to Rajendra Prasad :

"I shall not worry over your manuscript about which I had completely forgotten, until I learnt something about it from Dev Chandra's father, who sent me some extracts from what you had written about it in your *Atma Katha.* Even then, after a lapse of some sixteen or

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

seventeen years, it was hardly possible for me to lay my hands on your manuscript, stowed away among a heap of forgotten things. Most fortunately for me, a friend of mine came to my rescue ; and it was he, and not I myself, who discovered it for me. Only one page of the manuscript, however, is missing. Looking through it I found that I had done my work very carefully indeed, although I don't know whether you will be in a position to accept my views such as they are, which I had jotted down towards the close of your manuscript."

These letters, more than anything else, reveal the intimacy of the relation that existed throughout between Satis Chandra and his distinguished disciple.

Gandhiji's Correspondence with Satis Chandra

With Mahatma Gandhi Satischandra's relation was the most cordial conceivable till their deaths in 1948. Even during his stay at Noakhali in the disturbed years of 1946-1947, Gandhiji kept up his contact with Satis Chandra. On the 9th December, 1946, Gandhiji wrote from Noakhali to Satis Chandra the following letter :

"Dear Satis Babu,

"Did Krishnadas tell you about the very silly mistake I made viz., that you had gone to your rest ? How I came to have that impression I cannot make out except for the fact that I had not heard from you for a long time. You can therefore imagine my joy when he told me that you were very much alive, were able to have regular walks and were able to give instruction to true seekers as usual. I would love to think that you will finish your full span of 125 years which I may not do for want of the equanimity prescribed in the concluding verses of the Gita our Kamdhenu. I am trying hard to reach that state. Do please write to me when you have the time."

To this Satischandra sent the following reply from Benares on the 24th January, 1947 :

"Revered Bapuji,

It ill becomes me to trouble you now, when you are immersed in the work of tackling and solving, if possible, an all-India problem, with an expression of my detailed views on the subject-matter of your letter, dated Srirampur, Noakhali 9. 12. 46. Nevertheless I pro... write to you in outline about my ... longevity can be prolonged indefinitely, ... the utterance of Ram Nam (the Lord's ... becomes with the Sadhak, not an act of ... will or choice, but gets to be an ... inward process, springing from within ... pressing itself outwardly, consciously ... consciously. This in my view is only ... when the utterance of the Lord's name gets ... on to, or better becomes a part of, the ... breathing movement.

Therefore, my second point is ... Lord's Name or Ram Nam is no mere ... sound emitted by the Sadhak but is ... form of spiritual or Divine Energy.

My third point is that when the ... of Ram Nam gets to be intimately ... with the breathing movement of the ... is bound to react on the whole of the ... external system, including the mental ... scripturally known as the Linga-Sariram, Sukshma-Sariram.

My fourth point is that when the ... or Chit energy of the Divine thus reacts ... the whole apparatus Sthul (gross) & ... (fine) gets to be impregnated with the ... or Chit energy derived from or inhering in ... Nam. Therefore when that happens, what ... us at present material (whether of the ... or the finer variety) becomes so energised ... the Chit or Spiritual energy (which is ... essence of Ram Nam), that the laws of ... manifesting themselves in material disintegration and decay, become, for the time being, suspended, so to say. As the result of such suspension the Sadhak could go on subsisting on the ... plane as an objective entity immune from ... operation of forces which tend towards ... integration and decay.

Lastly and fifthly, at this stage, equanimity, a term which you have used, cannot be ... mental, *i.e.*, born of the control of the ... stuff. Then it comes to be a function of the Sadhak's soul life and may therefore be ... soul born. At this stage, the equanimity question comes to be natural, deep ... spontaneous.

The above point may be clearer by ... that the type of equanimity which comes ... born of the process of the utterance of Ram ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...with every exhalation and inhalation of ...Sadhak's breath, far transcends in its very ...ture the kind of equanimity of which we can ...present conceive. The reason for it, as already ...ted out, is that the type of equanimity in ...ction is no longer mind-born, but is essen... an offspring of soul life or spirituality. ...higher type of equanimity is scripturally ...wn as 'Shanti'. Of this type of 'Shanti' there ...higher and higher grades, of which the Gita ...ks, i.e. Gita IV. 39—(Para Shanti) & ... 12—(Naisthiki Shanti).

* * *

I had already written out for you another ...er immediately on receipt of your autograph ...er. But the presence here of a certain gentle... from Chittagong, who is leaving Benares ...n for his home and who has promised to ...e this letter of mine in your hands, makes ...eager to jot down my present thoughts, ...erever crudely or indifferently, so that I may ...lose the advantage of the gentleman's offered ...rvices.

12.46. Affy. Satis Mukherji

S.—The foregoing letter could not be delivered ...the gentleman in question, as for some reason ...other of which I am ignorant, he had thought ...to leave Benares all on a sudden, and so this ...er is still with me, of which a copy now is ...ng sent to yourself.

...1.47. S.C.M."

Mahatma Gandhi by way of acknowledging ...ipt of the above letter, wrote on the 1st ...ruary 1947 the following letter to Satis... Mukherjee :

...ar Satis Babu,

Your lovely letter. I endorse all your pro...sitions though probably I would put them differently and comprise them into one. But that does not diminish the value of the propositions. Alas I am far as yet from that state. At the same time I am hastening towards it. If I attain that state or even come near enough to it (and probably that is all that a human being can reach) this problem of Noakhali will be easily solved. Let us see what happens.

Please do not hesitate to write to me or dictate a letter for me, whenever you feel like telling me something. Know that your messages will never be a strain on me.....

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi Bapu"

Although spiritually affiliated to Gandhiji's philosophy of non-violence, Satis Chandra could not, however, see eye to eye with the Mahatma on all issues of contemporary politics. Notwithstanding his great reverence for the Mahatma, he made no secret of his questioning attitude towards the efficacy of the Mahatma's non-violent technique for the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem. He considered Gandhiji's whole approach to this burning question to be devoid of "practicability" if not of "logicality". This view of Satis Chandra was set forth in detail in one of his letters to Sri Sitikantha Jha of the Bihar Khadi Samiti, written in Bengali in 1947. But in spite of such differences of views, Satis Chandra cherished throughout life deepest love and regard for the Mahatma in whose outward activities he saw the workings of the Divine.[4]

---

4. For much of the material incorporated in this paper we are indebted to Sri Prabhat Chandra Dawn and Rama Prasad Dawn as well as to Sri Sitikantha Jha and Krishnadas Singha Roy better known as Krishnadas.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE GADAR MOVEMENT AND THE HAND OF GERMANY*

KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE

WE may now pass on to a discussion of the methods and strategy by which the revolutionaries hoped to achieve their objective. The story, in all its aspects, is not easy of construction. It is possible, to some extent, to relate the activities of the Indian revolutionaries in the United States to those of their compatriots in Germany, with the Germans and some Americans, very naturally, playing important roles. At certain points the links with the revolutionists in India are unmistakable and close. Then there are the attempts made to further the anti-British cause in and from Afghanistan, Egypt and Turkey and efforts to foment insurrection in India from Siam and Burma and Singapore. It is no easy task to bring the stories of all these splinter actions within the framework of a central theme. There was perhaps, some sort of a loose central direction, at least for some time. If one reads the testimony of the witnesses in the conspiracy trials in India, the United States and elsewhere, or, reads the depositions made by the arrested persons to responsible officials, one is really struck by the wide ramifications of the conspiracy and its international character. John W. Preston in his opening address analyses the objective of the conspiracy and emphasizes its worldwide nature. He goes to the length of saying that the conspiracy "permeated and encircled the entire globe." Discussing some of its specific aims, the prosecution lawyer suggests that in the East the proposition was to seize the Suez Canal and reach the west border of India through Persia and Afghanistan, and "..... so far as we are concerned," he said, "they (the conspirators) were to go in from San Francisco and use Manila and China and Japan—and Siam, in here,—as the intermediate base for the purpose of attacking India through Burma, and also on the coast of Bengal, particularly around Calcutta. [illegible] context of the deepening international crisis relationship between the fighters for Indian [illegible] pendence and the German Government naturally getting closer. The Indian revolutionaries in the United States and their counterparts in Germany, would, by the very nature of things, to act in consultation. Two circumstances came to their aid. First, the growing animosity between England and Germany; secondly, the [illegible] ed isolation and neutrality of the United States in the event of a war between the other two Powers. Much of the planning and strategy of the Indian revolutionists working in different parts of the world and of their German helpers was based on these assumptions. Both before and during the war this was discussed in various quarters. In August 1915 the French Police reported a general belief in Indian revolutionary circles in Berlin of the likelihood of a rebellion breaking out in India within a short time. It was expected that Germany would give adequate support to the movement.[2] F. Von Bernhardi, one time Chief of the German army, referred to the possibility of revolutions breaking out in India and Egypt if England's forces were long occupied with a European war.[3] In another context Bernhardi more specifically said, "England, so far as in accordance with the principle of divide et impera has attempted to play off the Mohammedans against the Hindu population. But now that a pronounced revolutionary and nationalist tendency shows itself amongst these latter, the danger is imminent that Pan-Islamism, thoroughly roused, should unite with the revolutionary elements of Bengal. The co-operation of these elements might create a very grave danger, capable of shaking the foundations of England's [illegible]

*The last instalment on the Gadar Movement entitled Hardayal and Ramchandra, was published in the May issue of the *Modern Review*.

1. *Trial Records*, p. 17.
2. *Sedition Committee Report* (1918) [illegible] 120.
3. F. Von Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War*, p. 150.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...position in the world."[4] Ominous references were also made in an article published early in March 1914, in the *Berliner Tageblatt* under the title "England's Indian Trouble" in which there was a reference to the fact that secret societies in India received help from outside.[5]

As has been stated earlier, nearly six months before the outbreak of the war the Indian leaders on the Pacific coast of America were talking of the impending war between England and Germany and exhorting their countrymen to get ready to fight the battles of freedom. This idea and programme were popularized, along with the anti-British propaganda, through the columns of the Hindustan Gadar. This was corroborated by Preston when rather early during the San Francisco trial, in reply to a question from McGowan, a defense lawyer, he said, "we have six or eight of these papers that make similar references to the forthcoming trouble between England and Germany."[6]

That the Indian revolutionists, at home and abroad, and also some foreign nationals were becoming more and more involved in a common enterprise against the background of a worsening international situation is clear from the findings of the Sedition Committee Report. Early in 1915 some Bengali revolutionaries decided to organize and put the entire business of raising a rebellion in India with the help of the Germans upon a proper footing. Among other things, they decided to work in cooperation with the revolutionaries in Siam and other places, to get in touch with the Germans, and to raise funds by dacities. Bholanath Chatterji had already been sent to Bangkok to get in touch with the conspirators there. It may be presumed that Jitendra Nath Lahiri had undertaken his visit to Europe to establish firsthand contacts with fellow revolutionists and the German helpers.[7] This is borne out by M.N. Roy whom we quote below. "By the end of 1914, the news reached us in Berlin that the Indian Revolutionary Committee had obtained from the German Government the promise of arms and money..... A messenger went to Berlin, with the proposal that the Germans should deliver the arms to us in a neutral country nearest to India. We chose the Dutch East Indies, and before the end of 1914 I left for Java—my first trip out of the country." Roy returned within two months with some money but no arms. He left India on a similar mission early next year but did not return home until some sixteen years later.[8]

In Germany there was already in existence a hard core of Indian revolutionists before the war had actually started. Har Dayal had left California for Switzerland in March 1914 and Roy lived on the campus of the Stanford University near San Francisco, and then in New York for some time. He was one of the many Indian revolutionists rounded up by the police immediately after the U.S.A's entry into the war but fled to Mexico. In the San Francisco trial frequent references were made to him. He subsequently joined his compatriots in Berlin. A few more were to join them from the United States. Others would be sent out on special missions to Berlin. As the story develops we shall see Indian conspirators in the United States being sent for by the Berlin group for consultations and instructions. M. N. Roy who was led by the circumstances away from the main current of the Indo-German Conspiracy was, at one stage, advised by the German Ambassador in China to contact the 'High Command,' i.e., the Teutonic war lords in Berlin.[9]

We are told that a young Tamilian, Champakraman Pillai, established in Berlin in October 1914 the Indian National Party. The organization was attached to the German General Staff and included among its members were Har Dayal, Taraknath Das, Barkatulla, Chandra K. Chakravarti and Heramba Lal Gupta.[10] From the judgment given in the Third Lahore Conspiracy case by the Punjab Tribunal we learn that the German Consul-general in New York was forwarding Indian revolutionaries to Germany to help in such ways as they could. According to the evidence of a witness in this case who reached Berlin in March 1915, there was an Indian Revolutionary Society in Berlin. The aim of the Society was to establish a Republic in

4. *Ibid.* p. 94.
5. *Sedition Committee Report*, p. 119.
6. *Trial Records*, p. 15.
7. Sedition Committee Report, p. 121.
8. M. N. Roy's *Memoirs*, Pp. 3-4.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
10. *Sedition Committee Report*, p. 119.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

India. It held frequent meetings, "attended by Turks, Egyptians, German officials, German ex-Professors and missionaries . . . . Har Dayal and Chattopadhyay were in daily communication with the German Foreign Office. To carry out the revolution in India, there was an Oriental Bureau for translating and disseminating inflammatory literature to the Indian prisoners of war in Germany." The witness was sent back to America where the German Consul put him in communication with Gupta and one, Wehde, "whose particular mission was to convey 20,000 dollars of German money to the revolutionaries in India." He also met other Germans.[11]

M. N. Roy describes Virendranath Chattopadhyay, a brother of Sarojini Naidu, as the live-wire of the Indian group in Berlin. Like Har Dayal, Chattopadhyay and Bhupendranath Dutta had political antecedents and were known to the revolutionaries in India. The Indian revolutionists in Berlin seem to have acquired "in Berlin the status of the representatives of a belligerent power, so as to enlist the support of the German Government for India's struggle against British Imperialism. It seemed that the Committee proposed to function as a provisional government in exile, and believed that it was recognised as such by the German Government."[12] This was the situation, at least, in the early phase of the movement. It may not be out of place here to mention that there has been no mention of any document or evidence which goes to suggest that the Indian revolutionists were trying to substitute British rule over India by the German. It is very likely that the Germans were viewing the entire scheme of Indo-German conspiracy in the perspective of an all-out war with England. Their primary concern was to foment unrest in India and thereby keep the British Government and the army busy and harried. Their objective was in the nature of things, limited. At the same time, it should be remembered, that no one at any stage of the conspiracy movement suggested that there was any secret deal between the leaders of the Indian group and the German Foreign Office. The aim of the Indian Revolutionary Society in Berlin was, as indicated before, to set up a Republic of India. The San Francisco Gadar literature did not even imply at any that German rule was preferable to British According to Bhupendranath Dutta who important role in the conspiracy movement of the Indian revolutionaries in Germany to approach the German Government national financial loan which was to be on India's securing freedom.[13] This finds echo in the reply of Dr. C. K. Chakra Berlin's nominee in America during the ing phase of the Indo-German conspiracy questions put to him in the course of the Francisco trial.[14]

The independent position of the Indian volutionaries in the initial stage with respect their relationship with the German aiders is borne out by John W. Preston's observations the occasion of his opening address at the Francisco trial. Preston says that Von Brin of Germany "immediately called together Hindus, or at least, the more prominent and asked them for their assistance, or at their co-operation with them in their work; met this man Taraknath Das among the first men in the proposition, and also chandra. The proposition then was not to send men back to India, but to dispatch to Germany."[15] In another place the prosecuting attorney makes it clear that "the moment war was declared between England and Ger

11. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
12. M. N. Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 286.
13. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, vol. 2, p. 405. Majumdar quotes extensively from Bhupendranath Dutta's *Aprakasita Rajnaitik Itihas* (in Bengali)—2 vols.
14. Earl E. Sperry, *German Plots and Intrigues in the United States during the period of Our Neutrality*, Red, White and Blue Series No. 10, Edition of July, 1918. Issued by the Committee on Public Information, p. 424.
Q. Have you received any money from Wolf V. Igel? A. Yes, through Dr. Sekund
Q. How much have you received? A. About $60,000. . . .
In a supplemental statement on the next day, Dr. Chakravarty was asked: Do you know whether this $60,000 which you received from Von Igel was furnished by the German Government? A. It was loaned to the Indian Nationalist Party, and the Indian Nationalist Party transmitted the money. Q. And the loan was made by the German Government? A. Yes.
15. *Trial records*, p. 16.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the consuls of at least 12 or 15 different places were ready, able, willing, and anxious, and actually at the work of assisting the Indian revolution."[16]

A reference to the Berlin India Society has already been made. It may be reasonably concluded that the need was felt for a co-ordinating organization that would co-ordinate the activities of the revolutionaries in different areas, formulate plans and exercise some supervisory control over the movement as a whole. With the increasingly important role of Germany as the most effective paymaster, the organization had to be in close touch with the German Foreign Office. Thus came into being the Berlin India Committee. The first Committee consisted of Har Dayal, Chattopadhyay, Barkatulla, Dr. Hafiz, Bhupendranath Dutta, Champakraman Pillai and Abdhakar,[17] Virendranath Chattopadhyay regarded as "the most active of the Hindu revolutionaries in Europe,"[18] was the President of the Committee. It is significant that there was no German on the Committee. This goes to support our view that the Indian revolutionary group enjoyed a considerable amount of freedom and was treated, at least at this stage, by the Germans with respect and deference.

The precise nature of the work of the Indian revolutionaries in Berlin is difficult to ascertain. It is reasonable to conclude, however, that after the conspiracy movement had got started, the Indian group in Berlin, since it was right on the spot, had a share in formulating policies. But much depended on the response and the ability of the California Indians. The execution of a plan was largely in their hands. Their own funds were being supplemented by German finance. They were many times stronger in man power. More important than these, perhaps, was the fact that they could exploit the neutrality of the United States for the furtherance of their cause. Much depended on the ability of the group working in America, the effectiveness of their propaganda and organization, and the strength of the links they might be able to forge with the Indian revolutionists elsewhere and at home. Secrecy, timing, the capacity to deliver the goods, the readiness of the revolutionists in India to strike at the right moment—all these were necessary for the success of the ambitious movement.

The Sedition Committee Report and the records of the conspiracy trials in India have much more to say about the revolutionary preparations in America than in Germany. The reasons are obvious. England was at war with Germany. Even before the outbreak of the war the relations between the two were far from cordial. The United States was not only neutral till the beginning of April 1917, but was pliable to British suggestions as has been maintained by some and indicated by us before. The following account[19] may be found interesting. As soon as the war broke out Bhupendranath Dutta and a few other Indian revolutionaries in the United States made a proposal to the German Ambassador to that country suggesting that a Volunteer Force of Indian soldiers with an ambulance corps be organized. The proposers felt that this would show their enmity towards the British and friendship for the Germans, thus countering the English claim to and publicity of India's loyalty. The Ambassador reacted favourably and communicated the proposal to Berlin. He agreed to bear the expenses and make transportation arrangements. The sponsors of the move then wrote to Ramchandra at San Francisco requesting him to recruit volunteer soldiers. Ramchandra

16. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
18. *San Francisco Examiner*, November 23, 1917, 1:1.

M. N. Roy's *Memoirs* have a brief section on Indian Revolutionary Committee in Berlin (p. 39). He gives us the following information: Chattopadhyay, as a student in England, was a member of the terrorist group to which Sarkar belonged. After the assassination of Sir William Wylie he found asylum in France, and then on the outbreak of the war, moved to Berlin. He and a few Indians studying in Germany formed the Indian Revolutionary Committee. The Central Committee had as its President Mohammad Mansoor who was a Government of India scholar. Because of the alliance with Turkey, the Germans were inclined to give prominence to Muslims in their relation with India. Eventually he was pushed to the background.

19. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, Pp. 404-409. Majumdar gives a summary of a "fairly comprehensive account given by Bhupendranath Dutta in his *Aprakasita Rajnaitik Itihas* (in Bengali).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

turned down the proposal, for he thought that the soldiers should rather be sent to India.[20]

Sometime after this, a few Indian revolutionaries in Germany decided to approach the German Government with some proposals. First, they asked for a national loan from the German Government which would be repaid on India's achieving independence. Secondly, they sought arms and German assistance to Indian revolutionaries working in different countries. They also urged the declaration of a *jihad* by the Sultan of Turkey against the allies as an encouragement for the Indian Muslims fighting against the British. A meeting between Virendra Chattopadhyay and Baron Von Wertheim of the German Foreign Office was arranged. Chattopadhyay then had a meeting with Baron Oppenheim. The whole thing took shape early in September 1914, and a committee—the German Union of Friendly India—was formed. Herr Albercht, President of the Hamburgh American Steamer Co. was elected President with Baron Oppenheim and Sukhankar as Vice Presidents, and Dhiren Sarkar as Secretary. There were seventeen other Indian members on the committee. When Sukhankar left for India Chattopadhyay succeeded him as Vice President. Sarkar was sent to America and Dr. Mueller took his place. The Committee arranged to train people in the manufacture of explosives in a camp at Spandau near Berlin and to familiarize them with modern weapons. Besides, some members were taken to the prisoners' camp to carry on anti-British propaganda. The problem of conveying weapons to the Indian coast was discussed with the officers.

Other specific items of work undertaken the German Union of Friendly India in the dispatch of some Indian revolutionaries to India and the bringing in of some from United States and elsewhere to Berlin. Arrangements were also made with the California Party to carry on the revolutionary work in The old Committee was thoroughly reorganized the middle of 1915. It was given an exclusive Indian complexion and came to be called Indian Independence Committee. At first Mansur was elected President.[21] Later, office was abolished and the Committee functioned collectively. The 'indianization' of the Committee was not without significance. The Committee tried to organize the revolutionaries in India abroad and formulate a common plan of action. Agents were sent to several of the eastern countries with this end in view. There was talk of sending ships with arms and German military personnel to India. But the plans were not implemented. Some Indian revolutionaries who arrested turned approvers. Subsequently, the Committee despaired of a rebellion in India and from after 1917 became more interested in propaganda work "so that India's case might be considered at the time of the Peace Treaty."

20. The Gadar Party was already committed to the programme of sending fighters back to India, and arrangements to this end had already started.

21. This is corroborated by M. N. Roy although he calls the Committee by a slightly different name.

According to Preston, Chattopadhyay "was the President of it, I think." Preston calls it the Berlin India Committee. This must be the same as the Indian Independence Committee. *Records*, Pp. 16-17.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AFGHAN NATION AND IT'S BOUNDARIES WITH SOVIET UNION

By S. C. BAJPAI

The Russo-Afghan boundary is the ...ect product of Anglo-Russian rivalry for ...e sphere of influence in that country in ...e nineteenth century. Afghanistan has ...en subject to cruel treatment by the ...rers of Persia, Britain and Russia in ...dern times. During the sixteenth and ...eventeenth centuries Afghanistan was a ...e of contention between the Saffivids of ...ersia and the Mughals of India. The ...eath of Abbas III, Emperor of Persia, in ...gave opportunity to local chiefs to ...e wars against each other. The death ...Aurangzeb, Emperor of India, in 1707 ...not only made loose the provinces of India, ...the out-lying principalities became ...fectly independent. Peter the Great, ...r of Russia (1682-1725), took advantage ...those chaotic conditions and captured all ...ersian possessions on the Caspian Sea. ...Turkey was the other contender in the ...alls of the Persian Empire. To avoid war ...tween Russia and Turkey, the Tsar Peter ...rtitioned the Persian Empire between ...ussia and Turkey.

The Birth and Consolidation of Afghanistan

With the death of Abbas III, the last of ...e Saffivid rulers of Persia in 1736, the ...asty ceased to exist, and an adventurer ...dir Kuli Khan ascended the throne with ...e title of Nadir Shah. He not only re-...vered the provinces conquered by the ...ussians and the Turks, but reduced Sindh, ...andahar, Kabul, Balkh and the whole ...untry between the Oxus river and the ...spian Sea, carried his arms to Delhi, gave ...e capital of the Mughals over to plunder ...d massacre. Nadir Shah was murdered in ...747. On the ruins of the Persian Empire, ...e foundation of the modern Kingdom of ...Afghanistan was laid by Ahmad Shah ...Abdali in 1747.

So long Ahmad Shah Abdali and his successors Tumir Shah and Zaman Shah (1793-1801) kept the authority at Kabul intact with good intentions; England was less concerned with the affairs in that region. Apprehensions of Afghans and the rise of Napoleon the Great, with his designs on Egypt and India, made the British conscious of the realities. On the advice of Marquis of Wellesly, Governor-General of India (1798-1805), Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, sent a merchant from Bushire to the Court of Mir Fateh Ali Khan, the Amir of Sindh in 1799 in order "....to set the stage for the restoration of amicable relations between Sindh and British India."[1] On the results of this mission Nathan Crow was sent to the Court of Sindh as Company's agent in 1800. Though the French army had been defeated outside Acre, and the fleet had been destroyed by Nelson, diplomatic and defensive efforts of the Company continued. In 1808, Mountstuart Elphinstone went to the Court of Kabul, for the purpose of concerting with Shah Shuja the means of mutual defence against the threatened invasion of Afghanistan and India by the French in confederacy with the Persians. A treaty concluded by Elphinstone with the ruler of Kabul on 17 June 1809 provided, among other things, British aid to Shah Shuja in the event of an attack by the French and the Persians. Meanwhile Captain John Malcolm went to Persia to negotiate a political and commercial alliance in 1799. A treaty concluded by Malcolm with Fateh Ali Shah of Persia on January 1801

---

1. Robert A. Huttenback, **British Relations with Sind 1799-1843** (California, 1962) 2.

2. C.U. Aitchison, **Treaties, Engagements and Sanads,** Vol. XIII (Fifth Edition, Calcutta, 1933) 45-9.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

provided that the Shah of Persia will lay waste the country of the Afghans in case they invade India and will prevent the French from settling or residing in Persia. British Government agreed to assist the Shah with military stores in the event of war between the Afghans or the French and Persia.[2] Thus a barrier into the invasion of India by France or Russia was laid and the influence of the British increased in the Courts of Persia and Afghanistan.

Russian policy in the Near and Middle East up to the end of eighteenth century was of winning over the ruling families by offering them the equivalent of their titles in Russia, and by giving them important military and administrative posts within the Russian Empire. With the dawn of the nineteenth century, this policy became more acute and aggressive. The first three decades of the nineteenth century had witnessed a war between Russia and Persia. On June 30, 1807, near the Kans at the battle of Arpatch, the Russians and the Persians fought a war resulting in the defeat of the latter. English came to the aid of Persia, not with arms but with sterling, resulting in another war in 1812, when Persian army commanded by two British officers, Christie and Lindsay, attacked the Russians at a most inopportune moment, as it coincided with the advance of Napoleon's Grand Army on Moscow. Abbas Mirza, after being defeated by the Russians asked for peace. A peace treaty was signed in Gulistan in 1813 by which Persia gave up all rights to the territories occupied by Russia in Transcaucasia.[3] The execution of the treaty again created difficulties and another war between them was fought in 1828 which ended in the treaty of Turkmanchai by which Persia lost further territories in the north and north-west.[4] By this treaty Russia gained ascendancy in Persia, which she later employed to encourage the claims of the Shah to sovereignty over Herat and western Afghanistan. Thus a stage of fire [illegible] Russian rivalry was set in the Middle East.

Anglo-Russian rivalry for the [illegible] of influence, territorial greed of Pe[illegible] recovery of Peshawar from Ranji[illegible] to Afghans, were some of the main [illegible] factors in the precipitation of [illegible] Anglo-Afghan war.[5] Consequently [illegible] British learnt the appearance of C[illegible] Vitkovich with instructions from [illegible] Simonich, the Russian Minister in P[illegible] in Kabul, the preparations for the [illegible] mission to that country were made [illegible] Auckland who took over the Indian [illegible] ernment from benevolent Bentick [illegible] month of March 1836, sent Captain A[illegible] der Burnes to Kabul in September 19[illegible] a commercial mission. Amir Dost M[illegible] mad could obtain no assurances fr[illegible] envoy in his designs of the restora[illegible] Peshawar, and he therefore turned [illegible] Russians, from whom he hoped to [illegible] greater advantages. Burnes left Ka[illegible] 26 April, 1838, leaving the field [illegible] Russian adversary.[6] In view of this [illegible] of Dost Muhammad towards Russia, A[illegible] land issued a manifesto on 1 October [illegible] accusing the Amir of a "sudden and [illegible] provoked attack upon the troops of [illegible] ancient ally Ranjit Singh," and setting [illegible] the reasons of the assemblage of t[illegible] beyond the Indus. The decision to g[illegible] of Dost Muhammad in favour of Shah S[illegible] was taken and the British army re[illegible] Kabul. Dost Muhammad surrendered [illegible] throne in favour of his son, but the Bri[illegible] force was driven out of Kabul in [illegible] winter. In a dreadful retreat across [illegible] mountains it was cut to pieces, and D[illegible] Muhammad got back his throne. Simu[illegible] neously a Russian expedition to K[illegible] failed due to unusually severe winter [illegible] was obliged to retrace its steps to Oren[illegible] the place of its origin, with heavy los[illegible] life.[7] Incidentally, the mountain [illegible] between latitudes 32°, 42° and long[illegible]

3. Arnold T. Wilson, **The Persian Gulf** (London, 1954) 256.

4. A. Lobanov-Rostovsky (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1951) 110.

5. Gleig, G. R., **Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan** (London, 1861) 22-33.

6. J. W. Kaye, **History of the War in Afghanistan,** Vol. 1 (London, 1851) 198.

7. Rostovsky, n. 4, 101.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

60's failed miserably. Russia failed at Britain at Kabul, Zorawar Singh Mount Kailash. In Central Asia both ssian and English reconciled for the being, only to begin a fresh flare up in sixties of the nineteenth century.

The Amu Darya Boundary

The Crimean War had sealed Europe Russian expansion with the result that began to expand in Asia. The situa- of Afghanistan, because of her uncer- boundaries, became extremely delicate Russia took Samarkand in 1867. The started negotiations with Russia ning the frontier question in Septem- 1857 and recommended the recognition me territory as neutral between the ssions of Britain and Russia "which d be the limit of those possessions and pulously respected by both powers." dea was favourably considered by the of Russia but the Government of rejected the idea in favour of a defi- line. Doglus Forstyth held several ences at St. Petersburg in which als and counter proposals were on the table but to no avail. Ulti- , in 1872 the British Government ted to the Russian Government a ent of the territories fully belonging hanistan.

) Badakshan with its dependent dis- of Wakhan from the Sarikul on the the junction of the Kokcha river the Oxus (or Punjah a branch of the forming the northern boundary of fghan province throughout its entire

) The districts of Kunduz, Khulm lkh, the northern boundary of which be the line of the Oxus from the of the Kokcha river to the part of Saleh inclusive, on the high road Bokhara to Balkh. Nothing to be by Afghanistan on the left bank of xus below Khoja Saleh.

(3) The internal districts of Akcha, Sar-i-pul, Maimana, Shibarghan and Andkhui, the latter of which would be the extreme Afghan frontier possession to the north-west, the desert beyond belonging to independent tribes of the Terkomans.

(4) The western Afghan frontier between Herat and the Persian province of Khorasan was well-known and needed no definition.[8]

Russia after some reluctance accepted the British proposals and an agreement was signed in January 1873, known as Clarendon-Gortchakoff agreement of 1872-73. Thus the Oxus boundary between Afghanistan and Russia was defined.

Khoja Saleh—Hari Rud River Boundary

After the Congress of Berlin in 1878 the bitter phase of the Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia begins, which resulted in the second Anglo-Afghan war of 1878-79, the causes of which were similar to that of first Anglo-Afghan war (1839-42).

Russian advance towards northern outpost of Afghanistan from the Caspian Sea became rapid. In 1876, Kokand had been incorporated into the Russian Empire. In 1884, the town of Merv fell to Russia. Britain invited Russia to propose a way of averting the complications that might be caused by her nearer approach towards the border of Afghanistan. In reply Russia suggested the appointment of a joint commission to lay down a boundary between the Oxus and the Hari Rud. In July 1884 Peters Lumden and General Zenoloi were appointed as boundary demarcation Commissioners on the part of England and Russia respectively. Unfortunately Russians did not wait for the arbitration and pressed on towards the Afghan border and advanced to Yulstan on the Murghab and Pul-i-khatum, on the Hari Rud. Before the commissioners could begin their work, Russians advanced towards Panjdeh in February 1885 and ordered Afghans to vacate the place. Refusal resulted in the Panjdeh incident and the place was taken by Russians, while Amir was busy with Lord Dufferin at Rawalpindi. Feelings went wild both

8. William Hubberton, **Anglo-Russian Relations Concerning Afghanistan 1837-1907** (Urbana, 1937) 30.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in England and India and the Imperialists were again at the brink of war. The situation was saved by Amir Abdur Rehman who said in a statement that the loss of Panjdeh was not a thing of consequence to him, provided Russians gave a definite promise that no further advance was intended, and that a fixed line would be drawn to demarcate the boundary. "After a prolonged negotiation an agreement was signed on September 10, 1885 giving Russia a desired frontier line."[9]

After the September agreement a fresh commission was appointed with Sir West Ridgeway from Britain, Colonel Kuhlberg from Russia and Qazi Said-ud-din Khan from Afghanistan. The work of demarcation was resumed in March 1886 and completed up to Dukchi from Zulfikar. The forty miles strip up to Oxus could not be demarcated due to differences on the point at Oxus, where the boundary should meet. Next year in 1887 it was settled by mutual negotiations and the pillars were erected between Zulfikar on Hari Rud river to Khawaja Salar on Oxus river.[10] It passes Zulfikar on Hari Rud, Muruchak on Murghab river below the crossing of Kushak River near Panjdeh and goes to Khamiab on Oxus via Andkhui.

The Pamir Boundary, 1895

The only event of note between the Hari Rud Oxus boundary demarcation and the Pamir boundary demarcation was the formation of Durand line in the South-East of Afghanistan. British encouragement to Chinese for occupation of Pamir failed, and Russians once more wanted to take advantage of this unsettled question of boundary. In the summer of 1892 Colonel Yauoff advanced to the border of Shighnan, and on 24 July came into collision with a detachment of Afghan troops under Shams-u-Din Khan at Somatash, on the eastern end of Yashikul (The Yellow Lake). Once again the cordial relations of the neighbouring countries became strained. The controversy was not terminated till March 1895, when it was agreed that the Cis-Oxus portion of Darwaz should be ceded to Afghanistan by the Khan of Bokhara, on the condition that the Afghans evacuated those portions of Shighnan and Roshan which lie on the right bank of the Panja, a branch of the Oxus. The work of this boundary commission, though difficult, was most satisfactory. A boundary was actually demarcated from Lake Victoria to the Taghdumbash Pamir.[11]

Anglo-Russian Convention of 190[7]

While the process of marking of boundaries in the North West, South and East and South East was on, the boundary with Persia was demarcated in 1891.[12] Afghanistan emerged as a completely land locked country and the buffer between Russian and British Empires. The Anglo-Russian convention of August 1907 made a final effort to solve Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia. As far as Afghanistan was concerned, the British Government disclaimed any intention of altering the political status or of interfering in the administration, or annexing any territory in Afghanistan, and engaged to use her influence in Afghanistan in no manner threatening to Russia. Russia, on her part recognised Afghanistan as outside the sphere of influence.[13]

It is exactly here one has to observe that neither Afghanistan was a party when her fate was decided at Anglo-Russian Convention 1907, nor Tibet was a party when her fate was decided in the Anglo-China Convention in 1906.[14] Neither of the nations consented to the agreement, between Imperialist powers, England and the

9. Rostovsky, n. 4, 180 ; Aitchison, n. 2, 243.

10. Descriptions of Pillars are given in Aitchison's, op. cit., CLXXI.

11. Aitchison, n. 2, 220 and Habberton, n. 8, 67.

12. Aitchison, n. 2, 217, CLXXVI.

13. Habberton, n. 8, 75.

14. Mohammed Ali, Afghanistan H.E. Richardson, Tibet and its (London, 1962) 256.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chinese and Manchus. Significantly, both Afghanistan and Tibet declared independence in the second decade of the present century.

The second decade of the present century had witnessed the Revolution in Russia and World War I. King Amanullah who came to power in Afghanistan declared war of Independence in 1919 and ultimately won it in the same year and a treaty between Afghanistan and Great Britain was signed on 8 August, 1919 at Rawalpindi which freed Afghanistan from all external and internal interference by England.[15]

Afghanistan and Soviet Union

No sooner Afghanistan attained her freedom, she concluded several treaties with different countries of the world besides England and Soviet Union. Lenin received Sirdar Mohammad Wali Khan in October 1919. Diplomatic relations were established and Suritz succeeded Bravin as envoy to Kabul from U.S.S.R. Both envoys initiated conversations for Russo-Afghan treaty which was signed on 28 February, 1921 at Moscow. Soviet Union and Afghanistan engaged themselves not to enter into any political arrangement with a third power which would be detrimental to the other party. Goods imported into Afghanistan from Russian territory would not be taxed. Both acknowledged the independence of Bokhara and Khiva. The Russians agreed to hold a plebiscite in Panjdeh to determine whether this area should belong to Russia or to Afghanistan.[16].

Between Soviet Union and Afghanistan there was a long standing dispute in regard to the Island of Urta Tugay in the Oxus. In December 1925 Soviet forces occupied the Island, which caused some excitement in Kabul. But the Soviet Union made a speedy amend and on 31 August 1926 a Pact of neutrality and non-aggression" between the Soviet Union and Afghan Governments was signed at Paghman, after the award of Soviet-Afghan Commission which awarded the island to Afghanistan.[17]

Soon after the return of Amanulla from Europe a rebellion of Bachcha-i-Saqao (son of a water carrier) broke out in protest to the reforms instituted by the King. Kabul was captured and Amanulla fled to India, but the reign of Bachcha-i-Saqao was short, for in October 1929 he was driven out by Nadir Khan. During this period Soviet troops under Gulam Nabi, Afghanistan's Ambassador in Moscow, had bombed the frontier post of Patta-Hissar and the infantry crossed Amu-Darya (Oxus) and captured Manar-i-Sherif and then Tashkurgan. But when the strong Government of Nadir Khan was established, the relations with Soviet Union became normal.[18]

After the war Soviet interest in Afghanistan became active once again, and several agreements were signed between the two governments. An agreement in regard to boundary was signed between M. Molotov and Sultan Ahmad Khan, the Afghan Ambassador, in Moscow, on 13 June, 1946. By this agreement boundary along the Amu Darya (Oxus) and Panja river was redefined. It provided the incorporation in the U.S.S.R. of the Kushka district which was ceded to Afghanistan earlier in 1921. The new agreement established the boundary which existed between Afghanistan and Russia before 1917.[19]

The formation of Pakistan brought Pakhtoonistan question to the forefront. Soviet-Afghan relations after the emergence of Khrushchev to power are more of economic co-operation and cordiality.

---

15. Aitchison, n. 2, 286.
16. Aitchison, n. 2, 225; L. Teplinsky, Afghanistan Friendly Neighbour, **International Affairs** (Moscow), June 1959, 103.
17. Aitchison, n. 2, CCVI-VII: The borderland of Soviet Central Asia, Afghanistan, **Central Asian Review** (London) 4(1) 176-7.
18. **Ibid.**, 180-81.
19. **Ibid.**, 182. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Vol. VI, 1946-48, 7982.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WORKERS' PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT

K. M. CHANANA

Joint Management Councils are at present functioning in 81 industrial undertakings: 25 in the public sector and 56 in the private sector. There has been progress; but it has not been satisfactory. While it was hoped to set up joint management councils in all the industrial establishments found suitable for the purpose, only a few have taken the initiative. At the 20th session of the Indian Labour Conference, the Union Minister for Labour and Employment also dwelt on the slow progress of implementation of the scheme. He said that he was deeply concerned over the fact that the progress achieved so far with regard to the scheme had been rather limited. Though the experience in this connection has been far from discouraging yet he felt there was not enough enthusiasm or seriousness about it. Lately some resistance had been developing. Ideological considerations were being imported into the discussions which were relevant only to a capitalist society. He further said that there was nothing very radical in the scheme. Its three main ingredients: supply of information about the working of a concern; consultation regarding major developments in the enterprise; and management of certain welfare activities—could cause no pangs of conscience even in countries which were not committed to socialist ideas.

What is this scheme of worker's participation in management? What are its objectives and main forms? What are the conditions for the success of the scheme and how far these are present in the Indian economy of to-day? What are the advantages expected to flow from the scheme? And what weaknesses, if any, the actual working of the scheme have revealed? These and related questions are sought to be answered below. Before doing that, however, a short history of the evolution of the scheme would be in order.

History of the Evolution of the Sch

Worker's participation in manage has been truly called one facet—and portant facet at that—of industrial cracy. Hence it is little wonder th Second Five Year Plan aiming to es a socialist pattern of society and de tic socialism, has given pride of pla the scheme 'for the successful imple tion of the Plan'. It has also been mended in the Third Five Year Plan the Industrial Policy Resolution, 19 has been observed: 'In a Social Dem labour is a partner in the common t development and should participate with enthusiasm. There should be consultations and workers and tech should, wherever possible, be asso progressively with Management."

As sufficient experience and info tion was not available in India vis such scheme, the Government of appointed a Study Group—under chair ship of Mr. Vishnu Sahay, then Secr Ministry of Labour—to: (i) study the perience in Labour—Management operation within the country and (ii) de an Expert Team to European countries drawing on foreign experience on the ject. A Study Group was, therefore, se 1956 to some foreign countries like Sweden, France, Belgium, Yugoslavia Germany. (It may be noted, incident that it was in the last-named country some of the boldest steps in this field w taken during the post-war period with passage of the now historic Co-Determin tion Laws).

The 15th session of the Indian Labo Conference held in July, 1957, accepted the recommendations of the Study Gro and set up a small Tripartite Sub Committee to work out the details the scheme. The Indian Labour Co

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ence, however, did not accept the recom-...endations for enacting any legislation on ...e subject and desired that the scheme ...ould be voluntarily introduced. On the ...asis of the recommendations of the Tri-...artite Sub-Committee, the 16th session of ...e Standing Labour Committee (Oct. 1957) ...ew up a Draft Model Agreement regard-... the establishment of Councils of ...agement, their constitution, functions ...d responsibilities.

This was followed by a Seminar on ...bour–Management Co-operation in early ...61 which was attended by representatives ... employers and workers from 24 units ...out of 50) which were chosen for setting ... such Joint Management Councils—and ... which such Councils were already func-...ning. With a view to review the pro-...ess and share the experience of these ...ils, a Second Seminar on Labour-...agement Co-operation was convened in ...rch, 1960. The consensus at this Semi-... was that the scheme had crossed the ...t stage and may be extended to as many ...ts as possible.

With this background, the Third Five ...ar Plan enthusiastically recommended ...ting up of such Joint Management Coun-...s in all industrial undertakings found ...itable for the purpose, so that progres-...ely "in the course of a few years, it may ...come a normal feature of the industrial ...stem." The voluntary character of the ...heme was to be maintained. (Here it may ...e noted in passing that apart from the ...ove two official Seminars, two more ...minars, on non-official level, were held at ...mbay on the subject: first on June 8-9, ..., and the second on May 15-16, 1964).

...bjectives

The Five Year Plan lays down the ...llowing objectives of increased associa-...n of labour with management:

(i) Providing increased productivity for the general benefit of the enterprise, the employees and the community;

(ii) Giving employees a better understanding of their role in the working of the industry and of the process of production; and

(iii) Satisfying the worker's urge for self expression, thus leading to industrial peace, better relations and increased co-operation.

Forms of 'Participation'

Workers' participation in management can assume various forms; but of these two are most prominent: (i) Workers representation on the Board of Directors; and (ii) Joint Management Councils.

Representation of workers on the Board of Directors is rarely practised in India: DCM being one of the very few exceptions in the private sector. It is because this form of worker's participation is open to serious objections. Firstly, the Board of Directors is usually concerned with matters of policy, which are not of immediate concern to workers. Secondly, the average union leader in India is at present not equipped, either by education or training, to comprehend matters of technical and managerial nature, which the Board of Directors is called upon to deal with. As a result, the worker's nominee is reduced to the position of a mere passive spectator; so that high expectations of labour raised on account of this experiment are dashed to the ground, resulting in mutual recriminations and accusation of the worker's nominee on the Board being 'bought over' by the management.

On account of these difficulties, the Five Year Plan has recommended Joint Management Councils as the most suitable form of worker-management collaboration for the country: these Councils to consist of representatives of 'management, technicians and workers.' This is also corroborated by the report of the Study Group referred to above. It favoured a single Council for the undertaking as a whole, provided it is not made up of units at different places. Outsiders may be necessary in the beginning, but their number should be restricted.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Functions of Joint Management Councils

Firstly, there is consensus of opinion that matters which are subject to collective bargaining, like service conditions, wages, bonus, etc., should be excluded from the purview of these Councils. Secondly, their functions should be of an advisory character. For example, the Five Year Plan, speaking of the role of these Councils, lays down that these 'should be entitled to discuss various matters pertaining to the establishment and to recommend steps for its better working.' The Study Group report allocates general functions like alterations in standing orders; retrenchment; rationalisation; disciplinary matters etc., to these Councils; at the same time emphasising the importance of furnishing these Councils with information on the financial position of the undertaking. As against the purely advisory role envisaged for these Councils in the Five Year Plan, the said report favours delegation of more administrative responsibility to them, particularly with regard to administration of welfare measures, supervision of safety practices, operation of vocational training and apprenticeship schemes etc.

Conditions for the Success of the Scheme

There are various conditions which must be satisfied if the experiment of Joint Management Councils is to be successful: in their absence the whole scheme may topple like a house built on sand; mere pious wishes, howsoever well-intentioned, are no substitute for these conditions:

(i) The need for an intensive educational campaign to rouse both workers and management to the importance of the scheme.

(ii) Joint consultation should be 'in-built' rather than super-imposed from outside. Moreover, this joint consultation should be practised at all levels.

(iii) Reorientation of attitude on the part of both parties: this is fundamental as with the present antagonistic attitude of the parties, the scheme has [illegible] chance. Both parties must [illegible] faith in each other.

(iv) There should be strong confident trade unions connected with the machi[illegible] participation.

(v) Employers must, on no a[illegible] use this scheme to under[illegible] Trade Unionism; nor is it [illegible] looked upon as a substitute [illegible] improvement in working [illegible] tions.

(vi) Last but not the least, [illegible] should be equitable distribu[illegible] of the gains following increa[illegible] production, between the [illegible] parties—as such increased [illegible] duction is one of the pri[illegible] objectives of the whole sche[illegible]

Some Observations

An impartial review of the working these joint-management councils in the industrial undertakings, referred to a[illegible] will reveal that the scheme has certa[illegible] run into difficulties and the great expe[illegible] tions with which the whole experi[illegible] was launched are far from being rea[illegible] Of course, there is a whole spectrum undertakings, both in the private as as public sector, from units where t[illegible] scheme has been working very successfu[illegible] to units where it is more or less on pa[illegible] only; hence generalisations are not [illegible] The fanfare with which the scheme [illegible] launched in HMT in 1958, and its notorio[illegible] failure subsequently, is now a part of [illegible] tory. In the public sector (Central) the[illegible] are only three units in which these J[illegible] Management Councils have been set u[illegible] viz., the Nahan Foundry, Nahan; Berma C[illegible] liery of DVC; and Hindustan Cables, [illegible] cutta. But these are all unimportant u[illegible] Of the major public sector units, under t[illegible] Central sphere, there is not even one [illegible] which these Councils have been functio[illegible] even today. Nor is the record of S[illegible] public sector, in this respect, any m[illegible] encouraging. For example, in the Ano[illegible]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Pradesh Road Transport Corporation and Visakha Sugar Factory in the State of A.P., Bihar Government Cement Factory, Mirzapur, in the State of UP, the respective State Governments agreed to set up these Joint-Management Councils, but nothing substantial came out of it.

There are, of course, peculiar difficulties apart from the general ones which we shall deal with below—in setting up such Joint-Management Councils in public-sector undertakings. To begin with, there is an insufficient understanding of the idea at the local management level, where the scheme is held to involve (erroneously) some delegation of managerial responsibilities. Secondly, most of these public-sector undertakings are manned by administrators who are averse to the very idea of consulting their subordinates across the table. Thus this bureaucratic attitude stands in the way of successful functioning of the Councils in the public sector.

But is the record of private sector in this respect any better? Employers in general have a lot of misunderstanding and suspicion regarding this scheme. To the management the very phrase 'worker's participation in management' conjures up a picture of attempted interference by worker's representatives in the management decisions. To these be added the following other difficulties: the multiplicity of trade unions; inter-union and group rivalry among unions; absence of good record of industrial relations; lack of education among the workers; the very nomenclature of the scheme; existence of too many committees simultaneously (Works Committee, etc.,) and preference for informal consultation.

Another serious handicap relates to union leadership which has had little, if any, training to handle various complicated issues which the scheme would thrust upon them. Instances of trade unions being indifferent towards or even opposed to the setting up of these Councils are not wanting, as in the case of Advance Mills, Ahmedabad. There is an uncalled for tension in the minds of some union leaders that the setting up of these Joint-Management Councils will reduce their influence as trade union leaders and thus bring down their political status and lower their bargaining power.

These difficulties were indeed taken into account at the 15th Session of the Indian Labour Conference and the two Seminars on Labour Management Co-operation, referred to above. To counter these difficulties, the existence of a strong trade union, a fair record of industrial relations; and intensification of the Workers' Education Scheme were considered as pre-requisite for the success of the scheme. Furthermore, these Joint Management Councils should be entrusted with **effective** responsibility to discharge their functions—whatever these are; and the participants, especially the worker's representatives, must be aroused to take active interest in the day-to-day deliberations of the Councils.

In view of the above-mentioned difficulties, is the Government justified in using compulsion, through legislative enactment, for the success of the scheme? The Study Group while in favour of permissive legislation on the subject held it 'to be a mistake to apply compulsion in the field'. This aspect was also discussed at the 15th Session of Indian Labour Conference which decided—on the insistence of the employers group—that before any legislation is enacted in the field, the scheme be voluntarily tried for a few years in selected units, both in the private as well as public sector. The present sentiment is certainly against any legislative enactment in the field.

Conclusion

But how far the experiment has succeeded? There are, no doubt, severe critics of the scheme who hold that the experiment has already proved a failure as illustrated by the working of existing Councils. It is an open secret that the high expectations aroused by this experiment, in the initial stages, are being belied. In some of the industrial units selected for this experiment, the Council's record of meetings

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

has been quite irregular ; while complaints, from workers representatives, regarding indifference to their views, are not lacking. In fact, some of the industrial units selected, both in the public as well as private sector, are reported to be having second thoughts vis-a-vis the whole scheme. To the critics, all this is not at all surprising as the basic conditions for the success of the scheme are lacking at present. They point out the utter failure of the Works Committees ; in the light of that failure, these critics hold, any fond expectation that these Councils—with much complicated functioning—will meet a different fate is nothing short of wishful thinking. The odds, if anything, are greater against the successful functioning of these Joint Management Councils, as compared to those against the Works Committees—with their much simpler functions. The critics would rather have the problem tackled in stages : first, educating the management and the workers regarding their respective role in the new set-up of a Welfare State, thereby reorientating their mutual attitudes. This is essentially a slow process which is likely to take time. According to them any attempt legislation or otherwise, to pre matters in this respect by officially sponsored schemes of management co-operation would be the cart before the horse.

This, of course, is only one side picture. Evaluation studies made of actual working of these Joint-Mana Councils have revealed that these C are rendering very useful service—esp in improvement in productivity and of production. These studies have completed in respect of 30 units—out units where the scheme is work present. These studies have prove these Joint-Management Councils a important instrument of labour poli healthier economic growth and ind progress. These studies have revealed that wherever Joint-Mana Councils have worked well, they resulted, in varying degrees, in industrial relations, a more stable increased productivity, reduction in better profits and a closer unders between the management and the wo



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MOGHAL STATE PRISONS

Prof. ATULANANDA SEN

The Moghal Emperors had three State prisons for the confinement of the members of the Royal Family, and other notable and influential persons. These were the Fort of Gwalior, the Fort of Ranthambhor, and the Fort of Rotas (Rotasgarh), all of which were impregnable in those days.

The Fort of Gwalior

The Fort of Gwalior had several gates. But the fourth and highest gate stands out the figure of an elephant dexterously cut out of stone. This is known as the "Hathipul" or Elephant "Gateway". There is a vast staircase leading to it. This gate is most sumptuously built of green and white stone. On the top of the fort are several gilded turrets, which shine brilliantly. Here the Governor of the Fort dwelt and here also State Prisoners were confined. The Princes whose heads were not cut off by the Monarch for prudential reasons were confined here, and daily given the potion or Poust for drink. This poust was nothing but poppy-heads crushed and soaked for a night in water. A large cup of this beverage was brought to them early in the morning, and they were not given anything to eat unless it was swallowed. This drink fascinated the wretched victims, who lost their strength and intellect by slow degrees, became torpid and senseless, and ultimately died.

We have had no instances of Akbar, Jahangir or Shah Jahan using it for the confinement of political prisoners. But Aurangzeb used it extensively for keeping rivals of the Royal blood, and others of great influence, whom he had not the courage to execute immediately in a public manner, confined here. It was by this means (by giving the potion of Poust daily for drink) that the slow deaths of Sulaiman Shikoh and Sipirh Shikoh, sons of Dara were contrived.

The Poust administered to the imprisoned Princes was meant for the members of the Royal Family, as being a more secret death, free from the outward signs of laying violent hands upon one of the Blood Royal. Murad Baksh, and Sultan Muhammad, eldest son of Aurangzeb, were confined in the Fort of Gwalior, where the latter died in 1676. Murad Baksh was later executed on a charge of murder.

Fort of Ranthambhor

The Fort of Ranthambhor was the second State Prison. It was a picturesque rock fortress in the Jaipur State, formerly a stronghold of the Raja of Bundi, who transferred it to Akbar. Here all persons condemned to death were sent by the Emperor. The prisoners were kept confined in this Fort for about two months, after which the Governor of the Fort brought them out, and placed them on the top of the wall after having caused them to drink some milk, a decoction of the milky juice of the poppy to render them insensible, threw them down headlong on the rocks beneath.

Fort of Rotas

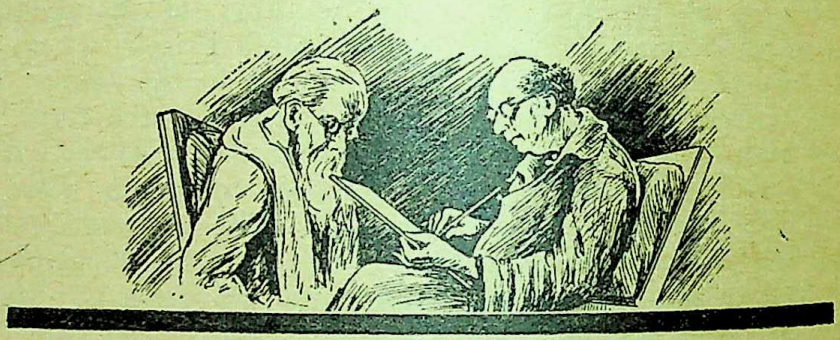
The third Prison Fortress was in the Fort of Rotas (Rotasgarh, about 30 miles south of Sassaram, in the district of Shahabad, Bihar), 1490 ft. above the level of the adjacent country. Those condemned to imprisonment for life were sent to this State Prison. They very seldom could

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

manage to escape. Emperor Shah Jahan on many an occasion made use of this State Prison by sending his guilty and unpopular officers there. The State Prison of Rotas was like the Bastile of France, and the Tower of London of England, the State Prisons of those countries, and in some respects like the prison at Port Blair during the British regime in India.

I had visited the Forts of Gw... Rotas more than once with my ... and we were shown the rooms where ... Baksh, Sultan Muhammad, and Der... were lodged, and we felt very unhap... sad thinking of their miserable fate. ... were also shown the place where the ... prisoners were kept confined in the ... Rotas.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE PROBLEM OF VIETNAM

Prof. S. L. AUDICHARYA

Vietnam is confronting not only President Lyndon Johnson with the gravest crisis of his career as the President of United States of America, but the problem has assumed today great significance for the whole people of South East Asia, and India in particular, who are menaced by Chinese policy of expansionism. China has to be contained. Her policy of political domination probably with ultimate intentions of territorial aggression has to be taken serious note of, if the existing imbalance in the political equation of different countries has to be set right. There cannot be two opinions regarding the right of self determination being conceded to every nation and people, with a view to evolve a polity of peaceful co-existence founded on justice. What is essential is that the concession of the right of self-determination might not turn itself, into a mockery, in the face of political manoeuvering and the attached strings being pulled from different nerve-centres. The perfect atmosphere of freedom and liberty must precede any such concession being applied. The results derived through the impartial application of the principle of self-determination will be enduring and provide the safest foundations of better living conditions in the world and solutions for the existing political problematics.

Historical Background

The above is very much true of Vietnam today. The entire problem has assumed fair dimensions of anxiety in international politics and bears germs of serious explosions. To appreciate the present situation a short historical sketch of the whole problem will not be out of place here. Before the 10th Century the whole country of Annam was under Chinese domination. It was governed by an autocratic monarchical system of administration which possessed the least of efficiency and application of present-day techniques of public administration to make it a welfare State.

Being disgusted, the Annamites had practically thrown out the Chinese domination by the 10th Century, though their minds had been very much enslaved by the Chinese rule. Sixteenth Century, onwards, the search of markets and colonies by the European nations brought the French to this land. The whole of Indo-China (now North and South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia) ultimately became a French colony. French jesuit priest Alexander de Rhodes at the beginning of 17th Century was the first to establish a Christian community in Indo-China. French missionaries after him were very successful in converting the Annamites to Christianity. The height was reached when an Annamite priest Mgr. Pellerin went to Paris from Hanoi to request Napoleon III, to give him military help to fight against the anti-French tendencies of his own country men. Gradually two groups developed amongst the Annamites, one section generally of the Christians that supported the French and the other of thousands of non-Christians who remained fervently loyal to Buddhism and their ancient culture. The converted Annamites both Buddhists and Christians remained Anti-Chinese and anti-Thai at the same time.

The Indo-Chinese in fact feared both their neighbours alike. In course of time the French were established firmly in Indo-China, where they founded their most important market for manufactured goods, and a prosperous colony.

At any rate, as luck would have it partly, because of the Sino-Japanese war in 1894 which weakened the position of China further, the French established themselves firmly in Indo-China. After the expulsion of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Manchus and the defeat of Russia by the Japanese, the French possessions in Annam began to be considered as irrevocably lost to China.

Sino-French Relations

France chiefly confronted China through her conquests in South East Asia. During the first World War China was not a belligerent country. France organised Indo-China economically and succeeded in creating an Indo-Chinese middle class who felt that they had a stake in the constitution of French rule. Soon after World War I and during the World War II the relationship of France with Indo-China and consequently with China underwent radical changes. France had promised some administrative changes during the War which she never fulfilled afterwards. In the meantime the revolutionary upheavals in China in 1912 and the Russian revolution of 1917 began to affect Indo-Chinese thinking. France made some concessions, but they were insufficient to win over the public opinion. The growing Kuomintang Party began to attract the Indo-Chinese nationalists again to China.

In 1930 there were revolts against the French authorities in the country and even a mutiny in the army. The Japanese aggression against China however turned the tide. The Kuomintang's failure to resist Japanese invasion made the Indo-Chinese nationalists gradually more drawn to France during World War II.

The Country was Divided

The puppet Government that was established in Saigon during the War, collapsed after the defeat of the Japanese. Indo-China was freed by the British Indian troops before the French arrived. The Country was divided at the 16th parallel between the British Indian and Chinese occupation forces. The Chinese thereby established claims of Chinese suzerainty over the northern regions. Some Chinese troops had already penetrated into Indo-Chinese territories and the French found it diffi... negotiate with the Chinese and to ... them to quit Indo-Chinese territories.

Communist leader Ho-Chi-Minh ... equally desirous of seeing the Chinese ... He readily co-operated with the French. ... France and China emerged after World War ... II as two of the five Allied powers ... soon possible for the French to ... Chiang-Kai-Shek to withdraw the C... troops from Indo-China. But France ... herself very soon involved in a revolution... war in Indo-China because of the failure ... negotiations with Ho-Chi-Minh. Both ... Communist and anti-French nationalists ... joined hands against the French. In spite ... of the American help and after a ... drawn battle for about eight years, French ... was finally defeated at Dien-Bien-Phu in ... 1954. As a result of the Geneva Agreement ... of great powers including Communist ... China in July, 1954, the States of Laos, ... Cambodia, North and South Vietnam were ... created. Vietnam that was cut into two ... was to be united by free elections later. ... Ho-Chi-Minh became the President of North ... Vietnam while Ngo-Dinh-Diem of South ... Vietnam.

South Vietnam

Late President Ngo-Dinh-Diem when ... he took over from the French in 1954, ... established an effective government despite ... harassment by the Communist Viet-Cong. ... But as his regime grew more oppressive ... and Viet Cong strength increased, Diem's ... popularity faded. In November 1963 with ... the tacit approval of the U.S. Government ... General Duong Van Minh staged a coup ... during which Diem was murdered. Three ... months later came a second coup led by ... Gen. Nauyen Khanh who like Diem found ... his tired nation hard to rally against the ... Reds.

Laos

From the time of its independence ... of its provinces were under the control of ... the Communist Pathet Lao. Though ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Pathet Lao were brought into the Government by Premier Souvanna Phouma in 1957, after a series of coups and counter coups which eventually ended in a three way civil war between pro-Western Rightists, Neutralists and the Pathet Lao. At Geneva in 1962 the great powers agreed to a **troika** Government incorporating Laos's main factions. But last May, after neutralist Souvanna Phouma had quarrelled with the Rightists the Pathet Lao had deepened the civil war.

Cambodia

Unlike South Vietnam and Laos, the Kingdom of Cambodia escaped civil war. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia's hereditary ruler probably on account of his personal popularity and political shrewdness out-flanked his country's leftist parties and succeeded in maintaining a tight grip over the people. Originally a scrupulous neutral in the East-West struggle he has become pessimistically convinced that Peking will finally dominate all Indo-China.

North Vietnam

It has gone all Red. With Ho-Chi-Minh the country is trying to spread the tentacles of Communism throughout Indo-China. It has full support of Peking in organising and actively helping the Viet Cong menace in South Vietnam.

The Real Problem

When France was fighting at Dien-Bien-Phu, she understood very well that the real problem of South East Asia was to check China from expanding further to the South. As one of the traditional military powers in Asia, Britain did not concern itself any more with this problem. The French sought and got the armed help of the United States. During the last phase of fighting at Dien-Bien-Phu at certain stages of the war it was very difficult to know whether it was an American War or a war fought by the French against the military forces of Ho-Chi-Minh.

After the withdrawal from Indo-China of the French, they have been trying to convince the Americans that the fight in Vietnam is not against China in reality. But the Americans from the beginning have appeared to be in favour of localising the war and not to engage themselves in an open conflict with China. The position has now practically gone out of hand. It has however become clear now that the position can be retrieved either by a massive attack against China or by forcing China to abandon her policy of expansion by political and diplomatic pressures.

India's Role

Many specialists on South East Asian problems feel that withdrawal of the French has led to the eventual disintegration of the countries of South East Asia. Under the French and the Dutch they had enjoyed nearly a hundred years of peace. It is felt that if India after her independence had built up her military strength to replace the function of the former British armed forces in Asia then the situation would not have been critical as it was allowed to be since 1947. The independence of countries like Indonesia and Indo-China by itself was no problem. Sooner or later these countries would have attained their national sovereignty. At the same time this was also equally clear that none of these independent countries could stabilise their systems of government without the protection of an Asian power strong enough to guarantee their sovereignty.

The only two countries which possessed the military potentialities for discharging this responsibility were India and Japan. Japan was looked upon with distrust, because of the Japanese conquests during World War II. It seemed natural that India should have stepped into the position left vacant by the British. When Mao Tse-tung was consolidating his position, within the country, India should have built her military strength so that a threat from China to the South East Asian countries

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

could be rendered impossible. Somehow in this sphere of activity India was doing just the reverse. India was engaged in her development programmes. The Indian Government had no time to prepare itself for the possibility of a Chinese threat to South East Asia. The result of all these facts is the present conflict between China and the Western powers and the open or hidden conflict between the four newly created States, themselves.

U.S. Involvement

Right after the World-War II, the United States had started taking keen interest in the affairs of Vietnam. America helped the French with dollars and weapons to fight there for eight years though the French army was finally defeated in 1954. Following the defeat of France a conference was held in Geneva. The United States also sent a delegation to that conference but it did not participate or sign that agreement. All the same it does indicate the keen U.S. interest in the future of South East Asia. The first U.S. military men, however, were sent to South Vietnam in 1957. The Diem Government of South Vietnam convinced the U.S.A. that it required a big army to counter an invasion from North Vietnam. The U.S.A. agreed to finance an eight division force and to help build it with U.S. military advisers. President Eishenhower explained the U.S. Policy by advocating the theory of "Falling domino". It meant that, if South Vietnam was to fall to the Communist then the other countries of South East Asia would also fall in turn. From then thousands of America's best fighting men have been sent to South Vietnam as advisers and fighters. Arms and equipment and other aid that is being supplied to it, has reached the figure of about half a billion Dollars a year.

But, why all this is being done? On June 2, 1964, President Johnson announced at a news conference held in Washington: "Like a number of other nations we are bound by solemn commitment to help defend this area against communist encroachment. We will keep our commitment". Apparently there are [illegible] basic considerations underlying the determination to stay in South Vie[illegible]

1. Withdrawal of U.S. from th[illegible] would be a political triu[illegible] Communist China, which has supporting North Vietnam's [illegible] into South Vietnam.
2. Under the "Falling d[illegible] theory, a collapse of anti-C[illegible] nist South Vietnam would op[illegible] of South East Asia to Red-C[illegible] This would give Red-China oil, food and other resources need to become a great power.
3. A United States pull out South Vietnam would ca[illegible] question the ability and will U.S. to hold its bases in P[illegible] pines, Okinawa, Japan and S[illegible] Korea. These are considered tial for the defence of U.S. her friends.

The entire issue is thus political as as military, economic and strategic. plain fact is that the American sit[illegible] been loosing the War in Vietnam a[illegible] Communist side has been winning it. too early to assess the consequences o[illegible] most recent coup in Vietnam. Tre[illegible] cally there are three courses, which the can adopt, if the Communist Victor Vietnam appears imminent.

One is to adopt the French formula neutralization. Secretary of State Mr. D[illegible] Rusk had described this as a formula surrender. This in no case will be ado[illegible] by the U.S.

The second course is to interv[illegible] directly with American combat troops. tide might be turned by a few Americ[illegible] battalions if the North Vietnamese and the Chinese Communists do not interv[illegible] in their turn. If they do so, it will be a [illegible] war with China, which the U.S. is not [illegible] to risk at the moment.

The third course for the U.S. is change the rules of the present game. whole strategy needs a revision. Th[illegible] the present rules Communist Govern[illegible]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of North Vietnam is at liberty to use all means short of invasion to help the Commu-nist Viet Cong. Trained men and arms, both are a continuous flow to the Viet Cong rebels. The overall military and political control of the Viet Cong is main-tained via radio from Hanoi in North Viet-nam.

All this is in contravention of the provisions of 1954 Geneva Treaty which for Indo-China. The U.S. on this score can go to the United Nations, and produce proof of North Vietnamese intervention in aid of Viet Cong in contravention of the 1954 Treaty. It can even ask for reprisals. These reprisals may take various forms. It may be to arm, equip and support an anti-Communist guerrilla force to raid the Communist territory across the border. There may be economic sanctions taken against North Vietnam for supporting the Viet Cong in South Vietnam. The point is not to defeat the North Vietnam regime in an open War but to hurt it badly so that it might well prefer to withdraw support from the Viet Cong and permit the establish-ment of stable Government in South Vietnam, rather than risk a direct con-frontation with the American power.

The future of Democracy in Asia to a great extent hangs on the problem of South Vietnam. North Vietnam is already red. Cambodia, has pro-Communist leanings, while Laos is engaged in its problem of civil war. It is meeting the challenge of Pathet Lao and can hardly be a match to stem the tide of Red engulfing all this area of South East Asia, within its folds. Malayasia is tackling the Indonesian menace and has hardly energy and resources left to devote itself to the problem of South Vietnam.

These circumstances put across one's mind a complex situation. If China has to be contained and the Red menace is not to be forced upon others by conspiracy of circumstances, then the responsibility to a great extent devolves on India to accept the challenge. It is a vital matter to us. It is true that we are not directly into it but the whole game of China is of humiliating India and exhibiting by its superior might to the people of this area that there can be one leadership in this part of the world and that is of China. We must accordingly devote ourselves to finding a solution of this problem. The best solution of this problem will be one which is arrived at by the people of this area themselves without interference from any outside agency. America and China both may be asked to pull out from this area, and leave the people alone to sit at a round table conference to decide for themselves. The representatives of all the four states thus will get an opportunity to settle their differences. This may be possible with U.N. assistance into the matter. The Annamites may, envisage a loose federation of all the four states with full autonomy, while making provision of some sort of strong system of defence so that their neighbours Japan, Malayasia, China, Indonesia or any other country might not in future undo all.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MALAYALAM AND DRAVIDO-EUROPEAN

P. DAMODARAN PILLAI

Confronted with the problem of the genetic or semigenetic relation between Dravidian and some of the European languages, one is reminded of the exclamation of Napoleon that it was an awful temerity to attempt an invasion of England.

However, I had inklings of their mutual relation early in the 50's of the present century. Since then supporting evidences were gathering into view from different sources, so that, in 1957, I could publish an article on the close affinity between Dravidian and English, in the annual number of the *Malayala Manorama*, a leading daily on the West Coast. I had occasion at the time to record my impression that European scholars who discovered an Indo-European family had been led astray by their earlier unilineal preoccupation with Sanskrit to the utter exclusion of Dravidian. Still, as it is. even now it would look a little premature to venture such a suggestion though on being challenged from a few quarters I had to reiterate my position on more occasions than one in different vernacular journals before the close of the last decade.

The matter seemed to rest there for a time, but in 1963, I again took it up in a correspondence with Dr. S. k. Chatterjee, the foremost Indian linguist. He appears to belong to the Orthodox School and was found rather inclined to discourage the idea of a Dravido-European family of languages which might conflict with the long cherished notion of the Indo-European family. In fact, what I submitted then and even now submit is the claim of the Dravido-European deserves patient and open-minded consideration due appraisal.

I must add in this connection that Western scholars have worked in the and one of the most notable among them Dr. Lahovary of Rumania published a in French in 1957 whose English was brought out in 1963 under the title, "**Dravidian Origins And The** A copy of it fell into my hands in 1964 and going through it for first time I was agreeably surprised that it bears ample testimony to the Dra European proposition, which, as al mentioned, I had the good fortune to forword in 1957. Further, I was im struck by the similarity of my view Indo-European to that of the author states in a foot-note in page 164 that "I European" is but a conventional term by European scholars to their own tion "while Dravidian would have a better claim to the name". Now, in my paper on "**Dravido-European**", I shall present a case for it on lines apart those of the learned author.

What I propose to do for the purpose to confine my inquiry to the kinship Malayalam and English as representing dian and European languages respec and to advert to kindred problems wh necessary so as to make elucidation as clear and effective as possible.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

But even at the outset it may be pointed
that there is a considerable body of opinion
which would have us believe that Malayalam
is an epiphenomenon, an emanate of Tamil.
Against this, there are a number of scholars
who hold that Malayalam is the mother of
Tamil which has lost some of the proto-Dravi-
dian forms preferred by the former to the
present day. However the indubitable fact
remains that Tamil and Sanskrit long dominat-
ed Malayalam very much like Greek and
Latin which dominated many of the local
dialects of Europe for centuries at a stretch.
This circumstance led to the inference among
some scholars that Tamil and Sanskrit were
either jointly or severally the real parents of
Malayalam, though latterly the claim of
Sanskrit to the honour has been definitely
set aside.

It will be seen that from a socio-diachro-
nic point of view this bilingual or mono-
lingual parenthood hardly holds. Of the
thirteen social systems adopted by humanity
in stage, matriarchal terranеans like the
Berbers, Touaregs and others were as matriar-
chal as Keralites themselves. The prevalence
of this primitive social institution among the
Indo-Mediterraneans and Keralites alike
leads to the conclusion that the latter must
have sedulously preserved it through the ages,
but, of course, they recently switched off to
patriarchy. And, it automatically follows that
the Tamils and other Dravidians across
the Ghats have had nothing of matriarchy
in long periods of history, they must have
left their Mediterranean moorings possibly
in pre-historic times.

Admittedly, social make up and language
need not always be exactly congruent, but
when a people in their blessed geographical
isolation retain intact their primitive social
and linguistic traits. the inference is but
legitimate that socially and linguistically they
are older than the rest of the stock that
happened to separate from them in the remote
past to evolve on independent lines.

I shall now proceed to show that certain
characteristic features of Tamil are not so old
as they are supposed to be, but only later
accretions or perhaps deliberate innovations.
For instance, the final 'ai' as in 'arai' (a room)
and 'turai' (an opening) is conspicuous by its
absence in Malayalam, ancient Sumerian and
in some Indo-European languages like Greek,
Italian and English. I need only refer to the
word 'cam-era' in the last named three langu-
ages wihch is nothing other than a compound
of 'cam' and 'era', the latter having suffered
a phonetic change into 'era' in Italian aud
English, though not in Greek. Perhaps it may
be that the change is more orthographical
than strictly phonetical.

But it has to be noted in this context that
the Tamils replace in their their actual speech
the final 'ai' by an 'e' which modifies 'turai'
to 'ture' a form which is not unknown to
Latin. On the other hand, in Malayalam a
common variant of 'tura' is 'tira' exactly like
'thyra' in Greek. but phonetically changed into
'dura' in Anglo-Saxon, 'tur' in German, 'door'
in English, 'dwar' in Hindi, and 'dwah' or
'dwaram' in Sanskrit.

Another feature peculiar to Tamil is the
personal ending which also seems to be a
later addition, considering the fact that other
Dravidian languages like Telegu or Malayalam
do not have it in their vulgar forms. Even
vulgar Tamil does not strictly observe the
pratice of using pronominal suffixes, and so
far as I can say, proto-Dravidian was also free
from it. If vulgar speech be any criterian of
the antiquity of a language, Malayalam could
well be regarded as older than Tamil.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The case of the p/b isoglosses appears to be more complicated than that premised in the foregoing paragraph though it deserves mention. The tendency to change 'p' into 'b' is about 3500 years old in Basque, Dravidian and Sumerian, and is evident in Malayalam but not in Tamil. Further, Tamil cannot tolerate the very ancient shift from 'v' to 'b' either, unlike Malayalam which can accept all the three sounds each in place of the other with equal complacency. If the weakness of Tamil in this respect can be blamed on its phonetic deficiency, as might readily be done in order to explain it away, the conclusion becomes inevitable that the phonetism of Malayalam in this respect is as old as those of Basque, Sumerian and Dravidian, while that of Tamil is not.

A Bilingual Pattern

It is true that Tamil was responsible for the adoption of a bilingual pattern of literature by a number of Malayalam writers between the 10th and 16th centuries, but the genuine Malayalam works produced during the same period, notably the 'Krishnagatha', and the 'Bharatham' of Cherusseri, show that Tamil was alien in its ring to Malayalam. No wonder that in the 16th century Eluthachan and others attempted to liberate Malayalam from the conventionalized form of literature based on Tamil and restore to it its native purity and individuality, but without ever once entertaining the delusion of creating or inventing a new medium of expression for Kerala out of the shavings of Tamil.

Malayalam, undisputedly belonging to the Dravidian family as Tamil itself could, strangely enough, feel hardly at home in its Tamil trappings, in spite of the political domination of Kerala by Tamil kings even from the 1st century B. C., if not earlier. Keralites could much more abundantly accommodate Sanskrit than Tamil, whose genius they seldom assimilated in preference to that of the former. Malayalam has sanskritized to a large extent; Tamil has tamilized krit. Keralites breathe and have their intercourse in an atmosphere of Sanskrit, fact which is borne out even by some of oldest hill-tribes in Kerala, who have gods for their deities and a naive but Malayalam, as distinguished from Tamil their native idiom.

Altogether, Malayalam appears to direct descendant of proto-Dravidian had its evolution independent of Tamil affinity and literary connections with latter notwithstanding. Now, archaeologists linguists are agreed that the proto-Dravidians were a short, dark-skinned, gracile whose original home was Mesopotamia the adjoining regions extending beyond Euphrates and the Tigris towards the Their migrations covered a vast zone stretching from Iberia to India, and seafaring they were, they extended it up to British Denmark on the one hand and to the Coast of India on the other. This circumstance lends support to the view of scholars that the proto-Dravidians direct contacts with Kerala by sea, in its turn corroborates the continuity that Kerala could maintain its ancient linguistic characteristics in their original purity, especially in a state of isolation was denied to overland immigrants from West.

Alphabetical Affinities

I now turn to the question of alphabetical derivations in English from Semetic Egyptian through the medium of Greek Latin. The Semetic syllabary itself owes

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

it to Dravidian, a fact generally lost sight of but, all the same apparent as some instances will show. I will first take 'b' the second letter of the English alphabet and try to trace its origin to Malayalam for the purpose of illustration.

It is admitted that 'b' derives from 'bete' of the Semitic syllabary, and has 'beth' for its equivalent in Phoenician and 'beta' in Greek. Now, it is well-known that each character of the Semitic syllabary is a Semitic unit too, with a definite meaning of its own, so that 'beta', 'bet' and 'bete' in the languages concerned mean 'the house'. At the same time, it is clear on the very face of it, that the Semetic 'bete' is nothing other than 'veet', 'veed' or 'vet' of Malayalam which also means 'the house'.

Next in the series is 'yod' another character in the the same syllabary from which the English letters 'i' and 'j' are said to derive. The Semetic vocable 'yod' means 'the arm', but as its ancient Egyptian counterpart 'dot' and the Sanskrit 'dos' while in Malayalam its cognate 'tol' means 'the shoulder', a minor semantic variation which need not detain us. Now, though, the English letters 'i' and 'j' are supposed to derive from the Semitic 'yod', there are eminent scholars who derive the English letter 'd' from the the same Latin letter which itself derives from the Egyptian 'dot' cognate with the Malayalam 'tol', and also the Basque 'so'.

The same appears to be the case with the English character 'p' which according to certain scholars, had its origin in the initial 'p' of the Egyptian 'pero' and its variants like 'pi', 'pu' and 'pe'. This 'pero, was changed into 'pharaoh' in Greek and came to mean 'the palace' of the king in the first instance and the king himself in the next, while originally it meant only 'a building', and nothing else. However that may be, the Egyptian 'pero' is nothing new to Keralites whose 'pura', 'pera', 'pira' pora' means a building' the same as in Egyptian and bears close resemblance to the Sanskrit 'puri' and 'puram' and the Iranian 'polis'.

Other characters of the English alphabet also can be traced to Malayalam or Dravidian origin but one need not strain the point any more than stating that the lexical contents of some Western languages have developed in part from a proto- Dravidian substratum.

Lexical Parallels

It is sometimes argued that the genetic affinity between languages is more fundamental in its nature than their lexical parallelisms. But there is the other view that the genetic relation between two languages is assured, provided twenty percent of their vocabularies, borrowings excluded, are parallel to each other in form and meaning. On the basis of this postulate, linguists have taken for close comparative study, the words embodying the most intimate sensations, thoughts and experiences of man in different languages scattered over vast inter-continental areas and have arrived at the conclusion that they were autochthonous in those areas, peopled as they were by different branches of the same original race.

Now, the most intimate thought that one can never deny inspite of oneself is that one was ushered into this world by an act of bringing forth by one's mother. The English name for the act is 'ean', 'though' the more current form is differentiated by an initial 'y', and in either case it is traced to the Anglo-Saxon 'eanian'. In Malayalam too we have an 'ean'

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(in) but without an antecedent 'y' just as the Anglo-Saxon one, though the suffix 'ian' of the latter seems to be alien to both Dravidian and English alike.

The final 'n' of the Dravidian 'in' (ean) is a formative which undergoes a series of changes in different combinations, in one of which it is rhotacized to form the variant 'ir', without any corresponding variation in its seminal meaning, viz., 'to divide', 'separate' or 'break asunder'. The act of parturition involves a separation of the foetus from the womb, and hence the radical 'ir' to denote birth for whose perfection even the umbilical cord has to be cut asunder. In the light of this analysis, the Anglo-Saxon suffix 'ian' seems to be rather superfluous.

In Malayalam the infant thus born is called 'kita' or 'kitavu' cognate with the English 'kid', Danish 'kid', Icelandic 'kidh' and German 'kitze'. all perceptibly related to the English 'kitten' and the Middle English 'kitoun' from which the word 'cat' itself derives. Of these analogues the German 'kitze' resembles the Malayalam 'koccu', a child, while the English 'kin' has its Germanic parallel in 'kunja', which is the same as the Malayalam 'kunj' (an infant).

The most prominent part of the body is the face which is named 'mukham' in Sanskrit but 'mukam' or 'mukar' in Malayalam. It is generally supposed that the Dravidian 'mukam' is a corruption of the Sanskrit 'mukham' but the probability is that it may just be the other way round. For the Malayalam 'mukk' means a projection and represents the nose which projects from the surface of the face, and by extension came to mean 'the face' itself. In English the word 'mug' means 'the face' as well as 'mouth', which latter is recognisably analogous to the Malayalam 'montha', Dutch 'mond', Germanic 'mund' and Anglo-Saxon 'muth'. But this Anglo-Saxon 'muth' is identical with the Malayalam 'muth' variants are 'mun', 'mut', and 'mul' which means' 'the first', 'the foremost', prominent', and also 'the basic',or 'the One may add that the Sanskrit 'mulam' ly derives from the Dravidian 'mul' 'the original', 'the origin' or 'the place of nation'.

Radical Analogues

The Malayalam primary roots in convey the idea of proximity, special aud often attach formatives, not enunciatives as well. On the other there are other Dravidian languages like which are very particular about the tive part of the radical form at least in ing for some reason or other. The be noted in this connection is that Malayalam and English eschew the tives and have never suffered any on that account.

Be that as it may, the Malayalam 'at' indicates proximity but its voiceless 't' turns into the sonant occulusive 'd'in rese, Latin and English. As stated in the case of 'ean', the formative 't' into '1', 'm', 'n', 'p' etc., to give rise to lik 'l' , 'am', 'an', or 'ap', as occasion For all appearance, this explanation with equal force to the origin of the English radicals too, as is evident from practice of English lexicographers them to the Latin 'ad'.

I may illustrate the equipollence of the other English radicals by citing four of them, viz, 'al' 'ad', 'at' and 'as', of which converge on 'ad' itself for of etymology. Every one of them

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

'alleviate' (to lighten) 'appertain' (to belong), 'attend' (to stretch), and 'annotate' (to mark). It is clear that the preposition 'u' all the while signifies the physical or mental relation of the subject concerned to the predicate and, of course, this relation or proximity is precisely what is denoted by the Dravidian analogues of the English words referred to above. But this creates some confusion, for the question arises as to how the subject-predicate relation subsists in Malayalam. For example, in the Malayalam sentence, 'Raman Pokunnu' (Rama goes), there is no obvious relation of the subject with the predicate that can be explained in terms of radical etymology. This anomaly is due to the fact that the 'unna' (a variant of 'una') in the verb is grammatically explained as a simple present-participial suffix. But the participle itself is the theme which signifies the relation of the subject to the predicate, the primary root 'u' (as much as 'i' itself) being a relational deictic. Therefore 'pokunnu' in the illustrative sentence means that Rama, the subject, attaches himself to the predicate 'po', i. e., 'to go.'

It is true that some scholars have etymologised 'u' as a separative deictic; but it may be an error, for otherwise the vocable 'utama' could not have sprung from it to denote 'ownership,' which is unmistakable attachment or relation generally hard of separation. In Latin also, the same radical 'ut' is relational in its denotation as in 'ut infra' (as below) and 'ut supra' (as above) wherein the attachment to 'below' and 'above' is unambiguously indicated. It is interesting to note that in English the radicals of the class mentioned above, having 'a' for the deictic, are often derived from Latin through French, though in the latter the radical 'en' (as in 'en route,' 'en masse,' articulated as 'un') stands for the Dravidian 'an', a variant of 'an'.

Familiar Dravidian in the West

It is common knowledge that Greek or Latin has to account for the etymology of several English terms. Though some of them have been already shown to be Dravidian in origin, there are others of very familiar everyday use in Dravidian, but raised to the dignity of scientific terminology in English through the agency of Greek or Latin.

One snch is 'palaeontology', a compound of three Greek terms 'palaios' 'onta' and 'logia' respectively signifying 'ancient' 'existences' and discourse', their overall signification being 'the science of the ancient life of the earth. Now the term could have been pronounced to be ordinary familiar Dravidian, or Malayalam for the matter, but for 'logia,' the last member of the compound. In other words, the first and the second member of the compound are Malayalam in their origin and features.

In Malayalam the form of the Greek 'palaios' is 'palayat' which means 'old' or 'ancient'. The alveolar 't' is often phonetically changed into the fricative 's', as in 'sul', which is but 'tul', (to end or be on the last legs) and in the Sanskritized form, 'surangam' of the Dravidian, 'turankam' a tunnel. On this analogy, it will be seen that the suffix 'os' in the Greek term 'palaios' is only a phonetic modification of 'at' (atu) in the Malayalam term 'palayat (u), ('that which is old'), a telescoped form of 'at (u)'.

The next member of the compound, 'onta' though a plural seems to derive from the Dravidian 'ontakuka' (untakuka) 'to be' or 'to exist'. The singular form in Greek is 'on' which in Malayalam has 'onma' ('unma') for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

its noun form indicative of the state of being or 'existence', if often perhaps in the abstract sense.

A different quite familiar Dravidian term is 'matt' whose Greek analogue 'meta' signifies, 'another' 'the other' or 'a variant' just as the Malayalam 'matt'. On the strength of this meaning, the English term 'metaphrase' has come to denote 'a word for word translation' of any original. The English term 'metathesis' is another example which proves this similarity between the Greek and Dravidian themes structurally, semantically.

Another term which agrees well with the Malayalam theme 'tul' or 'tula' is the Latin 'thule' which means 'the farthest limit.' There is a place in Greenland called 'Thule' which marks the Geomagnetic pole as also the antipodal limit to which the term seems to have travelled. The expression 'ultima thule' in Latin means the northernmost limit of Europe while in Tamil the theme 'tulai' contextually refers to the easternmost limit of the Bay of Bengal or Singapore. It may be added that the flexional possibilities of the Dravidian 'tul' are varied enough to give it a polysemantic character which the Latin form lacks.

In Greek the thematic form of 'thule' is 'tele' which, again, means 'far' or at a 'distance'. In English the Greek form is prefixed in such terms as 'telephone', 'telegraph' or ' telepathy' to indicate some transaction which has its limits at a distance from the base of operation. To be brief, the Dravidian term 'tul' or 'tula' (thulai) has been serving some European Languages even from very early times, though perhaps its application in scientific terminology may be comparatively recent.

And What About 'Man'?

The most familiar term in E... 'man', a human being. English etym... derive it from the Sanskrit 'mand'... 'mananam', the act of cerebration, bei... distinguishing mark. But Tamil scho... the other hand, regard it as a synco... mation, which has dropped the modi... the word 'makan' in favour of comp... lengthening of the vowel 'a'. Obvious... these etymologies sound rather strang... crotchety.

It is generally ignored that 'a... personal ending common in certain Dr... languages, does itself signify 'man'. ... interpretation is certainly open to the ... tion that 'an' is only a shortened form o... third person masculine, 'avan'. Yes, ... were really so, 'en' another personal e... which exactly denotes both the first p... masculine and feminine alike, ought to ... been explained as short for 'evan'. But ... one will make bold to come forward ... such explanation, for 'evan' is not a ... feminine, nor first person, nor even ... person. It is but an interrogative third p... masculine. So it is incumbent on us ... reject the objection as groundless and stick ... the former explanation that 'an' stands ... 'an', or for 'al', third person, masculine.

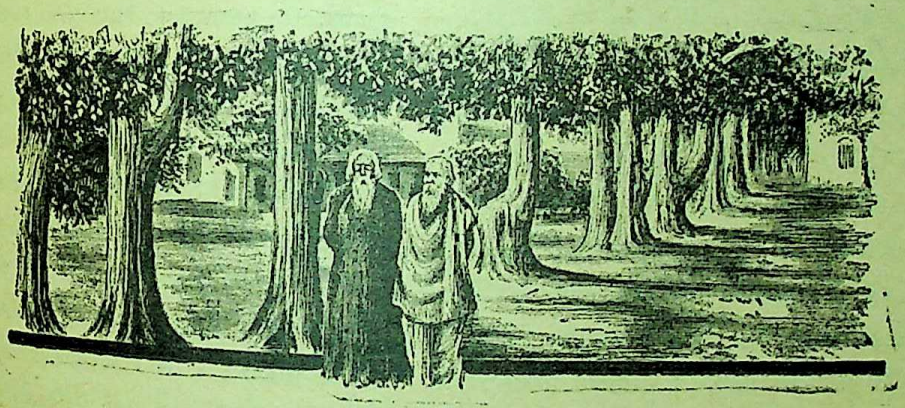
It is the practice in Dravidian to ... an intensitive consonant to the initial ... without bringing about any change in ... sense of the word involved, as 'alal' (... and 'talal' (fire), the initial 'tal' in the ... being a synartesis of the consonant 't' ... the vowel 'a'. The same had happened in ... case of the word 'man', the initial 'm' ... which is just another syncretism of 'a' ... 'a', so that its primary 'an' (a man ... been modified to 'man' in Dravidian, ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

found its way into English in the distant past. One may illustrate its incidence in Malayalam by quoting the very common saying, "manum mancatiyum illa"—"there is neither a man nor one of his kind", at the given place.

Now, in retrospect, Dravidian seems to deserve the name 'Indo-European' much better than any other family of languages in the West and in the Near East as the alphabets, roots and the homely vocabularies of some European and Asiatic languages of the present day more or less convincingly prove. Of course I am aware of the fact that there are fundamental differences between Dravidian and European languages as some scholars are only too ready to point out. But differences may not be exactly so vital, being traceable to later developments under changing conditions to which human communities are subjected from time to time. Some of the modern advanced scholars emphatically declare their faith in this possibility after due scientific research and meticulous sifting and weighing of evidence which can yet be substantially supplemented.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HISTORIAN'S STORY

By G. S. SARDESAI

Born in an obscure village on the west coast, where no educational facilities existed, I took the only chance of learning the alphabet by going to a school three miles away. I had to waste two full years for want of facilities for further study. At the age of 15 a family friend helped me in joining the English School at the district town of Ratnagiri. Five years' schooling here prepared me for the Matriculation at Bombay. Another lucky chance came my way when I was 19 years of age. My school-teacher had a marriageable daughter whom he proposed for my wife. I refused to undertake this novel experiment on the ground that I was too poor to afford the luxury of a marriage. But the gentleman undertook to defray my expenses at college and I had to accept the proposal, which ensured my future course in life. Four years at a Bombay college prepared me for graduation and I passed the B.A. examination in 1888. At this moment another fortunate call came to my help. A kindly friend who was then serving the late Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaikwad of Baroda, offered me, at the Maharaja's desire, a post as reader to the Ruler on Rs. 70 per month. I gladly accepted the offer and joined the State service on 1st January, 1889.

My work thus brought me into close personal contact with that renowned ruler. At that juncture the Maharaja's children were growing in age and required schooling, and the Maharaja appointed me to that work. Thus my life's profession was fixed at one stroke. I became an all-round teacher [illegible] the palace needs of Baroda. I remained teacher in all the future years of my [illegible] service to which I devoted full 37 [illegible] retiring at the age of sixty. I thus obtained rare opportunities of travel and equipment the various walks of life. The Maharaja fond of travel, and in four of his Europ tours I had the chance of visiting Lond Oxford, Paris, Rome and the German c I could enjoy the beautiful climate of Moritz year after year.

Teaching work gave me opportunities study and I took up Indian history special addition to my duties. The Mah was an exacting task-master and I unco ously imbibed valuable discipline and pr ration in practical matters. Many dis guished persons came to meet the Maha and this afforded me vast advantages. I c into close contact with the prominent ru of Indian States and leaders of public thou I attended the sessions of the Indian Natio Congress, Social Conference and other bod It was also part of my work to arran dinners and games and tournaments for v three decades in Baroda.

One curious acquisition I made for t preparation was the accidental acquaintan of a distinguished Bengali student of histo Sir Jadunath Sarkar, five years my junior age, a brilliant scholar, whose co-operation happened to secure without any particul effort. Sarkar took up the subject of Aurang zeb's life to compete for the Premchand Ro

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...chand Scholarship, when at the same time ...a Baroda I took up the life of Shivaji for ...special study, which appeared in 1901. ...Shivaji and Aurangzeb are complementary ...tics, and the one cannot be studied without ...rence to the other. The materials for ...ivaji's life existed in Marathi only, which ...kar did not then know, while Aurangzeb's ...ces were locked up in Persian which I ...not know.

The necessities of the situation made us ...seek each other's help through a common ...d, and a friendship came to be formed ...1903 which ripened in due course into ...ere, mutual co-operation during nearly ...a century of literary contact. Through-...this long period we have together toured ...st of the historical sites of India, taking up ...subject after another for investigation, ...materially contributing to the develop-...nt of national history in all its branches. ...over twenty years we together attended ...annual sessions of the Indian Historical ...ords Commission at different places and ...de our contributions to solving many ...ty problems that came up for considera-...n. In fact we two students formed a ...come combination joining the two distant ...ts of Bengal and Maharashtra in close ...adeship and educational affinity of a ...character. We both happened to have ...served our periodical correspondence, ...ly dealing with historical research and ...lopment ranging over three centuries, ...16th to the 19th. Full extracts from ...se two collections have recently been ...lished by Punjab University. I consider ...contact with Sir Jadunath a kind of ...sional acquisition. It was due to our joint ...sert that the vast Peshwas' Daftar of Poona ...s fully explored and selections from that stock printed in 46 volumes of fresh, useful material. The Poona Residency Correspondence series printed by the Bombay Government is similarly a result of our joint effort.



G. S. Sardesai

My 'ashram' at Kamshet has for the last 32 years become almost a research institution. Midway between Bombay and Poona, with charming rural surroundings and a healthy, temperate climate, Kamshet with its holy river Indrayani has attained an importance of its own. During the Dassera week of 1938 a unique meet was organised there, when some 75 reputed history scholars of different views, conducted useful deliberations continuously for one week under the able guidance of Sir Jadunath. The occasion proved highly valuable to history.

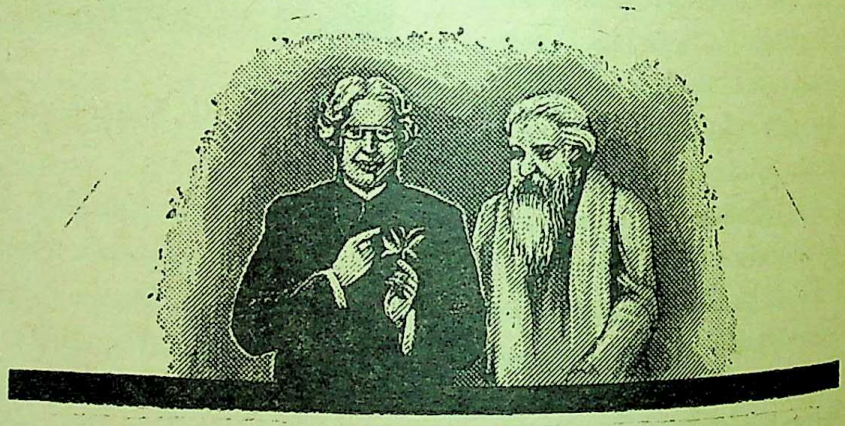
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mine has thus been a singularly fortunate life. Constitutionally I am not robust but a disciplined method has made life full of advance and achievement in many aspects of work and study. I have always hated being called old and I have prided myself on being able to compete with youngsters in all avenues of activity, but the abnormal rains of this year with no chance for stirring out of the house for months on end, and severe strong winds blowing constantly, have severely weakened my frame so that I am now fully experiencing the pangs of the helplessness and infirmities of old age. I cannot now dream of a sudden plunge into the river for a bath or a steep hill-climb in the neighbourhood.

I can turn out no useful work and ... idling away my time and finding no ... or relief. The body shakes, arms and ... have lost all strength and I am reduced ... have another person to help at every ... Yet I possess a happy, contented ... ment ready to welcome the final dissolution ... whenever it comes. I have no regrets, ... feel thankful for the many small mercies ... have so long enjoyed, which have enabled ... to make some mark on life's chart. ... highest solace is that I have been able ... complete a history of the Marathas, both ... Marathi and English, and I have prepared ... complete, up-to-date editions to the ...

The above is a brief summary of a ... AIR talk.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

COUP D'ETAT IN ALGERIA

GLOREA MELTZER

Algiers, June 23. 1965.

...r 19, 1965 : At 8.15 a. m. we proceeded ...our apartments at Hydra to the centre of ...ers City to the Festival Offices, where ... of us have been working these past ... months on the International Preparatory ...mittee for the 9th World Festival of ...th and Students for Solidarity, Peace and ...ndship.

The first signs of any possible disorder was ...the form of two huge army tanks on the side ...the main road. These were armed and ready ...ire with soldiers behind the machine guns ...guns raised and poised at the passing ...ic. A little further along the road was ...rly patrolled by the army who were out ...force with machine guns, trucks, etc. Armed ...iers could be seen here and there on the ...of the route to Algiers.

On arrival at our place of work at 8.30 we ...e informed that there was some sort of ten...in the town, but just what nobody seemed to ...w. Then more people began to arrive with ...e and more bits and pieces of news. Appar...there were to be no papers printed this ...there were no news broadcasts on the ...only military music was playing. Then ...adio began sending out announcements ...ten minutes or so, that the Algerian ...e should stand by, that there was some...important to tell them shortly.

Then a friend arrived and said that appar...at some stage during the preceding ...ing Algiers had been completely cut off ...the outside world. We next heard that Ben Bella and some of his Ministry were under house arrest. As the day drew on we were told to stop work and return as quickly as possible to Hydra. Almost unbelievably the news spread that there had been a Coup D'Etat and Boumedienne, the former Vice President to President Ben Bella, with the army behind him, had arrested the latter in his apartments in the early hours of the morning and assumed dictatorial power.

By mid-day Boumedienne had control of the country, but this control was only strong in Algiers. The people in the countryside and in the other major cities of Algiers like Oran, Constantine, Bone, were against the new Government of the Revolutionary Council. And even within Algiers itself many elements were already beginning to oppose him,—such as the JFLN (Youth of the National Liberation Front, strongest and largest Youth Organization), UNEA (National Union of Algerian Students) and UGTA (Trade Unions). Already many of the leaders of these groups had been arrested or had gone into hiding, as had many other people throughout the country.

By 1 p.m., the new Dictator was giving broadcasts on the radio in Arabic and French every few minutes, mainly anti-Ben Bella dialogue, accusing the former President of being a dictator, a despot, a demagogue and having developed the cult of the personality,—such slander laying a basis for the charge of High Treason of which Ben Bella has now been

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

accused, of course, to provide a curtain to hide the *real* dictator behind.

Yet, at first, the political intentions of Boumedienne were uncertain. He claimed to be democratic, to wish to continue the socialist foundation that had been laid in Algeria during its three years of independence, and to be on the side of the people. Within a few hours, however, it was made obvious how democratic Boumedienne intended to be ! The very nature of his undemocratic take-over of power was evidence enough !

On the afternoon of Saturday, June 19, the first day of the new regime, military planes began flying overhead, police cars began slowly patrolling the streets and frequently past our apartments. We discovered that not only were all telecommunications with the outside world cut off, but also within the country. Algerians told us that it was impossible to make contact with Constantine or Oran and difficult even with Algiers itself. The *Grande Poste* (General Post Office) was closed down and we were warned earlier not to post any mail at the moment as it probably would be tampered with or left unattended for many days. This present article had to be secretly smuggled out of Algeria ; the airport was completely sealed off and surrounded by tanks and the army.

Some of our Algerian friends who had been working with us over the past months, came to see us about 4 p.m. on this day and were, naturally, terribly upset. To many of Algeria's youth, this Coup D'Etat has been a shattering blow. Many of them had spent years in their struggle against the French colonialists, many were victims of torture and prison sentences. For the last three years they had been glorying in their newly earned independence. They told us that neither Ben Bella nor anyone else had been prepared this ; they had all been taken complete surprise. Ben Bella's fate was yet unk but it was believed he was still alive friend assured us that this new Gover simply could not maintain control and be overthrown within a week.

At 6 p.m., however, an Egyptian who claimed to have spoken with Ambassador, said that he had been told the new Government was strongly in much more strongly, in fact, than the Alg people themselves realised or believed.

We were warned of a possible being imposed this night and advised venture out into Algiers City at the ri being shot. All demonstrations or any opposition have been forbidden and strikes banned.

This was five days before the meeting of the heads of States for the very important Second Afro-Asian Confer then due to open in Algiers in ten days' on June 29. The Coup D'Etat w deliberate sabotage of this Conference since then Boumedienne has been doing can to encourage this Conference and has insisting that it would go on. This is deci at this moment, and its success is particularly in view of the fact that have so far been only two Governments have recognised this new regime—Syria Indonesia. China's former recognition been withdrawn as has Great Britain's Boumedienne has succeeded in causing to the Afro-Asian Conference, he caused no less havoc to the Y Festival. All activities for the Festival come to a standstill and this delay, this of contact with our Algerian friends

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ence into hiding, is everyday making the fate ...the Festival more uncertain.

We have been trying to get the reaction ...attitude of the Algerian people to this ...ation. We asked a taxi driver, who ...ed that if he had his way he would kill ...the members of the new Government. ...are all the same", he added and his was ...ice of a man grown apathetic and weary ...ck of the war here. In general, during ...suing two or three days, the people on ...whole seemed to be passive and went ...their normal business as though nothing ...happened. There seemed to be little ...ion or desire for active opposition, but ...passive acceptance. This seemed ...strange and unnatural. This, however, ...ed to be just the numbness following the ...l shock.

The night of June 19 passed quietly. ...e was an unnatural calm in the city which ...more or less deserted. June 20 proceeded ...the normal manner, the only sign of any ...rumental change being the sight of army ...ks full of militia men frequently passing ...ugh the city, a police patrol-boat along ...coast and some helicopters flying overhead. ...so-called "new democracy" was taking ...e. A Government paper appeared with ...proclamation of the new Revolutionary ...cil of Boumedienne. But the former ...lar daily, the *Alger Republicain* had been ...ed as had all foreign papers.

The evening of June 20 showed the first ...of active opposition in the form of a ...nstration outside the *Grande Poste*, ...ised by the Students' UNEA. This was ...y much in support of Ben Bella, and the ...lar chant was "Long Live Ben Bella." ...y students were arrested and taken off in ...e wagons; reports begun to pour in that there was much unrest commencing in the countryside. At 11 p.m. that night the radio reported that trouble had broken out in the Kasbah (the former stronghold of the people against the French), and that one person had been killed there. The Kasbah was completely surrounded by the army and it was impossible for anyone to either enter or leave the place.

Reaction was now awakening and solidifying. It was obvious that on the first day of the new regime the people were still in a state of shock and had not yet fully realised what had happened. Next day they began to retaliate.

On June 21 at 5 p.m. we proceeded homewards, walking at first through the long *Rue Dedouche*, the main street of the city, As we passed the Kasbah, we found army trucks sealing off all entrances, many jeeps with radio control in operation and at the Square of the Martyrs, there were police guards with machine guns poised at nearly every post and shop. At a street intersection the street was barricaded across by the army. As we stopped for a cool drink at an outdoor cafe, the place was surrounded by uniformed men with bazooka sten-guns, a crowd beginning to gather along the street, and there was an air of expectancy, like a lull before a storm. Fearing that the police might open fire at the slightest provocation, we hurriedly proceeded towards the *Grande Poste*. This street was completely controlled on both sides by an enormous chain of armed police, trucks carrying spray-guns to hose the people in the event of any outbreak of demonstrations. The police were also carrying tear gas. We later heard that they had actually used tear gas in the afternoon when students had demonstrated. At the *Grande Poste* we went inside to cable to our families, to try and inform

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

them of our safety. While inside we heard the distant sounds of people chanting, which grew louder as they approached the *Grande Poste.* We ran out on to the steps and witnessed a small parade of children with their mothers chanting "Ahmed Ben Bella." As they drew closer, one truck deliberately and viciously opened fire, attacking the women and children with a torrent of water, and scattering them in every direction. Some ran towards the *Grande Poste* and the hoses swept the entire street and the post office in pursuit, drenching hundreds of passers-by, cars, in fact everyone in their path. Crowds surged into the *Grande Poste,* where they were rapidly closing all doors and trying to hurriedly lock up. When the deluge stopped, we quickly ran out and hailed a passing car to take us away, as the police had arrived in the meanwhile in truckloads and was grabbing anyone who was wet and piling them into their vans. The police were armed and carried truncheons and batons. Trouble and tension now began to mount.

We had noticed earlier that even the high schools in the city were under guards. As one person observed, "this in itself was enough to indict the new regime."

22nd June. This day was also calm. It was still quite impossible for us to resume work. Many of us were trying to seek out our Algerian friends for discussions ; others had been told to leave Algeria ; some others passing the time at the beach. That after the Festival offices were watched by the for the first time. This was alarming, was the first time any indication of the of the new Government to the Festival available. We are in a state of semi-preparto quit the country at a moment's notice if be. This evening (June 22) witnessed largest demonstration yet in Algiers city 4000 people came out on to the to be heavily hosed.

This is the situation in Algeria today country which had been diligently prepared for the Afro-Asian Conference, and youths anxiously working for their Festival, having happily forgotten their of war. But that was yesterday, what was like a few days ago. Today the offices, formerly a thriving centre of have overnight been turned into a barren deserted building. Today it is a country chaos and confusion and, perhaps, sadder at any previous period in its long history. There is, however, this consolation, that only support that Boumedienne can rely upon, comes from the army. The masses the Algerian people are against his rule. Boumedienne has the guns, he has not people and the popular will must eventually succeed rule by force. History has proved this.

—0—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(Continued from Page 16)

a large area of development in asso-
ed fields of supply industries, towards
ich not a great deal of progress would
ar to have been achieved so far. The
k in metallurgical coal with reasonably
proportions of ash contents, supply of
mite and other fluxing materials of the
quality and other similar lacks appear
ve been dogging the process of steel
ufacture over the years and which
ears to have become the invariable
nal burden of complaints of steel pro-
ers in the private sector. Operational lags
the public sector plants which have been
nstrating a continuing disparity between
d down capacity and output long after
initial gestatory troubles of these new
nts should have been over, is one of the
cipal factors which would appear to
e been retarding the rate of steel output
e country and correspondingly inflating
costs of production. These and several
er matters have been urgently calling for
ediate consideration and action with-
however, a great deal of progress towards
r solution having so far been achieved.

No one will controvert the fact that
l constitutes one of the vital elements
e economic bases that would be required
carry the development of the economy
ward and development of steel capacity
ital towards such an end. But it has to
realised also at the same time that
ely laying down additional capacity
uld do no good to the country unless
h capacity were to be fully utilized in
duction out-turns, and that economically
competitively with the rest of the world.
tunately, in the manner steel capacity
eing expanded in the country at present,
the rather complete indifference to the
nomics of steel production in the plants
have been able to put down in the
blic sector over the last one decade or
reabouts which seems to be evident,
uld appear to have been vitiating the
ire process of steel development in the country as a whole. The Steel Minister says that he has not yet been able to acquire a complete grasp of the subject of steel manufacture in its entirety, but this is a matter which has been nagging at the national economy for over long as it is, and one could only wish for wholesome action without any avoidable delay.

Coal in the Fourth Plan

The gross demand for coal in the Third Plan was estimated to rise to somewhere around 97 million tonnes, but revised estimates put down this demand at somewhere round 66 million tonnes as being the more realistic figure in this behalf. As a result, the private sector of the industry has recently been suffering from lack of demand for its output in the measure in which it had been achieved in obedience to its targets for production set down in the Third Plan. The public sector naturally did not suffer to a corresponding extent because its performance remained far below the target allocated to it.

The question as to what should be the target for the Fourth Plan has, accordingly, been looming very large. The lack of demand for coal in the Third Plan has been assessed to have been due to a combination of factors. The first and most important of these was, naturally, the slow rate of implementation of the Third Plan projects especially those relating to the coal-consuming industries. Secondly some large industries have been reducing their consumption of coal, not because of any reduction in their production schedules, but primarily because they have been switching off to other thermal techniques, principally oil. Some of the steel plants, it has been resported, has been so seriously concerned about the increasing ash contents of the metallurgical coal that were being made available to them, that they started carrying out experiments in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

alternative methods of fuelling their industries, at least in part, all of which has been having a dampening effect on the demand for coal. It was so substantial, that last year the private sector coal industry in the country, as averred in one of his annual addresses to the Indian Mining Association, the Chairman deplored that the coal industry was almost faced with a crisis on account of the attenuated demand in the face of its increased production.

In a recent joint meeting between representatives of the Union Steel & Mines Ministry, those of the private sector coal industry and the public sector, it was assessed that the aggregate demand for coal in the Third Plan which worked out at approximately 66 million tonnes per annum, would be expected to rise by almost a hundred per cent per annum by about the end of the Fourth Plan to something like 120 million tonnes a year. This assessment was said to have been arrived at on the basis of the requirements of the coal-consuming industries and the representatives of the industry are said to have accepted this assessment as realistic.

The assessment puts down the requirements of coking and non-coking coal at approximately 79 million tonnes and 36 million tonnes respectively with a further 5 million tonnes of blended coal. Of the demand for non-coking coal, the public sector under the NCDC (National Coal Development Corporation) would be expected to supply 25.18 million tonnes, the private sector 43 million tonnes and the Singerani Collieries of the Government in Hyderabad 8.74 million tonnes. The NCDC's and the private sector's present rate of production of non-coking coal has been estimated at 12 million tonnes and 40 million tonnes respectively, that is to say, while the private sector would be expected to increase its production of non-coking coal over the Fourth Plan by some 7.5 per cent, the NCDC's rate of production expansion should be of the order of over 109.8 per cent.

It should be noted in this connection that the demand for non-coking coal has been consistently lagging considera... hind the quantum of production ... last few years which has been ... principal woes of the private sector ... recent times. The demand, it is now ... has been gradually going up and the ... demand has been estimated at approx... 46.27 million tonnes and which is ... expected to reach the level of 50 ... tonnes next year. At this rate, it is ... that by about the end of the Fourth ... period, the demand for non-coking ... would be bound to exceed the target ... million tonnes now set for the Fourth ...

It is presumed that since the rep... tatives of the private sector coal in... are stated to have agreed to these ... ments by the Union Steel & Mines M... they find that these assumptions have ... based upon realistic estimates of the p... development of demand during the p... Nevertheless, they seem to have ... very cautious about accepting ... of production which may again place ... in difficulties as during the current Pl... has agreed to only a 7.5 per cent in... over the current production rates thr... out the entire Fourth Plan period. ... NCDC, on the other hand, has been ... to fulfil its Third Plan targets of produ... by a considerable margin and although ... said to have accepted the target fo... Fourth Plan which postulates an increa... production rate by about 110 per cen... be reached by the end of the Fourth P... period, one wonders to what extent ... production may be expected to appro... to the targets now placed upon itself. T... the NCDC will be expected to fulfil w... the limits of its already developed poten... as no new projects for non-coking ... would be sanctioned for the Fourth Plan ... is said.

So far as coking coal for the metal... gical industries is concerned, current ... duction appears to have been assessed ... some 14/15 million tonnes per annu... Increase of production of metallurgical ... to 36 million tonnes per annum would ... for considerable effort and it may not ... possible to achieve this within the ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

working in the private and public sectors together. A detailed survey of the requirements of the steel industry as it is likely to develop by the end of the Fourth Plan period—most steel plants in both the private and public sector are under expansion at present and at least one new large steel plant in the public sector would probably to be commissioned for production in addition within the period—and it is possible that the NCDC will then be required to open up new coking coal projects to keep pace with this developing demand.

Who Pays for this Criminal Waste ?

According to a recently published press report, on account of water-logging of the surrounding areas, there was considerable seepage of water into the West Bengal Government's food godowns in the Lake and Tollygunge areas and, in consequence, it is estimated, that some 5,000 tons of rice have gone bad. This can only be construed as criminal neglect of their primary duties on the part of the concerned officers of the West Bengal Food Directorate. From reports that have subsequently appeared in the press, it is learnt that the Government is now busy over devising means for removing the unaffected stocks in these godowns and holding them in alternative premises. But so far as the waste already incurred is concerned, there does not appear to be any serious attempt to locate responsibility for the matter.

Water-logging in Calcutta has been endemic during the rainy season for over a decade now. Although the pattern of water-logging in the different areas of the Metropolis may change from time to time, the Lake and Tollygunge areas have always been submerged with any very heavy downpour. In the circumstances, it should have been possible for the authorities concerned to realise the extent to which these godowns would be affected with the onset of the monsoons. It should also have been possible to visualise, with the monsoons considerably delayed in their arrival in Calcutta this year, that the initial downpour would be very heavy and considerable areas of the Metropolis would be bound to go down under water for a period. These are obvious facts about which there cannot be any dispute.

And yet no one in authority appears to have been the least concerned about the fate of the food stocks in the Government godowns in these areas. It may not be easy, one can easily concede, to make alternative arrangement for huge stocks of food grains and other rationed articles to be stored elsewhere in areas free from water-logging. But it should not have been at all difficult to make advance arrangements for raising adequate baffles against seepage of water into the concerned godowns even in areas which normally become water-logged with heavy and protracted periods of rain-fall. This, moreover, should not have been a very expensive precaution. But no one in authority responsible for the storage of food articles in Government godowns appears to have been at all concerned about the matter. In the result, some 5,000 tons of rice are now reported to have gone bad, a measure of waste which the State cannot afford to incur, look at it from whatever point of view one might. One also apprehends that even apart from the 5,000 tons of rice which is reported to have gone bad and rendered wholly unfit for human consumption, there may have been considerable additional quantities of food grains and other rationed articles in the godowns concerned which may have gone at least partially mildewed by the damp and which now the helpless consumers in the city would be compelled to use, although it may not be quite healthful to do so.

The waste reportedly incurred would appear to be quite colossal, look at it from whatever point of view we might. In the first instance, there is not a great deal of surplus stock available to the State over its basic requirements of consumption. It is heartening to learn, as the Chief Minister of West Bengal has recently announced in a public statement, that if the order of Central subventions and procurement under local levies were fulfilled according to schedule, there should not be any crisis in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

rice supplies in the State until it was time for the new harvest to come in late in October next. But it is easy to realise that supplies of rice in the State can only be marginally adequate and a sudden 5,000 tons shortfall in the stocks should seriously disturb calculations in this behalf and it would take quite a considerable amount of effort and manoeuverings to be able to fully replace this large quantity.

In financial terms also, the waste would appear to be quite colossal. Differen varieties of rice are stored in the Government godowns priced at different levels. Assuming that the wasted rice was of the most inferior quality alone, Government sell this rice to the consumers at 67 paise per kg. A tonne of rice of this variety should cost the consumer, therefore, Rs. 670, and the cost of 5,000 tonnes would work out at Rs. 33,50,000. This colossal loss, would be bound to be either passed on to the consumers directly by correspondingly raising the price level for future supplies or, if that is avoided having regard to the recent price increase of different varieties of rice already enforced, passed on to the tax-payer generally. But why should the people of the State allow themselves to be penalized in this manner for the criminal neglect of their elementary responsibilities by their own public servants ?—is a question which every one has the legitimate right to ask and demand an answer to.

It would be equally criminal for the Government to seek to pass off this incident with their usual nonchalance by ... it all on the inclemency of the ... The least that they owe to the ... sifting inquiry into the whole matter ... the location of responsibility for this ... where it should rightly belong. ... such an inquiry, we feel, should be ... mentally carried out, but the usual ... chant of the Government, which ... been evident for many years now, to ... tect their erring employees in ... matters, has made every one rightly ... cious of departmental inquiries and ... The present matter is so serious in ... nature and implication that only a ... quasi-judicial inquiry should satisfy ... public and then only when the findings ... may be arrived at by the inquiry ... sion or whatever instrument is ... for the purpose, is followed by swift ... appropriate action against those ... be found to have been responsible. We ... especially suspicious that nothing would ... done in the present matter by the ... Government, because it concerns the ... Minister himself who is directly ... sible for the Food portfolio in his ... ment, and his kindnesses to and indulgence ... of his own departmental men have been ... quite notorious. Will the Chief Minister ... be able to muster the necessary determination ... ment and the sternness to order the ... site inquiry and follow up its results with ... appropriately stern action? This is the ... least he owes, we insist, to the public ... the State over whose destinies he has been ... appointed to preside.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

We reproduce below, some of them *in extenso verbatim*, and excerpts from some others, from many articles published by some of the national dailies and periodicals, to commemorate the birth centenary of our founder, the late Ramananda Chatterjee.

We are also reproducing our own English rendering of an article by Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi, published by the *Navabharat Times* of Delhi, a Hindi language national daily. One time associate of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi had been a close associate of the late Ramananda Chatterjee for well over a decade, while editing the *Vishal Bharat*, owned and published by the former. In this article some anecdotes are related which will highlight the place accorded by Ramananda to the freedom of opinion of the editor and his championship of the latter's rights to untrammelled expression of opinion even when his views may be in conflict with those of the proprietors of the publication he was editing. There was, in fact, one such occasion when the editor of the *Vishal Bharat* severely criticised, in one of its editorial notes, the owner of the publication in relation to one of the latter's the then public activities. Instead of taking his editor to task on this account, as might have been ordinarily expected, all that Ramananda did was to state that he felt that he had a right of reply to this criticism and would the editor of the *Vishal Bharat* concede to him this right ? This was fully in accord with the principle that Ramananda held as being sacred to the profession,—that he conceded the same measure of freedom of expression to his subordinate working Journalists as he claimed for himself.

REASONED JOURNALISM IN AN EXCITED AGE

Niranjan Majumdar

It calls for an effort to picture, with present-day eyes, the Bengal and the India in which Ramananda Chatterjee was born a hundred years ago ; the effort is worth making. Thirty years had gone since Macaulay's Minute on Education ; eight since the Battle of Plassey. Each experience was what we have since learned to call traumatic.

For a hundred years from the middle of the eighteenth century, as D. S. Sarma has observed in his study on the renaissance of Hinduism, nothing of importance had been produced in any Indian language. The pool of Bengali culture was stagnant, producing more malaria than masterpieces. But stirrings had begun ; time started moving when in 1789 a watchmaker called David Hare settled down in Calcutta. In 1813 the House of Commons directed the East India Company to spend annually Rs. 1 lakh on education ; Raja Rammohun Roy promptly wanted it spent on educating "the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy and other useful sciences" and not on Sanskrit learning.

By 1861 Michael Madhusudan Dutt had rediscovered the Bengali language and published *Meghnad-badh Kavya*, the first epic in Bengali blank verse. Not merely because he was no longer a Hindu, he had also acquired the impudence to proclaim, "I despise Rama and his rabble but the idea of Ravana elevates and kindles my imagination." Something had

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

started with a bang ; the air was to be astir for at least, the next sixty years.

True Vocation

A whole society was being transformed ; and nobody can write a history of the period without digesting the bound volumes of, first, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Bangadarshan* and, 1901 onwards, Ramananda Chatterjee's *Prabasi* and, from 1907, *The Modern Review*. After finishing college, for some time Ramananda taught English literature in the City College, Calcutta, and Kayastha Pathsala, Allahabad. But his aprenticeship with *Dasi* and *Pradip* told him early on that jonrnalism was his true vocation. And, for him, journalism was the continuation of teaching through other means, for a larger class. The class once contained all educated Bengalis and much of educated India.

When he moved to Calcutta and began to publish also in the only all-India language, English, Calcutta was the political and intellectual centre of the country, which as a whole now became his audience. In those days it was necessary to be a good Bengali before becoming a good Indian ; something of this may be true even today, perhaps of the children of all States. Ramananda was a good Bengali and good Indian ; there was no conflict between the two.

Brahmo Samaj

Early and voluntary conversion to Brahmoism set the pattern and pace of his life ; again, this did not set him apart from the source religion, Hinduism ; he always called himself a Hindu. Early acquaintance with the Vedas and the Upanishads taught him calm and tranquillity, which gave his intense nationalism a quality of serenity that was not to be found either in the mass movements started by Mahatma Gandhi or in the movements' raucous chorus, the [illegible] Press.

Understanding and analysis were [illegible] forte ; persuasion rather than exhortation, [illegible] rhetorical invective. This basic approach led to a style of writing which has also [illegible] appeared ; whether he was writing in Bengali or English, he was always simple, [illegible] direct, factual and utterly unpretentious. Rabindranath Tagore's Bengali prose was heavily ornamented, often florid ; he [illegible] at least three generations of Bengali writers imitate him, almost slavishly. Ramananda, Tagore's great friend and admirer, never imitated him in any way ; and to write [illegible] so compelling an influence called for can be summed up only in one word : Character. The significance of this [illegible] will be apparent when it is added that there is no Bengali equivalent of the word.

He once worked for temperance [illegible] always for the emancipation of [illegible] womanhood ; but journalism remained his first love, and he brought to it a passion for truth and reason almost unequalled. [illegible] British liberals did, Ramananda supported the Indian National Congress and its [illegible] but never surrendered his right to criticise. [illegible] the highest objects of his admiration, including Gandhiji and Gurudev. Chatterjee's patriotism was concrete ; you could almost hold it in your hands. He wrote as much about India's pathetic cattle population as about the successive Constitutions the British gave this country, each short of our aspirations. He wrote about lepers, for whom he had seen many in Bankura. Educational problems occupied him a great deal even when the call came for making [illegible] the sole obsession of the Indian people, to the exclusion of all else, Ramananda, and a few others including Tagore, knew [illegible]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

worthless freedom it would be if the people were not taught what to do with it. It is altogether premature to claim that their fears have been totally belied.

BARON OF ARTS

Austere in personal life, firm in principles, Ramananda yet was remarkably tolerant of the different ways of other people. His publicity was most apparent in the selection of material for his magazines. If some of the younger generation will not forgive him for his patronage of the Bengal school of painting, they had better remember that he also published Gaganendranath Tagore. More important than these details is the impetus art in general received from Ramananda.

In 1924 Indians made their first acquaintance with Gandhara sculpture, through the writings of Rakhaldas Bandopadhyay published in *The Modern Review*.—In what esteem this magazine was held will be clear from the fact that Nehru chose it for perhaps the most revealing piece of writing he ever did on himself. Under the pseudonym "Chanaky", Nehru wrote: "A little twist and Jawaharlal might turn a dictator sweeping aside the paraphernalia of a slow-moving democracy". This was in November 1937; one remembers the angry arguments over the identity of Nehru's detractor!). It may well be that some of the indecisiveness of 25 years since proceeded from this early consciousness of the other side of himself.

TAGORE ON SWARAJ

Prabasi and *The Modern Review* also published some of Tagore's most indignant criticism of aspects of the developing nationalist agitation; one remembers the word "vandalism" used at least once. To publish such material in those excited days was not popular. What cared Ramananda? His loyalty was only to truth and reason. The pervasive pusillanimity of later days pained him no end.

The ordinary non-journalist reader cannot be expected to appreciate the full value of this far younger and far inferior journalist's final compliment to his incomparably superior elder: Ramananda Chatterjee was meticulous in preparing his "copy" for the printer and was an excellent proof-reader. Indian journalism is today far more professional than it was; it is, at last, thank heaven, a career. But Ramananda's abhorrence of misprints sprang not from his professionalism, which few have matched, but from a far deeper source. He cared for professional perfection, certainly; but a misspelt word, a wrongly placed comma or semicolon seemed to him a distortion, a distortion of truth itself, and a violation of the true journalist's compact with his reader. And the reader to Ramananda was not an anonymous entity with a rupee to spare but a man or a woman with a mind to enrich and, in the ultimate analysis, a soul to save. And because he believed in this, in every word he ever wrote, he was a better man—and a better journalist—than anyone in the game today; and it is erroneous to think that it is possible to be a good journalist without at least trying to be a good man.

(*Statesman*, May 29, 1965.)

—0—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SHRI RAMANANDA CHATTOPADHYAYA

BANARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

(Excerpts translated from the Original Hindi by Karuna K. Nandi)

In the history of Indian journalism there have been a few leaders of the profession whose thinking, capabilities, ability for sustained hard work, spirit of independence and rectitude of character, would easily rank them among the foremost journalists of the world. Among them one of the greatest, unquestionably, was the late Ramananda Chattopadhyaya. Journalism to him was a mission. His periodicals were universally acknowledged as the best of their kind and the foremost writers of the day all over the country would consider it a privilege to have their contributions accepted for publication by these. Contributions from such eminent writers of the day as the great poet Rabindranath Tagore, Lala Lajpat Rai, Lala Hardayal, C. F. Andrews, Sister Nivedita, Jadunath Sarkar, Bidhusekhar Bhattacharyya, Kashiprasad Jaiswal and many others, used to be regularly published in their columns.

Paintings from the brushes of the foremost artists of the country used, likewise, to be regularly reproduced in these magazines and which constituted another very distinctive feature of these publications. In fact it would only be fair to acknowledge that Ramananda Babu's was the most outstanding contribution, in this regard, to the renaissance of Indian art and the distinctive character of the editorial notes in his English-language magazine, inspired its wide circulation not merely within the country, but also, in very significant numbers, across the seas to the outside world. The famous American writer, Dr. J. T. Sunderland, was reported to have observed, that there was no periodical ... lished in the United States which ... compete in their quality and sweep ... *The Modern Review*, perhaps not ... Europe.

M. Romain Rolland used to hold ... *Modern Review* in the highest esteem ... the late Sir Michael Saddler pronounced ... to be the most wideawake journal in ... Even Mahatmaji used to eagerly ... forward to Ramananda Babu's approval ... endorsement to his political programmes ... action.

Those among us who had the privilege ... working under the late Ramananda Chatto-padhyaya, used to call him the *Bada Babu*. He was shy by nature and was a man of few words. On the occasion of his sixtieth birthday a few of us wished to publicly celebrate the occasion, but he would not accept a public ovation. On being hard pressed, he would only agree to the celebrations being limited within his own office staff and a very few intimate friends. We had no alternative but to honour his wishes in this regard.

I would relate here a few anecdotes from my personal relations with him. When Ramananda Babu accepted the Presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha at its Satna session, I openly gave expression to my staunch opposition to this in the columns of the *Vishal Bharat* owned by him and of which I was the Editor. In my editorial notes in the *Vishal Bharat* I commented that a political personality in the country ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

accept the office of the Chief Executive of a communal organization, such as the Hindu Mahasabha was. But that was not all; I did not even publish *Bada Babu's* presidential address in the columns of the *Vishal Bharat*. On his return from Surat he requested me to inform him as to which among the Hindi newspapers and periodicals had published his address. I asked him to first read what his own periodical had commented on this. After reading the note, he asked me in great good humour if I would agree to publish his reply to my comments, to which I naturally replied that I would surely do so. He then said that although he was able to speak in Hindi of a sort, he was not able to write effectively in this language; if he wrote his reply in English, would I agree to translate the same for him? I readily agreed to do this. *Bada Babu* then wrote out a very strong and critical reply which I promptly translated into Hindi and published in my paper. At that time a famous journalist of Bombay asked Bada Babu, how was it that one of his own journals publishes criticisms of himself? His reply was characteristic; he said that he extended to his subordinate journalists working in his own organization the same measure of independence and discretion that he claimed for himself. He was not prepared to suborn or control the independent judgment of others.

Bada Babu's treatment of his subordinate workers was wholly different from that of the ordinary run of newspaper proprietors. If he desired it, he might easily have told me that since his point of view and mine differed so widely, I had better look out for another job. But he was such a staunch votary of individual freedom that throughout my ten years' incumbency under him, I had never had any occasion when he was even remotely attenuating my freedom. He would, no doubt explain his point of view on matters of importance by way of advising me, but he always made it quite clear that those were merely his advice, but it was only upto me to accept them in case I agreed with him; otherwise I should pursue my own course.

On one occasion I had published the photograph of a danseuse in an Urdu play in the *Vishal Bharat*. Bada Babu told me that I should not publish such photographs because the posture of the artiste concerned was such that its influence on the public mind would not be wholesome. He explained, however, that this was a suggestion he made as an editor whose first concern was the public good, but it was naturally upto me to accept his suggestion in this behalf or otherwise. I listened and then came away. A few days later the late Rakhaldas Banerjee visited me in my offiee and related to me an anecdote of his student days. Once while visiting Bada Babu's son Kedarnath, he carried with him the photograph of a certain actress. While coming away; the photograph was, by mistake, left behind on Bada Babu's table. When, later he arrived there, he found the photograph torn across in four pieces and then gummed together. He asked Kedar Babu how this had happened to which he replied that Bada Babu had done this. Rakhal Babu explained to me that the Bada Babu belonged to the old school and would not even see a cinema film. To publish the picture of a danseuse is not a matter of journalistic principle with me and it were better that in deference to Bada Babu's prejudices in this matter, I should not publish such pictures in the future. I understood Bada Babu's point of view in this matter after my talk

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with Rakhal Babu, and I never repeated this mistake.

When I started preaching the gospel of anarchy in my journal, instead of forbidding that, Bada Babu simply had his own name removed as the director of the publication. He had incurred losses on this publication running to thousands of rupees, but he nevertheless always suggested that for the sake of popularity I should not fill the journal with popular matters of inferior quality and taste and thereby bring down the high standard of the publication.

...He used to put in a great deal of labour in editing his two journals. Besides his own writings and notes, he used to read the proofs for most things that were published in his journals. He last attended a session of the Indian National Congress in Surat in 1907, after which he seemed to have shut himself up into his own work. He had no ambitions for popular applause, and seldom visited any meetings or was prominent in any association of men. When, however, the League of Nations invited him to Geneva, he agreed to accept the same on condition that he would not be expected to accept reimbursement of his expenses of the visit because he felt that after accepting any monetary assistance from the League on this account, he would feel his editorial freedom correspondingly attenuated. This had cost him something like eleven thousand rupees, which he considered a small price for the independence of his opinions.

When after his return to India he strongly criticised the League in his the *Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore mented that this was an abuse of the hospitality. Replying to this comment Babu wrote that he had heard that method of pleasing John Bull is to but it might interest the Editor know that he, however, had not been to the League of Nations even to small extent of a free cup of tea.

Bada Babu never liked to be obligation to others. Likewise it was against his principles to accept contri for publication in his journals under else's recommendation. He would judge each contribution on its own according to his own untrammelled and would care little of what others himself on this account. There have occasions when he has criticized Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Nevertheless, the poet used to hold the highest esteem and Mahatmaji regard him as a Rishi.

...His contributions to the develop the Bengali literature should form the of a separate discourse. In the history development of Indian languages, tures and culture, as well as that of ism and the nationalist spirit, the Ramananda Chatterjee will always indelible.

(*Navabharat Times*, Delhi, June 2,

—0—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CENTENARY NEWS

RAMANANDA BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

Calcutta

The birth centenary celebrations commemorating the hundredth birthday of the late Ramananda Chatterjee, opened in Calcutta with a public meeting at the Rabindra Bharati Hall, Jorasanko, on the evening of May 31 last. Shri Prafulla Chandra Sen, Chief Minister, West Bengal, was scheduled to preside over the meeting, but as he had to go out of town on the day of emergency State duty, the Chairman of the Ramananda Birth Centenary Committee, Professor Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, conducted the meeting.

Ramananda's Journalistic Integrity

In a brief address to the gathering, Prof. Satyen Bose underlined the unshakable journalistic integrity of the late Ramananda Chatterjee, which was, perhaps, incomparable in the history of Indian journalism. He never allowed emotional aspects to cloud his judgment or his sense of proportion; as a result his expression of opinion or pronouncement of his verdict on all sorts of public questions have always been distinctive for their objectivity and balanced criticism. Another very distinctive aspect of Ramananda's journalism was the broad sweep of his interests and there was nothing that touched life which was left out of his careful editorial assessment. Both as an individual and a journalist, Ramananda was a **complete man.** And his essential humanity was sustained and reinforced by the integrity of character and a universalism which at once placed him far above the common run of journalists. These qualities in the man were fully reflected in the two journals he edited with such conspicuous distinction and which were ranked as the best in periodical journalism not merely in this country but, to readers of intellect and discernment, also in Europe and America. It was mostly through the **Modern Review** that India was able to carve out for herself a distinctive place on the map of the world, Prof. Bose asserted.

Continuing, Prof. Bose said, what would appear to be especially creditable was that the late Ramananda Chatterjee had to publish his journals in an atmosphere of severe official hostility. His writings have often been frowned upon by the alien British power then ruling over the destinies of the country; as a publisher he had also to face official wrath and financial losses. But nothing was able to suborn his steadfast loyalty to what he believed to be the truth and justice. He was intensely a nationalist, but he was also a universal man and there never appeared to be any conflict between the two. It was, Prof. Bose felt, very largely as a result of Ramananda's fearless but balanced expression of truth that Indian nationhood was able to evolve an integrated and a concrete personality. Remembering today that he was able to achieve this great purpose inspite of a hostile and inimical environment, one is apt to feel sorely disappointed, Prof. Bose concluded, that the light that Ramananda continued to shed upon the country for well over half a century appears, now that India has attained her own political sovereignty, to have been snuffed out for ever. A stygian darkness of unreason appears to have been leading the nation to grope about towards an uncertain future.

Ramananda's Historical Outlook

Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, the celebrated historian, speaking on the occasion, emphasized the late Ramananda Chatterjee's broad historical outlook and the keen sense of historical assessment of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

men and events that he brought to his work as Editor of the renowned periodicals, the **Prabasi** and the **Modern Review.** There is abundant material to be found in the columns of the **Modern Review** and the **Prabasi** which would bear testimony to the broad historical outlook of the founder-editor of these two distinguished periodicals. Trends of history, Dr. Majumdar observed, may not always be palatable or conform to certain desired points of view; but the true historian must always be able to arrive at the conclusions, however unpalatable or divergent from his own preconceived notions or predetermined desires to which the trend of events would inevitably lead him. Ramananda's journalism, Dr. Majumdar observed, was distinguished by this true historian's outlook. It was his unshakable integrity of character, his steadfast loyalty to truth and reason that made Ramananda that true doyen among journalists that he was.

In independent India, Dr. Majumdar deplored, history is being sought to be made to order of the powers that are. It is the inescapable duty of journalists, he claimed, to fight this sinister design to distort the truths of history with a view to propagating a particular view of historical events and trends.

Asansol

The Asansol Ramananda Birthday Centenary celebration began with a public meeting held in the Durand Hall on the 17th June 1965. Mr. B. K. Guha I.C.S. (Ret.), Vice-Chancellor Burdwan University presided over the meeting. Mr. Soumyendranath Tagore addressed the meeting as the Chief guest of the Centenary Committee. He began his address by describing in detail the life and work of the people who brought about the moral and religious reforms and the revivalistic upsurge in India's cultural, economic and political life in the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries. Raja Ram Mohun Roy was the pioneer of all modern movements in India after the fall of the Moghul Empire. He was a vastly learned man in the philosophy of the ... of the world and the theology of the ... religions. He studied and mastered ... krit, Greek, Latin, Arabic and Hebr... knew at least nine other lang... Europe and India. His learned co... sies with the Christian Missionaries ... instrumental in slowing down the ... conversion of Indians to Christianity ... was the first great reformer in ... India, who successfully removed ... superstitious evil practices from the ... of religion and social custom. The b... of widows with their dead husbands ... probably the worst of these and Raja ... Mohun Roy was the man who fought ... ously against this vile crime and ever... succeeded in making suttee illegal ... punishable. During his visit to E... he met men like Jeremy Bentham, ... Stuart Mill and Robert Owen and ... ed a remarkable impression on the ... minds of Europe. They felt as if Pla... Socrates had come back from the ... past to discuss the fundamentals of life ... them. Such was Raja Ram Mohun ... After the great Raja came Ma... Debendranath Tagore, Vidyasagar, Ke... Chandra Sen, Shivanath Shastri, Ra... Lahiri, Vivekananda and a host of ... reformers, intellectuals and nation b... who were the true successors of Raja ... Mohun Roy. **Brahmo Dharma** is based ... the Upanishads and avoiding rituals ... Hinduism it went back to the thought... the **Rishis** to find an emotional basis ... its sacramental acts.

Kedarnath Kulavi who taught Ra... nanda mathematics in the Bankura sc... was a Brahmo Samajist. He was an ar... reformer and his influence slowly tu... Ramananda's mind to the teachings of ... Ram Mohun Roy. When Ramananda ca... to Calcutta, Pandit Shivanath Shastri ... Raj Narain Bose won him over final... the Brahmo way of thinking. He also to... his vow of nationalism from Pandit Sh... nath Shastri. This was a vow to achi... freedom for the nation, to eschew gov... employment under the British and to est... blish true equality among all men ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...men of India. This happened in the ...ighteen Hundred Eighties, long before ...ly organised political thought emerged ...ywhere in India. Pandit Shivanath ...stri was a most remarkable man. He ...d dedicated his life to the service of the ...ion. He was vastly learned and did ...y intensive work for the uplift of ...en, the depressed classes and the ...ally depraved. He was a powerful ...ker, a fine writer and he possessed a ...netic personality. Ramananda Chatterjee ...d many others like, Krishna Kumar ...ra, Heramba Chandra Maitra, Nilratan ...ar, Prankrishna Acharya and Kshirode ...andra Das, were inspired by Pandit ...vanath Shastri to devote themselves to ...al welfare, national progress and ethico-...gious progress. In whatever capacity ...e Brahmos worked in those days they ...re fundamentally full time servants of ...anity, the Nation and God. Rama-...da's earliest efforts in journalism were ...ed up with the **Sanjeevani** which ...shna Kumar Mitra edited; **Dasi** edited ...Kshirode Chandra Das, **Mukul**, a child-...'s magazine edited by Pandit Shivanath ...stri. **Pradeep** came later on. His ...rnalism had always been the expression ...his nationalism and this nationalism was ...ply coloured by his monotheistic and ...al ideals, his fiery love of liberty, his ...p humanitarianism and attachment to ...e principles of equality, fairplay and ...ice. Throughout his life Ramananda ...ght for what he considered right, just ...d true; and every now and then he ...d to criticise persons of great importance ...d thus incur the displeasure of the power-...l elements in society. But he never ...ered from his chosen path.

Mr. B. K. Guha, summing up said he had spent his life working as a judge. He thought if Ramananda Chatterjee had chosen Law as his profession he would have been a great lawyer. For he never expressed an opinion without giving convincing arguments and reasons for the same. A judge believed only in argument, reason and proof. Ramananda Chatterjee did the same. Whatever he wrote had the soul of logic and evidence in it. That is why he was so great a man.

PUBLISH EDITORIALS BY RAMANANDA : KABIR

New Delhi

MAY 31.—Mr. Humayun Kabir, Union Minister, said that it would be a good idea to publish a selecion of editorials written by the late Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee.

Mr. Kabir was speaking at a meeting organized by the Ramananda Chatterjee Birth Centenary Committee in New Delhi,

Dr. B. V. Keskar, a former Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting, and Mr. Pyare Lal were the other main speakers who paid tributes to Mr. Chatterjee.

Mr. Shastri, in his message, said that Ramananda Chatterjee spurned material advancement to serve the cause of the nation. "The celebration of his birth centenary should be an occasion to re-dedicate ourselves" to the causes he propagated.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said in his message that Mr. Chatterjee's journal, The **Modern Review**, was a great source of inspiration to him in his love for his country.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indian Periodicals

Distortion of History: To What End?

Writing under the above caption in the Indian Libertarian of June 1, 1965, Mr. M. N. Tholal speaks of his own understanding of the Government of India's policy of non-alignment which, he apprehends, has been leading this Government to 'slip' into the "Russian spider-web" and which, according to him has been "getting wider and wider and it will be for the Union Government to decide soon how far it is prepared to oblige Soviet Russia in her march towards peace and progress—peace through progress towards the goal of the one and only mighty State in the world."

The occasion for such strong condemnation of the Government of India's present policies appears to be Prime Minister Shastri's reported condemnation of American bombing of North Vietnam immediately following a reportedly earlier remark—"who am I to advise Washington?" Mr. Tholal permits himself to paint the faithful followers of the Nehru tradition as seekers of "personal glory rather than the interests of the country"—a view of the matter which may or may not be justified according to the particular angle of view from which one looks at it.

Many people appear to have been surprised by Prime Minister Shastri's repeated condemnation of American bombing of North Vietnam almost immediately after saying, "Who am I to advise Washington?" But they forget one thing about our Prime Minister. That most important thing is that he has been nurtured in the Nehru tradition and is faithfully following it. Nehru also, with his great faith in claptrap, used to take every opportunity of condemning the U.S.A. on the eve of his visit to the Soviet Union—just to make the Russian welcome to him a bit warm. As a faithful follower of Nehru, Shastri could not have been unaware of it, and he is following in his footsteps to the best of his ability. It was a bit unfortunate that his humility made him say, just before his repeated advice to Washington to stop bombing North Vietnam, "Who am I to advise Washington?" But then he is new at the game of claptrap, and may be forgiven this slight lapse in the pursuit of the ways and policies of his great master.

The Russians are no fools and must [have] learnt by this time that Indian leaders [are] after personal glory rather than the [interests] of their country. Thus Inder Malhotra, [a] correspondent of the Statesman, [cabled] from Leningrad on May 17 had this to [say] about our Prime Minister's visit:

"Observers have noticed that throughout Shastri's stay in Leningrad, the Soviet Premier and his wife hardly left the side of Mr. and Mrs. Shastri. This gave the two Prime Ministers an opportunity to talk informally...The only point to emerge from these talks, however...is that the Soviet leaders have expressed anxiety over the situation as well as substance of President Johnson's policies and have pointed out that the present American regime is putting the Soviet Union's firm policy of lessening tension and promoting peace and preventing war under great strain."

That same firm policy of the Soviet Union, which Prime Minister Shastri [has] acknowledged as such, when he repeatedly advised U. S. A. to stop bombing North Vietnam. At a time when there is legitimate fear of India changing her foreign policy it is only natural that Russian leaders should put on their best mask of friendship to prevent any change from materialising. For after all, what greater service can the Russian leaders render to China than to see to it that India continues faithfully to follow the policy of non-alignment as laid down by Nehru?

What is surprising is that the Indian leaders are also doing their best to render the same service to China. Mr. Krishna Menon observed recently in New Delhi that in this view "the Soviet Union is the only lasting friend this country had." The Congress President, on the eve of the Prime Minister's visit to Russia, also spoke in the same [vein]. American vein. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as [she] befits a faithful daughter, has been [fully] Nehruing Nehru in the pursuit of advocating of friendship with China and has, with that end in view, been distorting history, as Prime Minister Shastri did while [delivering] the role played by Nehru in seeking [Afro-Asian]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

rican assistance during the Chinese invasion. She observed the other day : "It was wrong to believe that India was saved from being devoured by China because of western military power. India was saved only because the U.S.S.R. fell out with China. She was sure that, if China and Russia joined hands and attacked India, the western powers would not be able to save it."

Far from Russia and China having fallen out, they were in agreement over the invasion. China's foremost Government daily, the People's Daily of Peking, nearly a year after the invasion gave out that China had obtained Russian assent before launching the invasion, and the allegation was not denied by Russia. This has been repeatedly pointed out by me in these columns. Mr. A. G. Noorani in an article in *Opinion*, a Bombay weekly priced at 5 Paise even before the price resistance movement started, has this to say about Mrs. Gandhi's distortion of history :

"As to the first part of her remarks" (that it was wrong to believe that India was saved from being devoured by China because of western military power) "Mr. Khrushchev is a better judge. Speaking in the Supreme Soviet on December 12, 1962, he said : 'Some say that China has stopped hostilities apparently because India began to receive support from the American and British imperialists who supply her with arms. Yes, evidently, the Chinese friends have taken this circumstance into account, and this again points to their wisdom and understanding of the fact that, when war breaks out between friendly neighbouring peoples, the imperialists always try to benefit from it.'"

"In his thoroughly documented work, 'The Sino-Soviet Rift', Prof. William E. Griffith (p. 58) cites the People's Daily editorial of November 2, 1963, thus : 'We now have a November 1963 Chinese (but as yet no Soviet) detailed account of the then secret Moscow-Peking discussions preceding the October 20 Chinese attack. On October 8 a Chinese leader told the Soviet Ambassador in Peking that a massive Indian attack was pending and that Indian use of Soviet manufactured planes was making a bad impression on the Chinese frontier guards. In reply on October 13 and 14, Khrushchev told the Chinese Ambassador in Moscow that the Russians had similar information and that, had the Soviets been in China's position, they would have taken the same measures.'"

"Specific dates are given," Mr. Noorani says. Mr. Khrushchev's remarks are in quotes and most tellingly, have not been denied by him. The remarks are a clear green signal by Russia to China for the October 20 talk about a pending *Indian* invasion···The notorious *Pravada* editorial supporting China and Mr. Chavan's publicly expressed criticism of Russia at that time may be recalled." Not only that. It was that same editorial in *Pravada* that provoked Nehru to blurt out the confession at a public function in New Delhi : "We have been living in a world of our own creation." So, far from India being saved "because the U.S.S.R. fell out with China", as Mrs. Gandhi says, the truth is that Russia not only gave the green signal for the Chinese invasion but also agreed with China that a massive Indian attack on China was pending. Could distortion of history go farther ? But the most interesting part of it is that Mr. Nehru, the great Indian patriot, returned soon after to "living in a world of our own creation," and even denied that he had sought American air assistance, a fact to which President Kennedy gave testimony at a Press Conference the following day.

Mrs. Gandhi does not worry about facts in her campaign against the western countries In her May Day speech she observed : "World opinion was in favour of India when China attacked this country. But when Pakistan repeated the aggressive act, most of the western countries were quiet." The first part of the remark is manifestly untrue, as Mr. Noorani points out. Her late father Nehru remarked in sorrow apropos the Afro-Asians' non-alignment over the Chinese invasion (December 13, 1962) "what is obvious to us is not obvious to the world." That may well be because Mr. Nehru, the father of non-alignment, himself gave the lead in considering the obvious to be obscure, as with reference to the captive nations on the western frontiers of Soviet Russia.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Foreign Periodicals

When Art Becomes Propaganda

Alberto Moravia, the celebrated Italian novelist, writing in the Saturday Review discusses the question as to whether art can be directed towards illuminating any particular school of thought or social or political ideology in his characteristically lucid style. "The last word about art," he says, "rests with the artist. Chicken broth cannot be made without chicken. It can happen that the chicken escapes to the top of the tower and then the pot boils in vain." He comments "that if art accepted any extrinsic definition it would be like a woman describing herself as up for sale....poetry springs from a sense of its own autonomy; and that determinism of any kind and not only the economic kind, withers art like an icy blast on a budding flower." We reproduce the article in extenso for, we are sure, our readers will find a great deal in it that would be well worth their study:

The theory of art as superstructure we owe to the moment in which Marx wrote his books. A bad moment for art, if a passing one. Two centuries earlier Marx would have found no pretext for his theory. The theory of art as superstructure is bound up with the problem of the industrial production of art and leads to a new social and economic definition of failed art, bad art. Successful art, good art, has no place in it.

The educational value of art is enormous, but it diminishes insofar as art departs from nature. Banish nature from art—nature with its contradictions, its variety, its imagination, its freedom—and you get an art deprived of educational value, whatever the ideology that inspires it. A stay by the seaside gives strength but a stay in a room with a painting of the seaside has no health-giving effect whatsoever.

The present universal collapse of mankind is no more than the outcome of two frightful wars. One need not be a great prophet to foresee that within a century or two mankind will have rediscovered a decent image of itself. But meanwhile mankind is like a filthy, blood-stained drunkard who looks at himself in the mirror and is surprised to find he looks so horrible. According to some mankind should go on looking at itself in the mirror; according to others, mankind should replace the mirror with a picture of a clean sober man. Few think it would be better that mankind had a brush-up and a rest. And even those who think this are not prepared to give up either the mirror or the picture.

There are two alternatives: either, as Marxism wants it, art is superstructure and in that case—as it is normal to proceed from the superstructure to the structure, from the fruit to the tree—we are bound to conclude that the structure in certain Eastern countries today is not as they would have us believe, or else Marxism, where art is concerned, is in error and in that case we are forced to the conclusion that the artists in those countries are not much good.

Political freedom is not a *sine qua non* of great art. Great art has flourished in ages when there was no freedom. But in order to flourish, art has an absolute need of something else: that the social body should be made of the same stuff as the art. If, owing to religious or political fanaticisms, the social body has reduced or suppressed in itself the variety of nature, then art can be as free as you like, but it will not flourish.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Any systematization of art on the basis of a theory extrinsic to art itself is, at the least, risky and fraught with delusions. Imagine the opposite for a moment: politics conceived in terms of the dictates of aesthetics. In reality such systematizations are dictatorial acts on the part of the predominant activity toward the activities that for the moment are less important.

The case of Dostoevsky, whose work is not allowed to be reprinted in his own country, raises the question of ultimate reconciliation with history. Dostoevsky is banned because the game being played by Communism with history has not yet reached its limit. But when will it reach its limit?

Societies in the past, whether feudal, bourgeois, slave-trading, or patriarchal, were capable at their best of expressing this sort of realism. But a society that cannot, will not, or does not know how to see itself as it really is, is incapable of doing so.

Class art or official art corresponds pretty accurately to the baser concept of art proposed by the Marxists—art as superstructure. The Communists are only too ready to declare that class art or official art or art as superstructure will cease to exist once the classless society has been achieved. Why is it, then, that art in Eastern countries, perhaps more than any-where else, reveals such notorious aspects of class art or official art or art as superstructure? There seems no doubt as to the answer: it is because art does not need a revolution to be free art. All that is needed is that the artist himself, and by himself, should attain the sphere where there are no classes, nor ever will be—the sphere of poetry. That in the Eastern countries has such marked characteristics of class art because the proletariat in those countries still sees itself as proletariat or a class, and has not yet rediscovered mankind in itself—mankind old or new but anyway classless.

The relationship between art and society is not of a moral or moralizing order, as all those who attach a negative meaning to the word "decadence" would like to suppose. It is of a biological order. Art bears a relationship not to the morality of a society but to its vitality.

Art is memory, propaganda is prophecy. But in the past prophets always prophesied disaster. The great novelty is having optimistic prophets.

If art is a superstructure, how in the world can it outlive the structure? Why do we still read *The Iliad*, which is a superstructure, so they say, on archaic Greek feudalism? What guarantees eternal life to the superstructure? And why is the transitory structure accorded more importance than the enduring superstructure?

Who is going to deny that the Communist ideas on art are on the mark? The very term "socialist realism" contains an irrefutable critical reflection: art has always been realist or it has not been art and it has always been bound up directly or indirectly with the dominant ideology. So realism is inseparable from art, or at least from European art, and so is ideology. What, then, is odd about the socialist state asking the artists to produce socialist realism? In our view the oddity consists in the fact that, unlike the Church and other totalitarian organisms of the past, the socialist state knows these things, having a very developed critical and historical awareness. In this sense the socialist state, with its intellectual and pragmatist tendencies, participates in the dialectic of decadence.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Having said all this, we must now point out that art does not really interest Communism. This is proved by the simplicity of Marxist ideology in matters of art. This is all the more apparent if compared with the complexity of Marxist theories on social and economic problems. Marxism is uninterested in art as, let us say, it is uninterested in religion. The difference between the Marxist attitude toward art and the Marxist attitude toward religion is that whereas Marxism wants to take the place of religion, it merely wants to make use of art. And in fact all Marxist theories of art concern not so much art in its inner being as art in its relationship to society and the state. In other words, they concern the uses of art.

A novel describes a battle. The description of the battle does not please the rulers of a certain Eastern country. The novel is thus recast according to the ruler's specifications. What strikes one most about such a recasting in accord with authority is not the docility of the writer, not yet the tyranny of the rulers. What strikes one most is the domination of an idea of artifice, rationality, technics, and manufacture over one of poetry, inspiration, originality, and creativity; that is, the domination of a classical idea (or at least an idea in tendency classical) over a romantic one. It is as if an aesthetic system that to all appearances had seen its day had started developing again.

It is astonishing to see writers and critics in the West, those with the Marxist faith, rising up to defend art from the Eastern countries on which their views could be expected to be severe. When this happens there is talk of party discipline. But in my view we are dealing with a substitution which these people have made in the depths of their souls—the substitution of ideology for reality. For Communists, ideology is reality and what ordinary people call reality is nothing at all. If reality fails to confirm ideology, so much the worse for reality. Thus can we say that such Communist writers and critics are wrong, at least from a psychological point of view. With them the substitution probably happened in dramatic circumstances as with all conversions. At such moments ideology genuinely is reality—were it not, the conversion could not take place. Later, when confronted with art or any other human activity or manifestation, they reproduce easily and almost automatically what happened with pain and anguish at the time of conversion.

The Communists always present their ideas on art in strict correlation with their economic and social theories, and merge the two. So anyone who approves of the economic and social theories of Communism, whether partially or wholly, is led to approve of the aesthetic ideas also, or at least to view them with favor. And this inevitably leads to the acceptance of a rude and simplistic conception of art. For though art may perfectly well have a proletarian content, its formal and technical pattern is bound up with maturity in taste. This fact has never been disproved in history and, whatever its content, art has always been a late and aristocratic product. For the truth is that art always appears at the apex of a civilization—it is the final flower of the human plant. The barbarians who flocked into Italy in the Dark Ages no doubt had plenty to say, but they said it when, precisely, they were no longer barbarians. In the same way the proletariat (above all in countries where social slumber was accompanied by biological slumber) no doubt has plenty

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

say, but it will say it only when it has the ...pacity to do so, when it has ceased to be a ...letariat.

It is a mistake to suppose that socialist ...lism in the Eastern countries has prevented ...appearance of a new Michelangelo or, at ...of a new Picasso. If the socialist regime ...se countries were suddenly supplanted ...liberal one, the artists might well imitate ...Western artists (though this is not ...in), but they would certainly not surpass ...rather low artistic level of their present ...duction. For in those countries the revo... has resulted in decapitating the culti... class, and now rulers and people form ...single bloc with the same tastes, the same ...look, and the same degree of culture. The ...ers in those countries view art no ...ectly from the workers and the peasants ...works of art they select for the admira... of the people are the ones that in all ...rity they themselves prefer. Something ...lar happens in all revolutions. Even the ...ch Revolution, which brought such a long-...ured and cultivated class as the bour...sie to power at the beginning of the nine...th century, produced a crude and transient ...n of art—early romanticism. In this ...pective we should judge the decadent ...encies that followed as a systemization in ...lassical sense of that early romanticism.

The Communists can never be brought to ...it that the works of art of the Eastern ...tries are of little artistic value, and how ...d they? They do not believe in the true ...in the credible, not in nature but in reason, ...in reality but in ideology, not in poetry ...in artifice, not in creative spontaneity but ...onstructive will. To be sure, they will ...place art in the end, but this will be in spite ...themselves.

The Communists seem to advocate classical art. We say "seem" because nothing is certain in a regime as certain as a dictatorship, even a dictatorship of the proletariat. Hence when the Communists set out from the Marxist presupposition that every society, in the moment of its highest functionality and historical necessity, expresses an art that is perfectly objective and realist without reserve or compromise, evasion or incompleteness—in a word, a classical art—they are really contrasting their moment of high noon with the sunset or decadence of every other country, a decadence whose expression lies in an unhealthily subjective, incomplete, abstract, evasive, and reticent art—a decadent art. It is obvious that in this case the distinction between poetry and non-poetry falls to the ground and is replaced by the distinction between classicism and decadence, or between completeness and incompleteness, or, in other words, between the society's greater or lesser courage, capacity, and will to represent itself as it is in all its aspects, even negative ones, and to recognize itself in this representation, make use of it, and turn it into an instrument of improvement and progress. Hence, once again, there is no question of poetry and non-poetry but on one and the same level, of total or partial poetry, of classical or decadent representation. But inasmuch as Communist society claims to be the heir to all the societies of history, and their crowning glory, it should give rise to the most classical and complete art that could ever be imagined, and this indefinitely and without any interruption. In this way we see how, in the Communist ideology, there is no place for even the smallest negation of reality. Everything is spun out on the thread of logic, everything is rational. Communism cannot fail to produce

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the perfect society, and the perfect society cannot fail to produce the highest form of art. In such circumstances the artist who wants to argue with Communism seems like an advocate of the irrational or of nothingness, not to say of evil.

It is not easy to see why, once he has accepted and confirmed the autonomy of the fact of language, a given Eastern statesman should not do the same for the autonomy of the fact of art. It is not easy to see why, but we can make a guess. Language, as our statesman has to admit, is neither bourgeois nor socialist ; like a locomotive, it is a means, whereas art can be, and is, an end. But there can be no end save that of the socialist revolution.

Why socialist realism and not, for instance, neoclassicism ? Because the last objective form of art in Europe was naturalist. States whatever people may say, are never in the *avant garde.*

There is no relationship between the alienation of the worker and the alienation of the artist. The worker is alienated because, in the economy of the market, he is a piece of goods like any other and as such he is defrauded of his surplus value, or of what represents his value as a man, whereas the artist creates an object that has no market (or, if it has, it is not that of necessities that always have a market) and no real price in money or kind. The artist receives the price of his work of art in creating it. In other words, when he hands his book over to the publisher, his music to the conductor, or his painting to the art dealer, the artist already been paid and whatever he after that is a bonus. Hence the of the artist consists in the total or vention of his expression, or of his relationship with society.

The force of the Communist about art lies less in its own tenets the funeral and suicidal character of Western art. For the Communists easier than to show how Western art expression of an over-all *cupio dissolvi* origins inevitably lie outside art itself all they can do to counter Western art propound theories. With regard to artistic production, the best we can say it is that it is the fruit of good will.

The Communists, though they may unaware of it, propose not so much as a suspension of art. In the country, a field has been sown too often, you let fallow for two or three seasons so that rest and regain its strength. In similar cumstances Christianity decided that art, the only possible art at that time, work of the devil. The Communists believe in the devil, but they believe in decadence, immorality, corruption, and of capitalism. In reality Communism like Christianity in its time, is an instrument of an exhausted nature that clamors for rest. But men do not like admitting that they determined by simple biological laws. So the field of art, tiredness is called, let us say, abstract art ; and rest is called socialist realism.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE
Printed and Published by Kalyan Das Gupta, Prabasi Press Private Limited,
77/2/1, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE PRABASI

INDIA'S LEADING BENGALI MONTHLY

Advertisement Rates For Single Insertion

	Rs. P.
ORDINARY POSITION	
Full Page	100.00
Half-page or one column	60.00
Quarter page or half-column	35.00
One-eighth page	20.00
Inside and or opposite contents	125.00
half-page	75.00
quarter-page	45.00
one-eighth page	30.00
SPECIAL POSITIONS	
Facing second page of the cover	150.00
Facing third page of the cover	140.00
Facing last page of the reading matter	140.00
Facing back of the Frontispiece	155.00
half-page	80.00
POSITION WITHIN READING MATTER	
Page	180.00
Page	95.00
Page	50.00
Page	30.00

Positions within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

	Rs. P.
Back of the cover (1"X6")	190.00
Page of the cover	200.00
Page of the cover	175.00
Page of the cover (One-colour)	225.00
(Bi-colour)	275.00
(Tri-colour)	350.00

SUPPLEMENT size 8"x6" (to be Printed and supplied by the advertiser)

8 pages (or 4 slips) ...	400.00
4 pages (or 2 slips) ...	250.00
2 pages (or 1 slip) ...	50.00

TECHNICAL DETAILS & OTHER PARTICULARS

Type area of a full page	8"X6"
" " half page	4"X6"
Number of columns to a page	2
Length of a column	8"
Breadth of a column	3"
Type area of half-column	4"X3"
" quarter-column	2"X3"

Line and screen blocks (65 screen) are accepted. Stereotypes or unmounted blocks are not accepted.

PRABASI PRESS PRIVATE LIMITED
120/1 Uharamtala Street, Calcutta-13

THE MODERN REVIEW

Subscription : Payable in Advance.

Annual — Inland	:	Rs. 15.00
" — Foreign	:	Rs. 24.00
	:	
Half-yearly—	:	
— Inland	:	Rs. 8.00
— Foreign	:	Rs. 13.00

(Advance Payment. Rates are inclusive of postage)

On V.P.P. order—V.P.P. Charges—extra

16 Single Issue :
Inland : Rs. 1.25

Cheque on Banks outside Calcutta are not accepted.

If regular subscribers do not renew their subscriptions and/or send stop-orders in due time, the next issue after the expiary of their current subscriptions, will be sent per V.P.P. —assuming their willingness to continue.

Complaints of non-receipt of any issue of the Modern Review—must reach our office by the 15th of the month in question—and in all cases the *Subscriber Number must be quoted.*

Terms for News Agents :—On application : (minimum 5 copies of the Modern Review per month—should be ordered. Special Rates for 20 or more copies per month—on advance payment.

Manager
THE MODERN REVIEW

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW Price : India and Pakistan Re. 1.25 P. Registered No.
Subscription—Ind. & Pak. Rs. 15.00, Foreign Rs. 24.00, Single copy Rs.2.00 or

23 JUL 1965

CITY BOOK SOCIETY

THE PIONEER PUBLISHERS OF ILLUSTRATED JUVENILE LITERATURE

Books of Late Jogendra Nath Sircar entertained and enlightened the Children of
&
Enthused Lakhs of Non-Bengali Children to learn Bengali.

Hasi Khusi I
99th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Hasi Khusi II
38th Edn. — Re. 0.80
(The two most outstanding books to learn Bengali)

Mojar Galpa
25th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Asare Swapna
18th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Ranga Chhabi
31st Edn. — Re. 0.80

Khelar Sathi
27th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Chhabir Bai
25th Edn. — Re. 0.70

Bane Jangale
9th Edn. — Rs. 5.00

Galpa Sanchaya
5th Edn. — Rs. 4.50

Khukumanir Chhara
17th Edn. — Rs. 3.50

Chhabi -O- Galpa
19th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

Chhotoder Chiriakhana
7th Edn. — Re. 1.87

Hasi Rasi
33rd Edn. — Re. 1.40

Chhotoder Ramayana
36th Edn. — Re. 1.12

Chhotoder Mahabharat
36th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

CITY BOOK SOCIETY

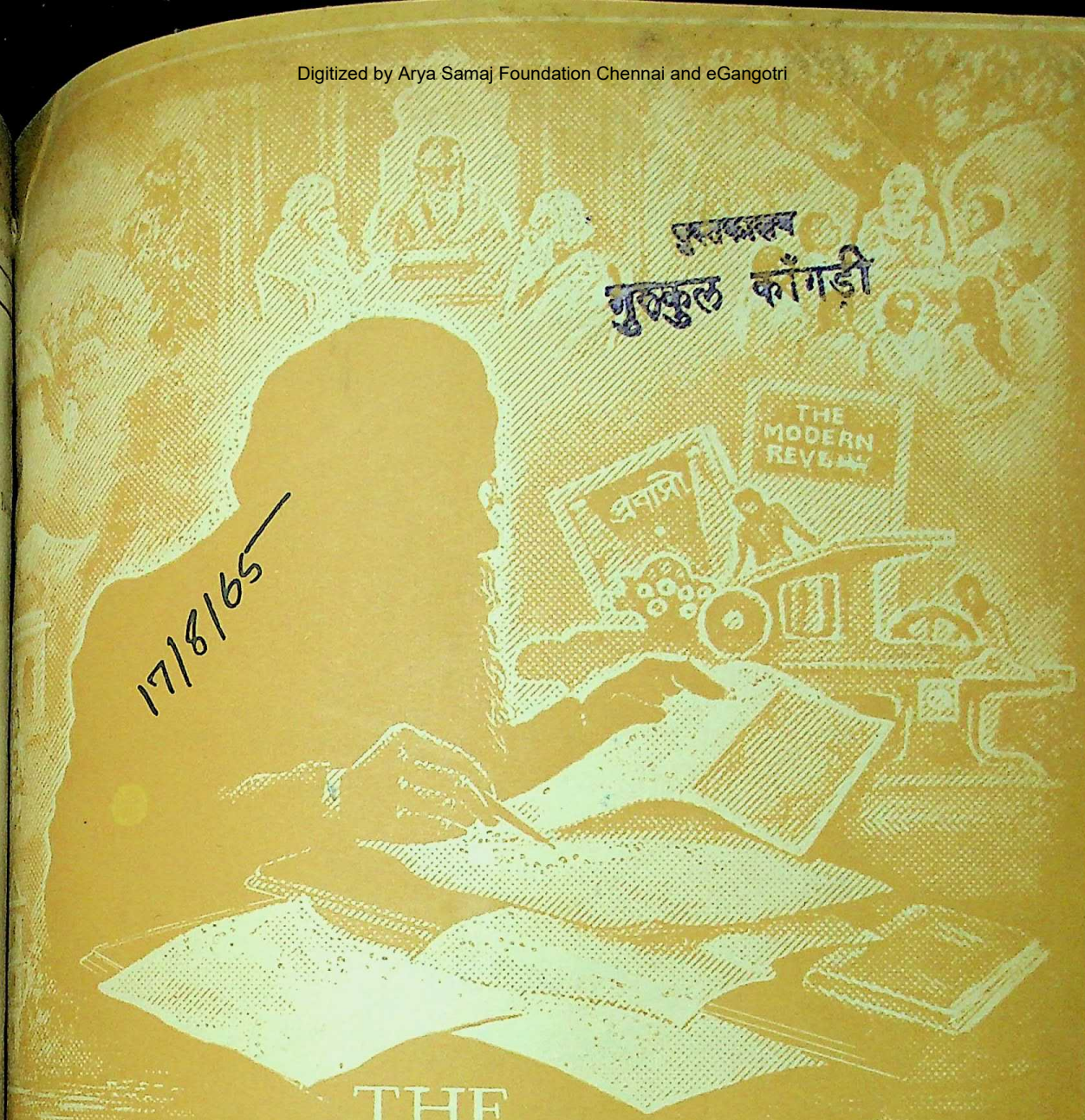
64, College Street
Calcutta—12.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

गुरुकुल काँगड़ी

17/8165



THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST : 1965



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOR

PRINTING

WITH A DISTINCTION.

Contact the

PRABASI
PRESS
PRIVATE LD.

We print in 3 LANGUAGES

ENGLISH

BENGALI

DEVNAGRI

*

for more details—Contact the

MANAGER

PRABASI PRESS PRIVATE LD.

77-2-1 Dharamtala Street,

CALCUTTA—13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THESE 3 FOR YOUR HOUSEHOLD





Alcid gives quick relief from headache, cold, flue, feverishness and muscular pain.
Just two tablets of Alcid make a complete adult dose.



Antol prevents infection—kills the germs before they have a chance to do harm. A powerful but soothing antiseptic Antol gives protection in open cuts and insect bites.
As a mouthwash and gargle Antol prevents throat infection and colds.



Acriment is a non-staining all-purpose antiseptic healing ointment for burns, scalds, wounds, abrasions, and infective skin conditions.
Keeps wound aseptic.
Helps in natural healing.

ALWAYS KEEP HANDY ■ ALCID ■ ANTOL ■ ACRIMENT

BENGAL IMMUNITY PRODUCTS

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. CXVII. No. 2 CONTENTS FOR AUGUST, 1965 WHOLE NO.

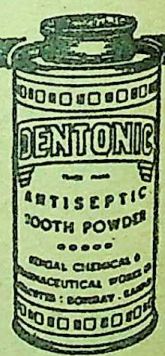
NOTES
THE THIRD PLAN AND THE SMALL MAN—Sunil Banik
CURRENT AFFAIRS—Karuna K. Nandi
RAMANANDA'S CHILDHOOD IN BANKURA—S. L.
THE GADAR STRATEGY : SHIPPING MEN AND ARMS TO INDIA—Kalyan Kumar Banerjee
TODAY'S JAPAN—Nanda Lal Mookerjee
SOME FEATURES OF THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SCENE—H. J. Pandya
HE GAVE US GITANJALI—R. C. Maheshwari

How Sparkling

Pearly white teeth give charm and glamour to a winning smile. You, too, can be the proud possessor of beautiful shining white teeth and healthy gums by following the simple 'DENTONIC' habit.

Chlorophyll added to Dentonic helps in curing Pyorrhea.





Dentonic
ANTISEPTIC TOOTH POWDER
Available Plain and with Chlorophyll.
For your Smile of beauty

BENGAL CHEMICAL
CALCUTTA • BOMBAY • KANPUR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

আপনার জন্য মাসিক একটা পেন্সন



ধরুন আগামী ১০ বছরের জন্য প্রত্যেক মাসে আপনি একটি করে ১০ বছর মেয়াদী জাতীয় সঞ্চয় সার্টিফিকেট (প্রথম প্রচলন) কিনলেন। তা হলে ১০ বছর পর প্রত্যেক মাসে আপনার একটি ক'রে সার্টিফিকেটের মেয়াদ পূর্ণ হবে এবং তাতে প্রত্যেক মাসে ১৮০ টাকা ক'রে পাবেন। আপনার বার্দ্ধক্যে এই মাসিক আয় আপনার কাছে একটা বর হয়ে দাঁড়াবে কারণ এতে আপনি নিয়মিতভাবে পেন্সনের মতো টাকা পাবেন।

আপনি যদি চান তাহলে সার্টিফিকেটগুলির মেয়াদ পূর্ণ হওয়ার পর সুদটা রেখে দিয়ে আপনার আসল মূলধন ১০০ টাকা আবার জাতীয় সঞ্চয় সার্টিফিকেটে লগ্নি করতে পারেন। এতে ক'রে যে তারিখে আপনি আবার সার্টিফিকেট কিনলেন তখন থেকে দশ বছরের জন্য আপনার বা আপনার ওপর নির্ভরশীল ব্যক্তিদের জন্য একটা সুনিশ্চিত আয় হয়ে থাকবে।

লগ্নি হিসেবেও এগুলি খুব ভালো কারণ এতে বার্ষিক শতকরা ৮টাকা সুদ অথবা বার্ষিক শতকরা ৬.০৫ টাকা চক্রবৃদ্ধি সুদ পাওয়া যায়, আপনি যদি আয়কর দেন তাহলেই শুধু আপনার কর দিতে হবে নচেৎ নয়।

জাতীয় সঞ্চয় সংস্থা

DA-65/145 Beng.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONTENTS—(Continued)

A STUDY ON FARM PLANNING IN KALYANPUR, KANPUR—J. S. Garg and Vishnu Prasad

IN A DEFENSIVE MOOD—A. K. Maitra

WHAT I SAW IN THE BORDER AREAS OF WEST BENGAL—Ila Pal Chowdhury

WILLIAM MCDOUGALL'S OF SCHIZOPHRENIA—Pranab Kumar De

A NEW APPROACH TO IRRIGATION AND POWER—W. Radhakrishna

SOME FEATURES OF "THE MODERN REVIEW"

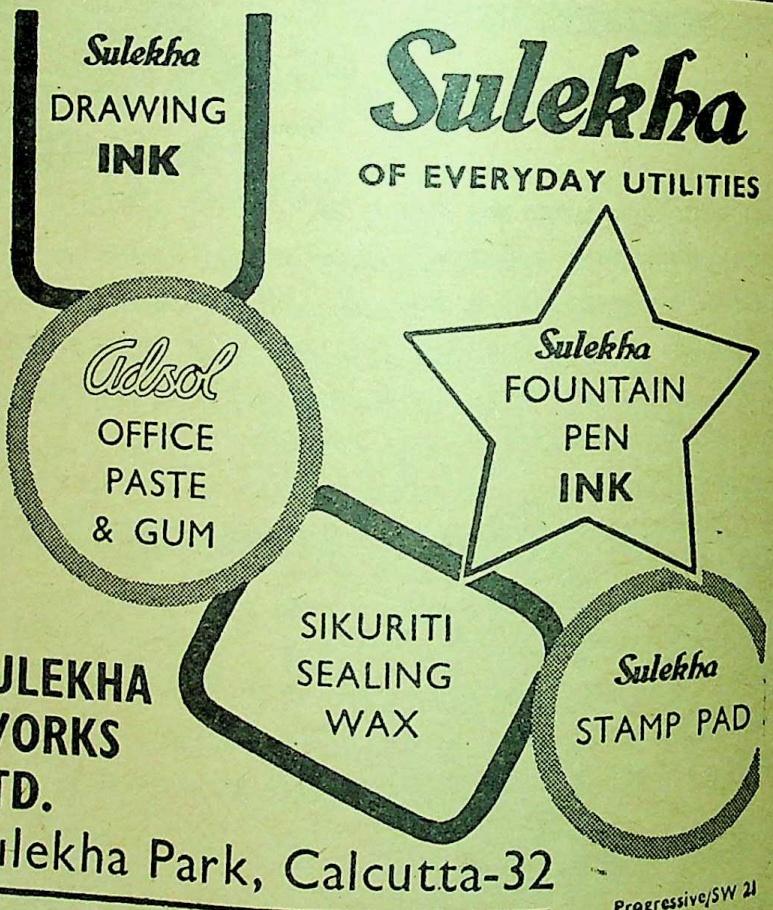
INDIAN PERIODICALS AND INDIAN NEWSPAPERS

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE A TRIBUTE

INDIAN PERIODICALS—

FOREIGN PERIODICALS—

BOOK REVIEWS—



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

AT HER PRAYERS
Artist : Miss Iris Khan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST 1965

Vol. CXVIII, No. 2 WHOLE No. 704

NOTES

and India

Prime Minister Shastri's affirmation of
's right of self-determination in the
ter of merging into this State or that or
aining, as now, a Union Territory, is
e in keeping with the spirit of India's
stitution. Mr. Bandodkar, Goa's Chief
ister, also said that Goa alone should
ide whether she should merge into
sore or Maharashtra and these States
t is Mysore or Maharashtra) should
come into the picture at all and take a
d in what is exclusively Goa's affair.
far so good. But Mr. Bandodkar there-
r said that if other States took a part
Goa's affairs then West Bengal might
something too. Apparently, he named
st Bengal quite unnecessarily and in an
alled for manner. But did he? Or was
inking of how West Bengal was created
the partition of India in an arbitrary
nner by Mr. Bandodkar's party leaders?
s had then brought about the total
sion of Sind and a major surrender of
territories of the Punjab and of
gal. India did not make good this loss
erritory to the Bengalis, the Punjabis
the Sindhis. The Congress Party
uld have added more territory to the
Punjab and to West Bengal. And
ere should have been a new Sind. They
ght to do all this and the boundaries
re fixed quite arbitrarily for the States
t were dismembered to obtain indepen-
dence by barter. Far from doing what was right, the Congress retained in Bihar all the territories that were taken out of Bengal by the British to make a self-sufficient Bihar. Jamshedpur and the Jharia coal-fields rightfully belong to Bengal, as also the Santal Parganas and certain other areas too. But nothing was done to return her territories to Bengal. In the Gazetteer of Dhanbad District published by the State Government of Bihar, there is no mention of the fact that the District was historically a part of Bengal. Rather every effort has been made to make it appear that Dhanbad has always been an integral part of Bihar. These facts of political history must have been in Mr. Bandodkar's sub-conscious and he named West Bengal as soon as he thought of Goa being merged in any other State. West Bengal has a right to ask for more territory from all other States which have gained conjointly by the Partition of India. But she cannot demand any territory from Goa while Bihar is still hanging on to Jamshedpur, Jharia and many other important places in her immediate vicinity which were once included in the western districts of Bengal. The World, of course, does not know so much about the details of Indian independence. The nations of the world think that Pakistan is a nation within a nation and that the separation was based on some sort of expression of a popular desire to

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

divide territories. That the British engineered the whole thing with the help of **agents provocateurs** is not known to the peoples of other nations. Goa is more recent and Anglo-American and Portuguese propaganda kept the matter of her liberation to the forefront of international politics, at least for some time. If now Goa is merged with this or that State in an offhand fashion world opinion may find India's ideals of freedom, justice and fairplay slightly farcical. The people of West Bengal, Punjab and Sind have experienced the hideous tragedy of creating two nations out of one.

The Centre Vies with States

Virtue is a simpler mental state than vice. That is why Satan is so very complex in his appeal to those who find virtue stale and uninteresting. **Sadachar** came out of a simple outlook on Life and those who found it bracing also thought that butter-milk and spinach were better food than caviar and champagne. Our Central Government Ministers are mostly inspired by **Sadachar.** They cannot think ill of anybody excepting of those who criticise their thoughts and deeds. Due to this, they like to extol, openly and otherwise, the organisations set up by the Central Government. If some one pointed out to them the shortcomings of the Indian Police, Post Office, Railways and the Corporations that are going to put India on the map of economic superiority, they feel hurt and wonder if such criticism would interfere with the proper defence of India. In fact those who love the Indian **National** Congress feel that all who do not love that political party are undermining the defence of India by their lack of faith and affection in and for the Congress.

But there is a queer twist in the reasoning used unconsciously by the Central Giants of the Congress. They, as well as the "lesser" men who rule the States, belong to the same fold of idealism. Yet the Centre thinks that those who are in ... States are not so effective, efficient ... what not. They do not say so but ... actions clearly point that way. The St... cannot, for instance, achieve border ... rity. If the States' armed police ... given the same arms and the same trai... why should they not be able to guard ... borders? If the enemy used military ... on a large enough scale, the matter ... then become too big even for the centr... controlled armed police. If not, ... States' armed police could easily co... ordinary inroads by the enemy. In ... circumstances we find the utter fait... the Central Minister in his own hench... very touching. We do not think such ... is justified. The borders should be gu... ed by the States' armed police. The ... son is one of economy. For the St... can divert larger numbers of their ar... police to the borders whenever ten... arises; and use those same men for ... work when things remain peac... The Centre would have to maintain ... of men in their border police at all ... which will be very expensive. Regar... the proposed central industrial police ... would again be quite unnecessary. ... States' police have been guarding ... assisting the industries very well so ... We have every confidence they will co... nue to do so. If on the other hand ... Centre brings in a separate police f... into the States, there will be no extra ... vantage, for all police will have to enfor... the same law in the same manner. ... idea of Central control in the States ... the seeds of dictatorial management in ... Surely we do not want to be ruled ... people in Delhi excepting in such sphe... of our life which have an overall natio... colouring. There are matters which ... a very local nature, and these should ... managed by local bodies. The States ... not interfere in such matters. True fre... dom can only thrive where outsiders ... not dictate or give orders unless requ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...the wider and more general needs of the ...ation.

...perialism, Colonialism and Tyranny

Imperialism is an abstraction derived ... empires. The idea of overlordship ...ed empires and quite often empires ... so loosely knit that the emperors ...y ever actually ruled any part of their ...res. There had been empires, however, ...h were more effectively controlled ... the centre and the emperors success... collected their dues from the farthest ...ers of their empires. Imperial might ... founded on the gains thus made and ...erialism came to mean the exploitation ...ubject territories by the imperial over...

Colonies were sometimes the garrisons ...tained by the emperors in the distant ...ts of their empires. Quite often trade, ...erce and industry followed the garri... ...s and created communities of non... ...rial colonists in the conquered countries. ...onialism slowly came to mean the occu... ...n of other people's home-lands by the ...le of the imperial race or their slaves ... mercenaries. Fights for freedom and ...ty were quite commonly directed ...st the emperors and their garrisons by ... peoples of the conquered and occupied ...tories who found imperial exploitation ...ressive and unjust. But all fights for ...ty and freedom were not directed ...st imperialism and colonialism only. ...e French Revolution, the Russian Revolu... ... the Chinese Revolution and many other ...lutions were directed against French, ...ian, Chinese and other tyrants who ...ssed and exploited their own people. ...se revolutions have been great land... ...ks in the field of human freedom with... ... destroying any imperial or colonial ...dels. In the case of the American War ... Independence the colonial settlers revolt... ... against the mother country as they could ... longer tolerate being ruled and exploited ... the king of a far-away land from which they had come originally but had no connections with afterwards. This was a case of destroying colonialism. When Greece broke away from the Turkish and Italy from the Austrian empires the revolts were against imperialism. These references to various historical wars that men have fought in order to gain liberty and freedom go to prove that Liberty and Freedom are the real objectives of such fights; no matter whether the fetters of slavery were forged by imperialists, colonial ancestors or home-bred tyrants. So that when tyrants engage in diatribes against imperialism and colonialism in order to hide their own shortcomings, one has to point out to them that they too have been destroying human freedom. China's occupation of Tibet is an act of imperialistic conquest, no matter what history China may cite. Their domination of that conquered territory is an act of tyranny and if the Tibetans fight against the Chinese it will be a fight for freedom and for regaining the human rights they have been deprived of. Ayub's military **raj** in Pakistan is hardly in keeping with the principles of democracy and true freedom. There are many others who roar against imperialism and colonialism without realising that they themselves are also guilty of the same offences against Humanity that imperialists and colonialists are charged with. All tyrants are the enemies of human freedom and dictatorship in any shape or form soon becomes a tyranny.

Threat of Nuclear Attacks

General Pierre Gallois, considered to be France's most capable nuclear strategist, pointed out to Inder Malhotra (**The Statesman**, July 8, 1965) that China was developing nuclear power in order to become the most feared nation of Asia by 1975. By 1980 even the U.S.A. would have to take serious notice of China's nuclear might, even if it did not compare well with that of the U.S.A. China has a large enough nuclear armoury even now and she commands about

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

300 bomber planes which can deliver nuclear bombs on to targets hundreds of miles from their bases. The position is quite obviously very dangerous for all countries which are not considered to be friendly with China. If the other nations of Asia remain idle and indifferent and do not develop their defences against China's nuclear weapons, they will have to kowtow to China or to such other nations as will agree to defend them against China. India, for instance, can ask the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. to give her nuclear protection. But, why should these countries risk a nuclear war in order to save India? India's refusal to develop nuclear power is based on sentiments which are contrary to the logic of national defence and ordinary common sense. If there is war, and the chances are that there will be wars, the enemy can only be resisted by the use of equal or superior weapons. If China knew that India could answer her attack with similar weapons, the use of nuclear weapons would be ruled out automatically. If on the other hand China knew she could bring India down on her knees by blasting either Calcutta or Delhi with a single nuclear bomb, she would certainly do so, instead of carrying on prolonged warfare with conventional weapons. And India's hopes of intervention by the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. may quite easily remain unrealised for the reason that these countries may find China strong enough to defy them.

Ahimsa is not maintained when one man stabs another with a knife, or even with a knitting needle. Where bayonets, swords and guns come into use, all pretensions of non-violence must cease. High explosive shells, bombs and bullets from automatic rifles make warfare as violent and destructive of human life as atomic explosions. Perhaps the immediate loss of life may be less in nuclear wars on account of the relatively limited use of these highly expensive and destructive bombs. It is no doubt true that a prolonged nuclear war in which a hundred several hundred such bombs will be ed may cause such lasting damage human race as will be irreparable. cannot happen if there is a nuclear of power. Even smaller nations like are now getting ready to deal with bullies. China is making every become a nuclear bully, as she is out the limitations that very large suffer from. Her bullying can be only by nuclear weapons and by else. Sanctimonious declarations are answer to rockets with nuclear war It is high time we Indians got rid of of our pseudo-ethical notions of right wrong and replaced them by scientific tenable and logically balanced ideas social and human morality. As things we do nothing to prevent the death of lions of babies from lack of nourishment; but we cannot tolerate killing of a calf. This does not mentally on the top shelf. If by not loping nuclear weapons we could save world from the menace of nuclear wars might then be justified in not going in such weapons. But knowing that U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Britain, France, and several other nations are building huge stockpiles of these weapons; how we reasonably think that we are preventing nuclear warfare by remaining unarmed unilaterally? We are, by our helplessness only providing temptation for the ungodly possessors of nuclear weapons. A person may not believe in stealing. But, must he to prove his faith in the Lord's Commandment, keep his front door unlocked? He may be fully armed and yet remain peaceful. And our arms will induce others who do not share our faith in non-violence to keep the peace too.

Some say we cannot afford to develop nuclear arms. This is quite untrue. Nuclear arms are very expensive but a nation requires only a few of these weapons. And these few weapons will cost much less than

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...housands of tanks, guns, ground to air ...issiles, supporting fighter planes and all the ...s of the paraphernalia. In any case, ...clear weapons have become a question of ...e and death for India. There is no alter... method of national defence. We ...st develop these weapons or go under.

...slami Logic

...Pakistan has never been famous for ...sistency or logic. This is a natural by-...duct of her habitual detachment from ...feelings of moral obligations. She came ...existence for reasons of imperial expe...ency, she continued to develop a political ...osophy based on her own sordid desires ...d she would possibly wind up when she ...me too blatantly inexpedient for her ...sors. About her logic one might quote ...own pronouncement after her younger ...oligans had recently demonstrated against ...U.S.A. at Dacca and Karachi. Pakistan ...d that political considerations should not ...ect economic co-operation between the ...countries. This of course meant that ...omic co-operation should be uncondi...al and that Pakistan's part in that co-...erative venture should be to take all and ...give nothing. For, though she was born ...imperial needs and was maintained by ...glo-American capitalism, Pakistan found ...useful to establish friendly relations ...h Communist China. And she felt no ...me in going over to the "enemies" camp. ...course she might have done this under ...ers. We do not know. But there is such ...hing as international public opinion and ...nal honour and prestige. Pakistan ...med to be indifferent to all such minor ...siderations when she discovered the ...est way to put Islam out of danger was ...join up with Russia and China. Pakistan ...y yet discover a Marxist interpretation ...Islam which will not be acceptable to ...e Musalmans but will be cashable at any ...k in China or Russia. All glory to the ...consistencies that lurk in the secret ...ers of great minds which seek small advantages. Pakistan never had any background and nobody will miss it if it ceased to exist. But ignominy is worse than death.

Social Security and Socialism

Social security in avowedly socialistic countries and in conventionally organised countries are not similar. A few examples will be interesting. The National Insurance Scheme in Great Britain grant the following benefits : (1) Unemployment benefit ; (2) Sickness benefit ; (3) Maternity benefit ; (4) Widow's benefit ; (5) Guardian's allowance; (6) Child's special allowance ; (7) Retirement pension ; (8) Death grant. Participation is contributory but the advantages are so very pronounced compared to the contributions that few remain outside the scheme. Sickness and unemployment benefit is normally £3 7s. 6d. per week plus £2 1s. 6. per week for an adult dependant plus £1 per week for each subsequent child. Thus a man with a dependant wife and three children would get about Rs. 140|- per week as sickness and unemployment benefit in Britain. Other benefits are also substantial.

Social security benefits paid in the U.S.A. totalled $13,649,000,000 in 1963.

Japan has health insurance, unemployment insurance and old age pension schemes.

Norway has extensive social welfare arrangements. In 1961 7.8% of the net national income was paid (Kr. 2,400,000,000) in social welfare benefits which included unemployment benefit, Health insurance, Injuries insurance, Family allowance, Survivor's benefit, Old-age pension, Rehabilitation assistance, Disablement pensions, War pensions, Special pensions.

Sweden spent 14% of the national income in social welfare expenditure in 1961 which totalled to Kr. 8,250,000,000. Sickness, injuries, unemployment, old-age pensions, widow's pensions, maternity benefits, children's allowances etc., were the heads of expenditure under these schemes.

Switzerland has compulsory insurance

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

benefits for the entire nation (foreigners admitted too). Sickness, unemployment, old age, widow or widowerhood, accidents etc., are covered.

Generally speaking the so-called progressive socialist countries are far behind the above-mentioned conventional and conservative countries in respect of social security. Social security is the expression of social justice. Without proper social welfare arrangements a nation cannot be called progressive and socialistic. And it is a surprising fact that almost all nations which publicly profess socialism have very meagre social welfare arrangements.

Difficulties In Planning

Mere wishes do not achieve any ends. Planning for economic development, moral upliftment, spread of education, military self-sufficiency and for maintaining the Ruling Party in power for ever, are only wishes expressed in the language of science, to begin with. But these wishes, however precisely weighed and measured, remain only mental images, until they are transformed into realities by material effort and the application of material resources. If there are no efforts commensurate with the dimensions of the abstract thoughts, and if the available material resources are not put to proper use ; the wishes remain unfulfilled. Arguing from the other end one might say that if wishes remained unrealised the suspicion that proper efforts had not been made and resources had not been put to proper use, would be justified.

So that when we are having so much talk about our failure to realise the ends of our planning substantively, we may reasonably enquire whether proper efforts were made and whether the resources obtainable were put to full and proper use. There is every chance that our burden of taxes will double, redouble and re-redouble to enable our rulers to realise their dreams in full. Will that not justify public enquiries, carried out by impartial experts, to find out the truth about national planning in India? But have we any statutory machinery which may be used to force our rulers to be subjected to investigation for their actions or inaction or inability? These are matters which should be discussed by public bodies other than the Indian National Congress. There are Chambers of Commerce, Universities, Bar Associations, Learned Societies etc., etc. Other bodies can be set up by the public to safeguard their interests and these bodies may have representative men and women from all professions and classes in the country. For we are nationally putting all our eggs in the Planning basket and we should make our enquiries nationally while there is still time.

Food Problem

There has been very strong criticism of the Government's lack of a food policy. We cannot say that the Government have been more lax in the matter of food than in other important fields. As a matter of fact the increase in food production has been much more than proportionate compared to the increase in population. The following figures will prove that.

	1949-50		1961-62		1962-63	
	Area sown	Yield	Area sown	Yield	Area sown	Yield
Rice	75414000	23170000	84650000	34257000	85961000	3512[illegible]
Wheat	24114000	6290000	33410000	11849000	33255000	1086[illegible]
Total Cereal	195497000	46018000	226288000	68310000	225690000	6[illegible]
Sugarcane	3624000	4938000	5988000	9984000	5661000	5[illegible]
Jute	1163000	3089000	2280000	6347000	2095000	

Total Population 1951—361129622—1961—439235082.

CC-0. Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

From the above one would think that could not have any food shortage. the food shortage is very acute. If is added to the total of cereals we ld have had in 1962-63 more than 00 tons of basic food grains for about million people out of whom 15% belong he age group 0—4 years. So that if one ed for lesser consumption of food g infants and very young children the food grain consuming individuals might been 385 millions. This may work at 15 seers of grain per capita per in. That is more than 16 oz. per capita ay. Our Government are of the opinion 12 oz. per capita per day is quite enough for Indian nationals. This would be people had along with that milk, vege- es, pulses, eggs, fish, meat and such sup- ng food items. But our production of e subsidiaries are miserably inade- e. The prices too are exorbitant. Pure (unobtainable) may be Re. 1-50 p. to - per seer, vegetables about Re. 1-50 p. seer, pulses about Rs. 1-50 p. per , egg-fish-meat about 4-5 rupees seer. Roughly speaking a support- 12 oz. of these subsidiaries will ainly cost about 75 paise per capita per . The cereals at fair price shop rate cost about 25/30 paise per day too. will come to a rupee per day per capita food. Ordinary arithmetic will show if food costs are Rs. 365.25 per annum capita, and food costs are 75% of one's income, the total expenses of bare nce should be at least Rs. 487.00 per m per head. Leaving out the 0—4 age p our total National Income at that should be about 20000 crores per m. The National Income is much less our total food costs estimate being a ee per day per capita at the present level prices **the food prices must be reduced** that they work out to a total of 75% of actual total National Income, whatever is. The quantities of subsidiary food es must be increased very fast to pro- vide 12 oz. per capita per day. There are not now any supplies of milk, potatoes, beans, other vegetables, eggs, fish and meat (poultry and others) sufficient to make a total of 450×12×365 M. oz. per annum. That is about an equal weight of all these items to the total weight of cereals grown in India. As far as our experience goes we have sufficient knowledge of Governmental ways of doing things to feel certain that Government will not be able to arrange the production of these subsidiary items of food by departmental effort or by floating corporations. The individual members of the peasantry will be able to do something but not all of it. The Government should therefore try to induce private **entrepreneurs** to take up the production of milk, fish, poultry, vegetables, etc. They can also be called upon to produce rice, wheat, pulses, gram and the various other major food articles. The inducement should be two-fold: general assistance and guarantee of freedom from harassment by Government departments like the Income Tax Department. All effort in food production should be income tax free provided such efforts lead to certain minima of production and provided the products are sold through proper channels within a fixed ceiling price. In this way prices will be brought down and the quanta will be increased. The World Bank's criticism of the Government should now open their eyes to their own shortcomings. After all it is India's future that is at stake as well as the lives and well-being of hundreds of millions of men, women and children. The future of the Congress Party should be a purely incidental consideration.

Art Treasures of India

There are several public museums in India (and more are being set up) where representative pieces of ancient statuary (stone, bronze and terracota), paintings, relief work in metal, enamel, ivory, decorative objects, silver, copper and brass articles,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

manuscripts on bark, palm leaf and paper, leather work, weapons, shawls, carpets, other textiles etc., etc., are exhibited. There are also several private collections in which such art treasures are preserved. India has now become art conscious and the peoples of other nations have also begun to appreciate and value Indian art. The main centres where Indian arts and crafts are preserved in a more living fashion are the temples of India and a number of Cave Temples, Palaces, Mausoleums, Masjids, Forts. etc., which preserve innumerable examples of Indian art and show the rare genius of Indian craftsmen.

The art treasures of India are a cultural heritage of which we are justifiably proud. We therefore desire that all these art treasures must be preserved and not allowed to go out of the country. But it is a very regrettable fact that these objects of great antiquity are often smuggled out of India. Sometimes they go out apparently with the knowledge and consent of officials. Also many art treasures are stolen from the Public Museums and other places where they are conserved. This removal of art objects of ancient times is an act of cultural vandalism, which must be stopped. Government must not acquire such objects if they cannot keep them safely in India. Recently we went to the Konarak Sun Temple. We found one of the important statues of the Sun God was not in its place. We were told the Government of India have arranged its removal. If so, why ? Another time we were told many of the Bharut pieces had been taken away from the Indian Museum, Calcutta by order of Government. We should like to know fully and in detail where these most valuable pieces have gone. There was a note published in ... Press that since 1887 the Indian M... has so far lost 5000 objects of art. If ... is true the people of India should see ... that their national treasures are not ... in this irresponsible manner by their ... officials. At least if anybody ... with the Government arrange for the ... moval of art treasures from their ... sites or from Museums, such persons, ... if they are V.I.P.s must be removed ... their positions of power and ... according to the law.

Congress is Conservative

The Indian National Congress al... claim superiority over other politica... ganisations on account of its progre... outlook and general ability to keep ... with the times. That is, the Congress i... ever youthful. But when we try to exa... the truth of their claim to progressive... and eternal youth, we find the ave... Congress leader has remained in p... during his or her entire life time. Pa... Nehru remained progressive and young ... death, unfortunately for the Nation, re... ed him from among us. The other lea... do not appear to grow old and they sho... symptoms of old age or signs of a desire ... retire. This is conservativeness in ... extreme. How can an organisation re... progressive if the average age of its lea... exceed three score years and ten? If ... top of this, power, position and great... are inherited and transmitted from fa... to son the differences between the Con... and Feudalism would slowly vanish. ... wonder Morarji's conscience revived ... the shock treatment provided by the AI...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE THIRD PLAN AND THE SMALL MAN

Prof. SUNIL BANIK

...lose study of the Third Plan will evoke ...ndamental question in our mind, i. e., "is it ...nsition towards Socialism ?" Socialism is ...t a far cry. A mere achievement of some ...ets in some corners will not mean planning ...a socialist society. For a correct evalua... of the Third Plan, we must study the ...nges in the aggregate sectoral activities with ...ion to the plan objectives and the level of ...ing of the mass. One specific objective of ...Third Plan was "reduction of disparities ...come and wealth, prevention of concen... of economic power and creation of ...es and attitudes of a free and equal ...ciety." But the Mahalanobis Committee on ...Distribution of Income and Level of ...ing' (set up in 1960) in its report (Feb. ...), revealed that inequality in income ...ribution and concentration of economic ...er have accentuated during Planning. ...re are a small number of individuals or ...ps who have in their control significant ...es of economic power in terms of capital, ...me, employment. . . . not measurable ...titically by mere ratios of concentration"- ...alanobis Committee). Now a monopolies ...ission has been set up by the Govern... after 13 years of planning. Even after ...rs of planning, the Government has no ...tive answer to the ever-increasing price ...l, huge tax evasion, unaccounted money, ...ker of cliques' and other ugly economic ...ivities, so widespread now.

Food for the People

Sector-wise evaluation of the present plan ...ally produce a dismal picture. The Third Plan has proved once again that all our attempts at an agricultural resolution have failed. Community development, national extension service, irrigation, credit facilities, seed farms, fertilisers and land reform measures, have not initiated a process of growth in the agricultural sector. Fifty per cent of the plan outlay on agriculture, i. e., Rs. 1281 crores was spent in the first three years. But foodgrains production lagged behind the schedule. The first two years, maintained a more or less similar food-grains production level (i.e. 81.0 m. tons) but the year 1962-63 saw actually a serious shortfall (i. e. 78.7 m. tons). Things improved to some extent in 1963-64, when agricultural and foodgrains production moved to the higher point (i. e. 79.4 m. tons). In comparison with the population increase of 10 m. per year, this increase in farm production is insignificant. While the increase in agricultural production in 1963-64 was only 4 per cent over the 1961-62 level, the population growth rate was 5 per cent during this period. The first three years of the Third Plan were really very unsatisfactory, as far as food production was concerned. In that sense, 1963-64 is definitely a shining spot in an otherwise gloomy picture. Still in this current financial year India has made an all-time record import amounting to 6,313,000 tons of both rice and wheat from different countries. From Pakistan alone, we have imported 100,000 tons of rice during the current season. Food imports will cost the Government Rs. 60 crores more. The share of the agricultural

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sector of the total N. I. in absolute terms fell by Rs. 110 crores in 1962-63 as against the previous year. Now statutory rationing and price control has been accepted by the Government as a necessary evil. The target of food consumption per adult per day was fixed at the end of the Second Plan at 18.3 oz. (This is far below the civilised diet standard), but State Governments are advising the people that the present supply level of 12.6 oz. of food per adult per day is quite sufficient for healthy subsistence. Recent measures taken by the Government on the food front did not impress any section of the community. The Govt. will not take the blame on it's shoulders for this continuing crisis but will rail against others such as black money and irrational consumption habits. The food production and administration policy has failed miserably. Why this shortfall in agricultural production in the Third Plan? No reason was supplied by the "Mid-term Appraisal of Third Plan" (Report of the Planning Commission). This report revealed that during the last 3 years of the Third Plan production of Chemical Fertilisers was satisfactory. The output of organic and green manures was 2.6 and 2.9 m. tons for 1961-62 and 1962-63 respectively, while the plan target was only 5 m. tons; additional areas brought under cultivation were 26 lakh acres in 1961-62; 33 lakh acres in 1962-63 and near about 55 lakh acres in 1963-64. Utilisation of irrigation facilities rose by about 9 per cent from the 1959-60 level. Soil conservation programmes, supply of good seeds, credit facilities and plant protection measures improved during this period. But we still blame some people and curse the monsoon. Reserve Bank of India Report on currency and finance (1963-64) frankly admitted that there had been a virtual stagnation of agricultural production in the Third Plan period. The third year of the Third Plan even failed to produce what had been produced at the end of the Second Plan. The Government agricultural policy has no long-term perspective, as a result a morass of subsistence cultivation is still pervading when the slogan of agricultural revolution is widely proclaimed. "Programmes of land reform have not been fully completed for various reasons and for various pressures". The landlords have succeeded in finding out loopholes in the tenancy laws. The ideals such as "lands to the peasants", "Co-operative village managements" etc., can be found only in the official resolutions. The co-operative movement, including co-operative farming has not been able to make any considerable headway. The Third Plan allocated Rs. 11 crores for the development of co operative farming with a target of 3,200 [illegible] farming Societies in 320 districts, but upto June 1963 only 994 such Societies had been set up. The reasons are official half-heartedness, statism and the traditional outlook of the peasants, in the absence of sufficient incentives.

Even now two-thirds of the total cultivated lands in India depend to a great extent on rainfall. The Third Plan nitrogenous fertiliser consumption target was fixed at 1 m. ton whereas the actual consumption was 221,000 tons, 292,000 tons and 375,000 tons in 1961-62, '62-63, and '63-64 respectively. Land reclamation and resettlement programmes during the Third Plan faced considerable setbacks —the targets were unreasonably low. Nearly Rs. 10.67 crores were allocated for resettling 7 lakh families. But in the first two years only 20,000 families were settled.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Other Commodities

In the field of industry also, there is no sign of steady and appreciable growth rate. In the last two years, the growth rate was only 6.5 per cent and 8 per cent respectively and in 1963-64 also it failed to catch up the Third Plan target of 11 percent per year. During 1963-64 the industrial production rate was somewhat fluctuating, as the output moved (1956=100) upto 160 in June 1963 ; 174 in January 1964 and moved down to 164 in May to rise up again to 174.9 in July. Performance of steel production was also far from satisfactory. The growth rate in the consumer goods industries was much lower ; in cotton textiles 5. 6 percent, in paper 9.9 per cent and production of sugar declined from 3.0 per cent in 1961 to 2.3 per cent in 1963. Shortfall of power production badly hit the industries. The working of the public sector undertakings from the point of view of returns has been unsatisfactory. Skilled hands drift away from the public to the private sector. The Third Plan targetted that some 100 new "industrial estates" will be set up. In addition to 53 such estates as a spill-over from the Second Plan. But the third plan has just yet completed one-fifth of the target. During this period only 60 joint management councils were working in public and private sector industries, when the call was to set up such councils in practically all big industrial units. Emergency production committees set up under the Industrial Truce Resolution failed to achieve the targets set for industrial production. Labour discontent is still very widespread. Too much of Government intervention has neither increased productivity nor established industrial democracy. "The influence of collective bargaining is only marginal" in determining the wages and working conditions of the workers.

Worsening Employment Situation

Continuous heavy dozes of investment programmes have completely overlooked the worsening employment situation, which has been aggravated by the population growth. "Employment should be regarded as the primary object and not as a mere by-product of development". On one side, the swelling "reserve army" of unemployed youths is posing a socio-economic problem, while the critical shortage of skilled people is frustrating the Plan itself. Total number of people enrolled in the employment exchanges in March 1961 were 1.56 m. ; but this shot up to 2.68 m. in June 1963. Educated unemployment figures increased from 490,000 to 780.000 during this period. Upto now only 50 per cent of the total Third Plan target of 14 m. new jobs have been created and it is expected that another 4. 9 m. and 1.6 m. jobs can be created both in the non-agricultural and agricultural sectors respectively. The centre and the states have no effective co-ordinated employment policy and some states failed to provide adequate employment as envisaged. It is estimated that the number of new entrants to the labour market will be 17 m. during this Plan. In West Bengal, on an average, some 1959 candidates were registered on each working day in the employment exchanges in 1962 and of these only 122 found some types of jobs.

Housing

Progress of housing programmes of the Third Plan has also lagged behind the target. Of the estimated Third Plan outlay of Rs.80.59 crores in the State plans on housing, only 45.7 per cent has been used so far, whereas it should have been 76 per cent. The Centre is blaming the States for this shortfall. Housing programmes have failed to keep pace

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with industrialisation and urbanisation programmes. At the present moment, nearly 61 per cent of the urban households and 82 per cent of the rural households are at deplorable, dilapidated and slum conditions. It was calculated that some 80 lakh new houses will be required at the end of the Third Plan but uptil now only 10.5 lakh houses have been built, thus throwing a huge backlog during the next Plan. Low priority has been given on housing by the States and ear-marked funds remained unspent. On the other hand, we find a boom in creation of urban properties and buildings. Lots of unaccounted money are being utilised in these non-currency assets and the common man, hardpressed with so many direct and indirect taxes and soaring prices, is also paying a substantial portion of his subsistance budget to the land speculators and urban property holders, to get a shelter, so essential for his livelihood in the city. Fixation of a ceiling on urban property holding and a price ceiling of such properties seem unrealistic to the Govt. It has no intention of introducing housing co-operatives and subsidised housing schemes on a massive scale; on the other side, slum-dwellers are being uprooted to give place to the multi-storied upper class residential flats to appear.

Purchasing Power

At the time of finalising this Plan, the wholesale price level and cost of living was high, so the Third Plan said, "it must prevent any considerable rise in prices of essential goods that enter into the consumption of the low income group". These years of the Third Plan have resulted in a further upward movement of the price level by 24.5 per cent, highlighting the absence of any sound price policy suitable for our developing economy. Though a certain upward increase in prices is to be accepted as a price of ecomomic growth, ye such a scandalous movement of prices abridge the real content of the Plan. Wh sale price level in 1963-64 was even large than the official figure of 10 per cent. The A India consumer price index for industri workers (1949—base = 100) were 124 1960; 130 in 1962 and 140 in December 196 The wholesale price index (1952-53 base 100) was 136 in Oct. 1963; 137 in Dece ber 1963 and 160 in 1964. The complet years of the Third Plan saw an increase money supply by over 31 per cent and pri rise is 9 per cent per annum on an averag Foodgrains price is more acute now, eve though the 1963-64 food position is much bett due to large food imports and better yie The Govt. is now controlling only a very sm percentage of foodgrains for distributio through rationing and fair price shops. B the Govt. has no well-defined price polic other than some piece-meal and spasmodi attempts to check prices in the face of pe ple's open discontent.

On the rising trend of prices, The Reserv Bank of India circular of 25th September 1964 said, "the increase in prices reflects an imbalance between the rate of growth in liquidity in the economy and the increase in real output. "The crisis accentuated with the widening of the gap between the aggregate demand and aggregate real output and the Govt. having failed to boost up food produc tion is unsuccessfully tightening the distri bution of essential commodities. Black mar keting, hoarding, speculation and adulteration have been institutionalised, even when China is knocking at our door. Consumers' co-oper ative is not yet a popular cry as only 14 wholesale stores and 2,341 primary stores were opened in 1963 throughout India.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Per-Capita Income & Debt Burden

Parliamentary debates revealed that the ...cent 10 per cent of Indian people today live ...monthly average income of Rs. 10 in the ...areas and Rs. 8 in the rural areas. N. I. ...creased, though not significantly, but ...per-capita income, according to the 1948-...price level did not increase (1961-62= ...3 and 1962-63=Rs. 294.7). Of course, ...pita income has increased, if we accept ...current price level and the present large-...erosion of the rupee (then 1960-61 — ...7 and 1962-63=Rs. 339.4).

...According to the Reserve Bank of India ...June 30, 1964), the total money ...increased by 13.3 per cent (i.e. Rs. 447 ...during 1963.64 as against 10.2 per ...i.e. Rs310 crores) in 1962-63 whereas ...N.I. at constant prices increased by a ...more than 4 per cent during the ...Deficit financing in the first two ...of the Third Plan was Rs. 339 crores and ...third year also it was Rs.241 crores. ...the Government is censuring the private ...for excessive bank credits. But the ...R.I. report says that a great part of the ...money supply, nearly Rs. 281 crores ...of Rs. 447 crores) was taken by the ...ernment. No systematic attempt has yet been ...by the Government towards economising ...expenditure. Total Central Government ...diture has been increasing gradually, e.g., ...63-64 Rs. 723 crores, against Rs. 684 ...in the year before. The magnitude of ...peoples' tax burden is swelling day by ...The total revenue of the Central Govt. ...64-65 (budget estimate) will be Rs. 2135. ...crores, whereas it was only Rs. 515.36. ...in 1951-52. But if the Central, State and ...Government revenues are added up ...ether, then the aggregate revenue will be ...crores according to the 1964-65 budget estimates. This aggregate revenue is nearly 27 per cent of the total N. I. which is expected to be Rs. 14,500 crores in 1964-65 (budget estimate). N. I. in 1951-52 was only Rs. 9100 crores. The total Third Plan target of additional taxes by the centre was Rs. 1710 crores but the total tax yield in these years has already crossed the 5 year target. So we can realise the steep increase of taxation. The rate of increase in India's national debt is also faster than the rate of growth of N. I., thus even encumbering posterity to a large extent. The total Govt. of India debt in March 1964 was Rs. 9,364 crores whereas it was Rs. 2,773 crores in 1950-51 and Rs. 7,996 crores in 1962-63. The total debt obligation of the Govt. at the end of the Third Plan will be Rs. 13,600 crores. Again interest charges on outstanding debts is near about Rs.257 crores in 1963-64 and during the Fourth Plan period some Rs. 1,100 crores worth of foreign exchange will be required for paying interest and other repayment charges on the debts.

Painful Planning

These are the pains of development planning in India, which has definitely witnessed some progress and development here and there. Presently, we do never call India a dormant or stagnant economy. But how far the Common man's lodging, living and security conditions have been improved during the last 13 years of "painful planning" has yet to be ascertained. Considerable faith has been generated among the people towards the the necessity of planning. But on the present pattern of planning, a conviction is yet to be born, as this depends on experience. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission says, that this decade of development must

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

be a "decade of dedication of the common people". But it is the common people who "dedicate" whether it is the time of war or peace and now planning. The common people in the last decade dedicated only to help accumulation of profits and concentration of wealth in a few hands. Again it is this common people, who are in the midst of a low level of living and socio-economic in... The common people will be glad to under... period of pain for future plenty, provi... socio-economic justice is not evaporated in ... journey towards plenty. The Govt. ... have to reorient its planning policy in ... of its low-key performance for the better... of the small man in the past decade.

INDIAN MUSLIMS AND POLYGAMY AND WOMEN'S RIGHT OF DIVORCE

The Turkish Dictator abolished polygamy and gave women the right to divorce. Here in India, whenever any bill directed against polygamy is sought to be introduced in any legislative body, the sponsor has to exclude Muslims from its operation—so wedded they are to that institution.

As regards women's right to divorce, newspaper readers know that a certain bill introduced in the Central Legislature a few months back by a Muslim member seeks to tie down Muslim wives to their husbands even if the wives have renounced Muhammadanism and embraced a different faith in order to shake off their Muslim husbands.

(December, 1938, Page 643)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

CONSOLIDATING THE PLANS

a brief but carefully worded statement released to the public press, the President World Bank was reported to have counselled India should now concentrate upon consolidating the achievements of her first three Five Year Plans. This counsel appears to obvious reference to the foreign exchange the estimates of the, so far, tentatively Fourth Five Year Plan. The statement of the Bank President, however, does not include the additional counsel that the of the ensuing Fourth Five Year Plan be held over pending achievement of the consolidation,—at least not in so many But such an implication appears to have generally read into the World Bank President's to the Government of India and their executives by certain sections of the and the press. For obvious reasons the Bank President cannot be expected to say so without being guilty of diplomatic pas, they say, but what he must have by implication is only too clear and which, is an inescapable corollary of what he actually expressed in words. In any case, a large volume of controversy appears now been engendered over the matter. There those, for instance—and among them are the highest executives of the Commission—who insist that despite failures and shortfalls it would be foolish to of either halting the initiation of the Fourth or even to attenuate its size or redraw its and contours without seriously affecting prospects of economic growth towards a stage of take-off for self-generating and self-sustaining development. There are, again, those who feel that planning has altogether been wrongly conceived of which ample and incontrovertible evidence is being provided by the present extremely sick state of the national economy and would like the process to be discarded even at the present late stage. There are also those who would not like the process of planning to be altogether discarded, but feel that there is urgent need to attenuate the Fourth Plan to what they consider should be a more realistic size and to redraw its contours and readjust its priorities towards a more wholesome balance in the light of past experiences of planning.

Instability and Price Pressures

There is the school of thought, for instance, which has been increasingly and rather popularly vocal of late, which feels that the current instability in the economy and the accelerating inflationary pressures which are one of the principal factors in this instability, are mainly derived from the faulty priorities as well as the constitutional imbalances in the process of Plan formulation in general and, particularly, from the failures and shortfalls of the Third Plan.

Such a sweeping condemnation of planning as a whole may appear, on the face of it, to be an exaggeration of facts far beyond their actual proportions. But that there is considerable substance in such an accusation is something which is so self-evident that it should be beyond all controversy. The fact, for instance, would seem to be indisputable, that consonant with Plan outlays, Plan achievements have continued to be progressively short of estimated yields in terms of the rate of growth in the gross national product as well as those in employment incidences. The inevitable result has been that while the money supply with the public has been steadily and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

increasingly accelerating in volume, production and *effective supply* have failed to keep pace, leading to a corresponding measure of explosion in demand and the consequent price pressures.

Taxation and other fiscal and monetary measures are conventionally assumed to be the normal correctives in such a situation. The burden of taxation on the people has multiplied by several hundred per cent during the period between 1950-51 and 1963-64. With a brief interlude during 1953-54 when prices, especially of primary consumption commodities appeared to have sagged somewhat, they have continued to steadily rage upwards throughout the period of planning. Still, with the supply of food grains maintained at a more or less even level,—albeit substantially with the help of massive imports,—price rise until 1962-63 have been substantial but steady and had not demonstrated that erratic spurt which would be normally expected to cause a serious dislocation in the economy. It should, however, be noted that on the eve of launching the Third Plan, the then Minister of Planning, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, deplored on several separate and public occasions that rising prices had considerably attenuated the achievements of the Second Plan (1955-56 to 1960-61) and he was apprehensive that unless necessary and effective measures were timely taken to hold the price line at an even and steady level, the Third Plan, likewise, was bound to come to grief. It is on record that both the Congress Parliamentary Party and the then Union Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, appeared to have treated the matter in a callously cavalier fashion, and Shri Nanda's apprehensions and dire prophesies came to be proved only too true.

Defence—A Pretext

It is true that the onset of the massive Chinese aggression upon our northern frontiers in October 1962 and the consequently large additional appropriations for defence expenditure caused a great deal of aggravation to a situation which had already arrived at what, for-want of a more adequate expression, may only be described as the very brink of a breakdown on the price front. The slowing down of agricultural production generally and of food grains production in particular during the 1962-63 season [illegible] doubt, added a fresh element in a situation [illegible] loaded with a variety of complications, [illegible] was the real cause was that both the Government and the Planning Commission had failed to visualize the need for effectively mopping up at least a reasonable proportion of the increase in money supply with the public which would, otherwise, be bound to be directed towards specific pressures upon essential commodities in regular supply as, for instance, food grains, cloth and other essential consumables. With the outbreak of the Chinese aggression making it necessary to undertake massive mobilization of [illegible] resources, it should have been clearly foreseen that two things would almost immediately eventuate ; first that there would have to be immediate and substantial additional budgetary appropriations for defence expenditure and secondly, that this would provide the needed cover for a fresh spurt of aggressive price expansion. It may be recalled that in a brief emergency session of Parliament in November 1962 such additional defence appropriation was actually sanctioned by Parliament but the Finance Minister did not or really would not match his bold with a supplementary grant in this behalf by at least a corresponding taxation budget. In these columns, in our issue dated December 1962, pleaded that in the context of the situation and price situation in the country then existing it was clearly incumbent upon the Finance Minister to take measures for immediately mopping up all surplus money from the market through a courageously conceived and boldly formulated taxation budget, or else it may be impossible, later, to inhibit the speculative activities of certain sections of the community with correspondingly disastrous consequences to the economy and even upon the defence effort. It may be mentioned that our own plea in this behalf was reiterated and endorsed by a joint statement issued in Delhi eleven days later by a team of high-level economists of the country, but Shri Morarji Desai remained impervious to these counsels of wisdom and would not do anything until the annual Budget Session of Parliament some three months later.

(Contd. on page 140)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RAMANANDA'S CHILDHOOD IN BANKURA

By S. L.

(A free Translation from Santa Devi's original Bengali biography)

Bankura: red soil, land that rises and s. Here and there, in the dry earth, we e across a scraggly wisp of a river; or e is no river at all; only underground ms. In Bankura's forests: black, hulk- rocks, like giant figures from myth. No, much like the rest of green, pleasant gal. Mostly Brahmins in Bankura; and e is a place by the name of Pathakpara, re only Brahmins live. At one time, y say, a group of migrants from the th-west of India came and settled here. u will find touches of Hindi in the guage they speak. The local zamindar, shnakumar Pathak, once hired a pandit, anda, for Bankura, bringing him specially from near Calcutta. When anda died, his son Ramlochan was n. It is said a rich Bankuran had ations of adopting the boy, and ssed them; but Ramlochan refused, a small hut on his father's plot of land, seemed pretty happy there. But he help from Krishnakumar, went to a krit grammar school, and soon fitted lf for the grim business of life. He a job as teacher in the school. His 's name was Kamaladevi; they had sons—Harinarayan, Ganganarayan, mbhunath, and Srinath—and two ghters. (Ganganarayan and Shambhu- later became eminent pandits.) ath was slightly mollycoddled, it ens; for he never went to the grammar ol. He picked up a nodding friendship Bengali and a smattering of arith- ; that was the end of his education. elder brothers, being pandits, did not much care for assured futures; and they let Srinath have the ancestral house as inheritance. But you can live in a house; you can't live on it; a house will not feed a man. He was a strong, handsome man, Srinath; muscular, striking. And he determined to earn a living by his brawn, if brain did not do.

First he went to the village magistrate, looking for work. At the gate he found guards. "No, sir, no going in without tips." He did not believe in the morality of tipping, so he climbed a nearby tree and waited. As the horse carriage came out of the gates, he leaped down and grabbed the reins. "Hey, what's the matter?" said the magistrate. "I want to see you, sir," Srinath shouted, "But nobody would let me in." The magistrate was impressed by the young man's daring and good looks. And Srinath was appointed a gaoler.

His wife, Harasundari Devi, was a beauty—and a virtuous lady. Children would marvel at the face, its milk-white- ness, the striking features, even when she had become quite old. She was a silent type; good-natured, simple, hard-working, Hard work and a sense of duty went hand in hand with her; but she had a curiously attractive detachment to worldly matters, which meant of course that she was no good at keeping the household accounts. She did not know how to lock the money box. It would lie in a corner, like a disused flower pot, and the notes and coins would be daily put in it or taken out. When she bought things from vendors, she would add

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a gracious extra heap of grain to the price demanded. Cleanliness was almost a fad with her: she bathed three or four times a day; and she was the earliest to rise, dust and wipe the house, and the earliest to have a bath. In the stray moments of free time she occasionally got, she would sit and stitch or embroider; then, carefully, dip the needles in oil to prevent them from rusting. Prayer came to her easily; she was pious in a good sense. Even when her husband had money, she did not go in for expensive jewellery and saris. On her wrists, silver bracelets; and a gold necklace—these she wore with pious regularity. She wasn't one to get angry easily; but she didn't tolerate mischief and injustice. She would delicately turn her back on the guilty person, but say nothing.

It was a nice place to live in. Nearby was a pond known as "Big Pool" and near the Big Pool a temple; the road to the temple had two enormous leafy pipals like stately guards on either side. Srinath's brick house abutted on the road to the temple. In this house, after three girls and two boys, was born Ramananda Chatterjee, the sixth child. The day: 31st May, 1865.

He was born in a house where love and affection grew round him with touching effect. His father had a magnificent horoscope made out, with the imposing name "Damarudhari" as the child's horoscopic inheritance. Bankura then was devoted to the name "Ram"—naturally the boy's name became Ram. Since the two other brothers were Ramshankara and Rameshvara, simple Ram became mellifluent Ramananda. Of the three daughters, one died at birth; the other two were, again mellifluently, Tripurasundari and Saradasundari. Tripurasundari was a sweet, good-natured lady, exactly like her mother in her mental accomplishments. She had no children, but Ramananda and Rameshvara were young enough to be her children, and she deluged them with her affection. Saradasundari was known for her frankness, her beauty, and her courage. [illegible] sisters had not passed through any [illegible] channels of education, but their sponta[illegible]ous culture surprised and charmed [illegible] The youngest son, born after Ramana[illegible] was called Baranasi. (Baranashi). These [illegible] older sisters and a childless sister-in-[illegible] would shower the infant Ramananda [illegible] their infinite tenderness. The handso[illegible] little boy would cross the common co[illegible] yard and barge into the sister-in-law's [illegible] ched cottage—demanding treacle-cakes [illegible] then gulping them down with great g[illegible] And she too would order him to 'sing [illegible] his supper!' She loved listening to the [illegible] boy's improvisations—'Oh, give Kanhaiya [illegible] cake and he will go away happy!'

Though a Brahmin stronghold, th[illegible] did not seem to be much untouchab[illegible] prevalent in Bankura. Not much caste [illegible] tinction, specially in the family he grew [illegible] in. So that he developed an attitude [illegible] respect and tenderness to common peo[illegible] born out of a spontaneous urge [illegible] nourished by a healthy social atmosphere.

Even as a boy, he was the quiet ty[illegible] He did not mix much with the boys of [illegible] neighbourhood. One, it is recorded, [illegible] liked a great deal: Hemchandra Cha[illegible] padhyaya. Of games, it is also record[illegible] he loved most a brisk bout of ha-du-[illegible] Not that he avoided rough and tou[illegible] games. In fact, he prided himself on [illegible] the son of a muscular father, and probab[illegible] wished to keep the family flag flying. B[illegible] he was lost in books and thinking; and h[illegible] had little time for other pursuits. Lost [illegible] himself, he would often huddle in a corner[illegible] his thoughts his only friends. "Wake up [illegible] Nanda!" his sister would call out. He would **wake,** stir himself in his corner, and slump again into the wonders of Thoughtland.

When he was five, he was introduced to his uncle Shambhunath's Sanskrit grammar school. "As far as I can remember," he writes in one place, "I got my first education in the grammar school. But I

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

was not one of the listed students—I was sent along there. I remember my cousin Ramratan taking me to the little school by the Tenth Pool. A chalk was put in to my hand, and I was asked to scribble the alphabet on the floor. I began to sob, because Ramratan was not allowed to sit next to me, and didn't go there again." In other words, he became a "formal" student!

Bankura at that time had an "English" school and a "Bengali" school, the difference being that the "Bengali" school students had to wade through many more subjects than their "English" contemporaries—language apart, algebra, geometry, history, geography, physics and botany. All this was taught in Bengali of course. In Prabasi a comment by Ramananda Chatterjee to the effect that what the "Bengali" students learnt in the first few years was not less than what the "English" learnt even at the entrance stage (and he adds, "probably the same holds true even now.").

His avid love of studies and his truly astonishing memory soon made Ramananda a favourite of his teachers. A couple of double promotions made it possible for him to get through the "Bengali" Entrance examination at the age of ten. He did not read these books because they were his text books, but because he found in them stirring sentiments, aspirations, the flush of patriotic feelings. Patriotic songs seemed to make his blood tingling; and he remembered them with affection till his last days. Indeed, all poems became grist to his mill; and his phenomenal memory quickly took them in with perfect precision of rhythm and thought. Michael Madhusudan's Meghnad-Vad, learnt at ten, he could recite without a mistake at the age of twenty-four.

"Forty years ago," he explained in a recent issue of Prabasi, "we were bundled off to school and given all kinds of science subjects to study. Never did we see a scientific instrument: let alone a laboratory. Books on science, like all other books, we learnt by heart; and used our little imaginations furiously to conceive of stellar systems and gravitation laws. Had we wanted, we could have collected all the most exquisite botanical specimens in the villagey town—perhaps frogs too, for the biology classes. But our teachers were not interested in such modernism. We—at least a few of us—would sally forth and spot some botanical items on our jaunts. In our Nature Study classes, my clearest memory is of two teacher's feet—just as in the other classes—atop a table, and a fearful voice booming from behind: 'Now, who knows what a Root is.' And out would come a volley of parroted text-book definition. And why is this definition wrong? Again a volley of gramophone learning."

It is recorded, however, that, in spite of his being the favourite student, on one occasion his teacher punished him. It is a preciously interesting story. In class, next to him, sat a carpenter's son. One day the boy felt slightly itchy in a somewhat inaccessible part of his body, and asked Ramananda to do the necessary thing. The result: a resounding slap on Ramananda's back from the teacher, who shouted: "You, a Brahmin's son, scratching the back of a carpenter's boy! Shame on you!" Ramananda never forgot his childhood friends. Two of his closest were Abinash Das and Surendra Bhushan. They would trek together in the woods, plucking flowers, having picnics, going to school together, reading books together, spending nights at each others' homes. They kept in touch with each other right up to their old age. The other two friends he had were Abdul Samed and Abdul Jabbar. Samed and he studied together at the zilla school till the final year. Abdul Samed later became a Deputy Magistrate.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ramananda and he were always ranked first and second in class.

He had a special love for the beauty of nature. When Saraswati Puja and Lakshmi Puja came around, he was the first to go about picking lovely flowers for the votive offerings. Off they would go to Chatna, a village fairly far off, a village made memorable by the fact that Chandidas lived there, to collect white flowers from the Sal forests at dawn. On full-moon nights the victim was the village ferociously named Five Tigers, where they gathered flaming oleanders near the village pool. On holidays there would be picnics at Shushuniya Hill, a gigantic kneeling elephant with patches of green forest on its body. He used to go there all by himself whenever he got the chance; and much later, when in Calcutta, he would dream nostalgically of the childhood hill which exerted such fascination on the growing boy. One of his greatest joys was to tramp thirteen miles to Balarampur, where his maternal uncle lived.

At the age of ten he participated in a poetry writing contest for school children, the subject being "The Scenic Beauty of Bankura." He ran off with the first prize, a cash award of ten rupees: a fabulous treasure! He repeated this little story later to Rabindranath, half jokingly, half in a spirit of irrepressible childish joy. "That's why you never wrote poems again," said the poet. "That's what comes of getting cash awards so young. Why, I never got a prize until I was well beyond fifty."

At the age of ten too, he won a four-rupee scholarship and moved into the "English" school, where he did not have to pay his tuition fees. He even shared his princely four-rupees with his second brother by buying his text books for him.

In Bankura at that time circulated a paper edited by Keshub Chandra Sen called **Sulabh Samachar** or **Inexpensive News,** priced at one pice a copy. The circulation in Bankura was 140 copies sold by an assiduous school teacher. In the [illegible] number used to be a Humour Section, [illegible] the entire magazine was printed on [illegible] of different colours; besides, it [illegible] innumerable illustrations. Ramananda [illegible] this paper; and would spend [illegible] dreaming of how he would start a [illegible] venture when he grew up.

The mathematics teacher of [illegible] School was Sri Kedarnath Kulavi and [illegible] could not stand sums being done wrong. One of Ramananda's class-mates was a [illegible] at mathematics, but always came to [illegible] with a splendidly parted hair line, [illegible] with professional hairdressers' precision. There is a pretty anecdote about the [illegible] when Kedarnathbabu flung a geometry book at the boy's head, muttering, "I can bisect your head, but you can't bisect a straight line!" Kedarnath was a Brahmo Samajist, the preacher in the local Brahmo Samaj and well-known for his sermons to hear which Ramananda and his friends were always eager. The influence of this remarkable selfless teacher must have been incalculable on the young minds, for he was fond of reading out to them the life stories of India's great men. He told them about Sri Ramkrishna: and they were fascinated. Sri Ramkrishna's wife, Sarada Devi, was a Bankura lady: this stirred parochial pride in the young boy, and later Ramananda was the first to write in detail about Sarada Devi in **Prabasi.**

He had an adventurous, reformist streak in him all along; but in no way fanatical, and certainly he was afraid of any hysterical manifestation of such zeal. Under Kedarnath's influence, he felt specially drawn into the Brahmo Samaj. "From the time I stepped into the higher classes of the 'English' School," he writes in one place, "I felt fascinated by Brahmoism, and regularly went to the Brahmo temple. My family were unhappy over this; but they did not scold me. I know my mother never once brought the matter up: she was a tolerant lady."

His youthful ambitions were first,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...en new schools, and secondly, to help the ...r; thirdly, anything that uplifted ...ety (in his boyish imagination). He ...d not have the funds of course: so he ...em cautiously by opening a "school" in ...house for little children. The staircase ...s methodically chalked off into compart...s: CLASS ONE, CLASS TWO, CLASS ...REE, and so on. Here the children took ...r seats: the brighter ones on the steps ...erred for CLASS ONE, and the less ...ed in CLASS TWO and THREE. The ...ghty and the ignorant and stubborn ...e promptly packed off into the ...mal parts of the staircase. No money ... books and **khatas** was available. ...pped slates were very much in evidence. ...n and used books were carefully ...ired and given to the new students. ...w would the teacher be paid? After ...h deliberation, the excellent conclusion ... arrived at that each student, regard...s of his mental calibre and the class in ...ch he sat, would contribute one betel-... A few years later, Ramananda orga...ed a night school in the Brahmo Samaj, ...d simultaneously arranged a debate ...m.

Self-supporting himself, the young boy ...ed to have a knack of inspiring con...ce in others. He also collected money ...the school for less fortunate folk—a sort ...poor box fund—but, shy by nature, he ...ld send a friend, Chandrabhushan Sen, ...do the distributing. Many of his good ...ks have been attributed to others; and ...a perhaps useful, without being vain, ...record here that Ramananda would have ...erred to let another steal the thunder ...m him when it came to claiming author... for good deeds.

Two well-known writers, Romesh ...ndra Dutt and Bhudeb Chandra ...kherjee, were then school inspectors ...d would pay frequent visits to the ...kura village school. Romesh Chandra ... was indeed a Magistrate in Bankura: ...d at that time the school had special prizes for English elocution and text-reading. Romesh Chandra Dutt often awarded these prizes to Ramananda. On another occasion, when the text for the Pre-School Final Examination was Lamb's **Tales From Shakespeare**, Romesh Dutt gave Ramananda 96 out of 100 in the English test. The headmaster didn't much like such generosity, and complained that it might go to the boy's head. "I can't help it," replied Romesh Dutt. "It might be that he has learned the book by heart. But the English is most correct. I have to give marks." But the headmaster was adamant; and six marks were lopped off. The reason: it wouldn't be good for the boy's future! In compensation, however, Ramananda received a special personal prize from Romesh Dutt.

Ramananda himself has acknowledged that two books of Romesh Dutt, **The Decline of the Rajputs** and **The Rise of the Marathas**, exerted great patriotic influence on his young mind. "Romesh Dutt's patriotism was like a subterranean stream: there wasn't much of drum-beating, declamation, and vote-catching in it." This type of patriotic feeling grew spontaneously in the heart of Ramananda. The personal prize he received was Maunder's Treasury of History; he treasured it; and when he became Professor of English, he showed it to Romesh Dutt, who said, "The wheel has come full circle!—the winner of a prize for English becomes a Professor of English."

Ramananda was an enthusiastic long-distance walker since his early youth. As a teen-ager, he loved carrying his lunch in a bundle and walking through several villages to visit his maternal uncle's home. He and his friends would visit distant villages in search of particular flowers or simply for a picnic in the surrounding sal-forests.

In one of the issues of the 'Prabasi' of the Bengali year 1345, Ramananda wrote

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

about the political situation in Bankura during his early youth—

"In those days a Kanauji Brahmin named Jawaharlal Tribedi lived in Pathak-para, Bankura. His family had lived for generations in Bengal, spoke in Bengali and had virtually become Bengali. This Mr. Tribedi knew no English, spoke tolerable Bengali and had a minor job in the government. I think he lived to be a hundred. He was a self-reliant man of great moral character. He was also a keen gardener. This Mr. Tribedi's chief topic of discussion was whether the Russians were coming or not. We never came to know how this rumour about the approaching Russians came to his ears. But he would keep asking all of us school-boys whether we had read anything about the coming Russians in the newspapers and how far were they now from India. Maybe he believed that the Russians would defeat the English when they reached India and thus we would regain our freedom.

"Whatever his sources of information were then, there was no doubt about Sri Tribedi's lack of love for the British-raj. This feeling was by no means a rare thing in our times amongst ordinary citizens, who were non-titled and non-seekers of favours from the government. Even young boys sensed around them this spirit of discontent growing up. We realised later how India woke up to a finer consciousness during the British regime and how these merchant rulers, while arranging for their own welfare and convenience, inadvertently bestowed on us certain stray benefits. But these, however, did not make us their devoted admirers. We had a teacher in the Bankura Government school who was also another Brahmin from Kanauj. This Mr. Bholanath Adhusurja knew the English language well, but like Tribedi, was not a lover of the British-raj. He was private tutor to the Ghosh boys, who lived by the Poddar-tank. All of us would gather around him to listen to innumerable stories about the mighty Sikhs and Rajputs and their valour. I can't say that more of our mutual school-work was covered than by the telling of those stories!

"Later at night, we would recite together—with great feeling and little regard for metre—passages from 'The Battle of Plassey' and the patriotic songs from Hemchandra. No doubt we disturbed the peace of the neighbourhood and the sleepless elders curbed our emotions quite often.

"As we grew up in this atmosphere, none of us got around to attaining an honorific Rai-bahadurship!

"Our favourite books were Ramesh Chandra's 'Banga-Bijeta', Rajanikanta's 'Maharana Pratap Singh', Todd's 'Tales of Rajasthan' and essays on Mazzini and his New Italy."

After a while Srinath lost his job, as he knew little English. His savings were invested in a foodgrains business. Unfortunately, one day his huge granary, stacked with foodgrains, was burnt down completely. His eldest son was already married then and a father. These were anxious times for Srinath and Harasundari with their large family. During a family ritual-feast, Srinath suffered a heart-attack and died. After this untimely death the family faced a serious crisis. The two younger sons were still at school and all the major responsibilities fell on Harasundari's delicate shoulders. They still owned the house and their land but to feed her large family of children, grandchildren and other dependants—she needed more. Harasundari had great faith in Ramananda. In 1881, when he was less than sixteen, he was ready for his Entrance examination. But he would have to earn a first-class scholarship, if he wished to join any Calcutta college. His father, then living—but his business ruined,—could not afford to send his son to the city and pay his college expenses.

Ramananda decided not to sit for the examination that year, as he felt he could

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

win a scholarship. The following
his father, Srinath, passed away. In
he studied hard, receiving help or
ance from none, and decided to sit for
Entrance. Several days before the
ination he suddenly stopped studying.
day as he paced back and forth in
of his room, his sister's husband asked
very puzzled, "Nanda, did you not say
are sitting for the examination this
Why don't you study any more ?"
nanda answered, "I have been cramm-
the whole year. I wish to cool my
these last few days".
Throughout those examination days,
sundari prayed before her household
and inviting a Sanskrit scholar, asked
him to recite from sacred books so that her son might succeed.

Her son stood fourth in order of merit and earned a scholarship of twenty rupees. No more hurdles to cross ! With tremendous enthusiasm, Ramananda and his friend Pramathanath, packed their little bags and set off on a bullock-cart to Raniganj station, where they would catch the train to Howrah.

Up and down those rocky, winding lanes, through those beloved sal-forests, crossing tiny, rippling streams or the dried-up beds of the wide, ancient Damodar river—the little bullock-cart, reddened with the dry Bankura soil, carried the two young dreamers towards their future.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE GADAR STRATEGY : SHIPPING MEN AND ARMS TO INDIA

The Story of a Programme that Failed

Prof. KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE

This is part of the writer's study on some aspects of the Gadar Movement in the United States. The previous papers on the subject have been published in the Modern Review of November 1964 and February, May and July 1965.

The California revolutionaries started their work quite enthusiastically almost as soon as the war between England and Germany broke out. Finance became less of a problem. "We don't need to beg of our countrymen", Ram Chandra said, "because I have a good treasurer and I can get as much money as I want from the Germans."[1] A group of 62 people was got ready to leave for India. With Jawalla Singh as the leader, the party sailed on the steamship *Korea* from San Francisco on August 29, 1914. According to the testimony of Nawab Khan, an important Government witness in the San Francisco trial, 61 of these belonged to the Gadar Party.[2] More recruits were collected at various ports of call before it reached Calcutta. At Hongkong the party numbered more than three hundred. There, with the sanction of the authorities, some of the Indians were put on another ship and the two vessels sailed for Calcutta,[3] where many of the men were apprehended. Subsequently, 100 were imprisoned, 6 hanged, 2 sentenced in conspiracy cases and 6 more were later arrested. Two of the leaders became approvers.[4] The debacle of the *Korea* 'expedition' was one of several that simply miscarried. The Gadar organization sent out groups of Indians from America and elsewhere, sometimes accompanied with promises of arms. The programme, on the whole, was [illegible] planned ; adequate secrecy was not maintained, and, by and large, everything ended in a fiasco. It is interesting to note that in the autumn of 1914 groups of Indians left America at different times. Some were active members of the conspiracy. A large number was, perhaps, just keen to get back home now that a war had begun. The *Korea*, we have already seen, sailed with 62. On September 5 the *Siberia* sailed with two Hindus. A week later, the *Chinyo Maru* left with [illegible] followed by eleven on the *China* on September 19. The *Manchuria* had twenty-four Indians on board on September 25. The *Tenyo Maru* carried 109 Indians on October 21. Three days later the *Monga* had a still larger number of Indians—141 [illegible] The *Shinyo Maru* sailed on October 31 with 80 Indians on board.[5]

The ship *Tosa Maru* arrived at Calcutta with 173 passengers on October 29, 1914. They were mostly Sikhs from America, Manila, Shanghai and Hongkong. News reached the Government of India that the passengers had talked openly of starting a rebellion on arriving in India. According to Nawab Khan's testimony in a trial in India, one of the resolutions passed on the *Tosa Maru* was to the effect that loyal Punjabis

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Instance should be looted.[6] The majority of these people were interned in jail. Some were subsequently hanged, or, otherwise convicted on various counts. "Of all the October, November and December shiploads of returning emigrants, the *Tosa Maru* was the most dangerous."[7]

Later, in the San Francisco trial, Nawab Khan's bona fides were questioned. Mr. Roche, defence lawyer, asked Nawab Khan, "Now, on your way back to Canada, before leaving Hongkong to come to the U.S., did you know a man by the name of Inspector Hopkins?" Khan said he knew Hopkins and admitted that the latter was a British Secret Service man. Mr. Roche the lawyer had asked Khan a few more questions to find out if he was a friend of the British Secret Service man, and a discussion soon started, the Court wanted to know if it was Mr. Roche's theory "that the witness was not a bona fide member of the organization (Gadar), but merely was an agent of the Government in this cause."

Mr. Roche: I don't know as to that, your Honour; that may be so.

The Court: Because otherwise I don't see the connection.

Mr. Healey: That is the theory of these defendants.[8]

Later, Healey wanted to question Khan with respect to his relations with Hopkins.

Court: I cannot allow counsel to multiply the same question.[9]

Much more interesting and significant was the fact that the defence had pinpointed in Nawab Khan's testimony regarding the itinerary of the ship *Korea*. Khan is reported to have received from the German Consul at Canton a guarantee of safety from attacks by German warships that were in the neighbourhood. Very strangely, Canton was initially mentioned at all by Khan as one of the places touched by him.[10] And to a question from the defence lawyer Khan had said that he had seen the German Consul at Hongkong. Roche pounced on this important omission and a palpable impossibility.

Q. What was the date upon which the *Korea* left Hongkong, approximately?

A. The 28th of September or the 29th of September.

Q. That was about two months after the war had started between Germany and Great Britain?

Q. Hongkong is a British city, is it not?

A. Yes, held by the British Government.

Q. You testified here yesterday that you and some of your associates went to the office of a man that you characterized as a German Consul.

A. It was at Canton.

Roche: The record clearly shows that the witness referred to Hongkong.

The Court: The record is all right, but that is not what the witness meant.[12]

Even if the Gadar members on the *Korea*, the *Tosa Maru* and other ships had succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the Government in India, they might not have succeeded in their mission. Many of them were of an excitable temper and secrecy was not a strong point with them. Their objective was limited. By and large, they thought that they would find India seething with discontent and ripe for a revolution.[13] That, however, was too optimistic a view of the situation. A revolution, as the Gadar people, in and out of India conceived of it, needed arms. Not many of them were going around the country. The issue of the Gadar dated January 13, 1914 had advised Indians to learn rifle-making abroad, bring the rifles to the Punjab and, "rain over the province a sweet shower of guns."[14] But that was, more or less, wishful thinking.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The restricted supply of arms in the country which the revolutionaries might use had made the situation less explosive for the rulers. The revolutionaries only obtained arms enough to provide for isolated outrages. ".....There is evidence that the groups (revolutionary) were not above planning the theft of pistols from one another." In the event of an ample and separate supply of arms for every revolutionary group, "we think that the conspiracies might have produced, especially in the event of a rising in some other parts of India such as was planned for February, 1915, a calamity of a terrible character in Bengal[15]

The Indian revolutionists did plan, however, with the active support of the Germans to send supplies of arms and ammunition to India. One episode, in particular, deserves attention. Towards the close of 1914, Capt. Franz Von Papen, military attache of the German Embassy, asked Hans Tauscher of the Krupp Agency in New York to buy arms and ammunition for aiding revolution in India. It may be interesting to recall that Tauscher had married Madame Gadaski, the well known opera star.[16] He was instructed to ship them to San Diego in California.[17] Ten carloads of freight containing eight thousand rifles and four million cartridges were made ready in January 1915. The Germans financed the Gadar Party to buy two ships, the *Annie Larsen* from Martinez and Company in San Diego, and the *Maverick*, an oil tanker from one of the Standard Oil Companies at a total cost of $ 212,853. E. H. Von Schack, the German Vice Consul in San Francisco arranged with J. Clyde Hizar, city attorney for Coronado (a little town across the bay from San Diego) for placing the cargo on the *Annie Larsen*. Hizar was paid $14,000 for his services. "Hizar posed as a representative of the Carranza faction in the Mexican Civil War and word was passed along the waterfront that the *Annis Larsen* was to sail for Mexico." Neither the British agents nor anybody else questioned this move because there was no embargo on shipping arms to Mexico. Loaded with arms,' the *Annie Larsen* sailed ostensibly for a Mexican port on March 8, 1915. The real destination was the island of Socorro about 300 miles to the south of California.

The deal in respect of the *Maverick* was made in Los Angeles by a German, Fred Jebsen, with the help of an American attorney Ray Howard. The *Maverick* was to clear from San Pedro empty and the two ships were to meet at Socorro in the South Seas, and there the munitions were to be transferred to an empty oil tank of the *Maverick*, and kept dry. The arms were to be stored in another tank. The *Maverick* was to proceed towards India. The other vessel was to return to the American waters unless intercepted by enemy warships in which case it was to be sunk.[18] The *Maverick* sailed from San Perdo on April 23, 1915 with a young American, John B. Starr-Hunt, as the super cargo and five Hindus who had been recruited by Ram Chandra. It also had on board a large bulk of revolutionary literature written by him and his colleagues. The munitions and the literature were to be delivered to fishing boats near Karachi. The account is generally supplemented by that in the Sedition Committee Report.[9] The sequel to it may be gleaned from what seems reasonable to conclude from a telegram that was passed between the parties involved in the programme[20] and from some other documents of the San Francisco trial which will be taken up a little later.

The *Annie Larsen-Maverick* meeting did not take place. After a long wait of about four weeks the *Maverick* sailed north and the captain of the ship secretly contacted the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

German Consulate of San Francisco from San Diego. He was instructed to take the tanker to Hilo, Hawaii. From there the *Maverick* was directed to proceed to the Johnston island in the mid Pacific and await the arrival of the *Annie Larsen*. Since there was no sign of the vessel, the *Maverick* proceeded under instruction to Anjer in Batavia. Theodore Helferich, a German national, was informed of the *Maverick's* arrival without any arms. Before he could decide anything about the matter, the Dutch seized it. The vessel was flying the American flag, and the Dutch government did not know what to do to the people on board. Taking advantage of the situation Starr-Hunt and four of the Indians escaped in another ship. They were, however, captured by the British cruiser *Minos* and taken off to Singapore where the American narrated his story to the British authorities.[21] All the five were condemned to death and the Indians were executed. On the intercession of his relations with the U.S. Department of Justice, Starr-Hunt was returned to his country and he became a Government witness at the San Francisco trial. His testimony enabled the Government to unravel much of the mystery of the *Maverick*.[22] M. N. Roy puts the sailing of the tanker from the South Californian port of San Diego in 1916. Towards the end of 1915 he met this American, "living in a luxury hotel in Batavia, still in the confidence of the German Secret Service." Roy probably is not quite sure of the dates. But his hunch that Starr-Hunt was a member of the American Secret Service may not be lightly dismissed.[23] This may provide us with a cue for answering a pertinent question that has been raised :— Why did not the *Maverick* sail until 46 days after the *Annie Larsen* ?[24]

The *Annie Larsen* sailed from San Diego on March 8, 1915. Ten days later she arrived at the Socorro Island, but the *Maverick* was not there. By the end of the month the scarcity of drinking water forced the captain of the vessel to sail to Acapulco where the Mexican officials did not prove too inquisitive. But the *Annie Larsen* now faced a new trouble in the form of a minor mutiny of some members of the crew. The situation was eased at the intervention of the commanding officer of an American Gunboat, the *Yorktown*, who was not aware that the schooner was carrying contraband. After replenishing its stock of water and other supplies the *Annie Larsen* left Acapulco. Then for another three weeks the captain tried to come back to the Socorro Island, but adverse winds stood in the way. Once again provisions ran short. Finally, the schooner sought shelter in the port of Hoquiam, Washington, where it was seized by the Customs officials. It was then that the nature of its cargo was discovered. Bernstorff, German Ambassador to the United States, claimed that the arms were intended for shipment to German East Africa.[25]

A reference has been made to M. N. Roy's role in this arms shipment to India programme (Foot notes 19 & 20). The young Bengali was not yet then the international revolutionary M. N. Roy. For, as Roy himself says, "M. N. Roy was born in the campus of Stanford University."[26] not far from San Francisco. That was in the summer of 1916 after he had "spent a year and a half wandering through Malay, Indonesia, Indo-China, the Philippines, Japan, Korea and China . . ." Although Roy makes a reference to his two visits to Java as an emissary of the Bengal revolutionaries to establish contacts with the Germans there and receive arms and money from them, he dismisses the whole episode in a few lines. He was disappointed in his mission and, decades

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

later, reflecting on this adventure of his youth, called it a "wild goose chase."[27] It may not be unrewarding, however, to try to reconstruct the story of this venture from other sources. True, the venture failed. But it was not without its excitement, and had its repercussions on the Indian revolutionists at home and abroad.

Kumud Nath Mookerjee, who was arrested at Singapore[28] deposed at the San Francisco trial[29] that he was commissioned to deliver a message at 62 Beniatola Street, Calcutta to the effect that the *Maverick* would arrive in Calcutta on the 13th of July, 1915 and that the ammunition and the rifles should be carried to places previously arranged. Then follows an account of a meeting sometime in June 1915 at Kidderpore in Calcutta at which Bohlin (Bholanath) Chatterji, the witness, Martin and Payne[30] were present. It was at this stage that the district attorney, Preston pointed out, "we expect to show that the one referred to as Martin is referred to in the indictment as Manabendra Nath Roy, known as Charles Martin, and several other names, who married a Stanford girl and is now in Mexico."[31]

The name of M.N. Roy, who had eluded the U.S. police after his arrest in New York quite some time before the San Francisco trial had begun, crops up again and again in the course of the trial. Mookerjee deposed that Martin had asked him to tell Helffereich that they needed about $ 100,000. The witness was told that "this money would be needed to pay the Indian soldiers for two months' pay in advance and they would join them in the revolution in India." During his visit to Java Roy is reported to have received 25,000 guilders.[32] The readers may read with interest the following description of Roy contained in the notes (dated July 12, 1916) of Joseph C. Laurent, an employee of William A. Mundell, International Detective Agency, "6 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, very slender, Van Dyke beard, medium color, wore glasses, was dressed in a slate colored suit, Panama hat, slate colored hose, low cut tan shoes, and carried a silver mounted walking stick."[33] Roy was [illegible] followed by Laurent in San Francisco.

To return to the story of the *Maverick*, Preston read out a newspaper report from the Penang "*Gazette and Straits Chronicle*" dated July 31, 1915, saying, "A *Sumatra Post* cable from Java of 27 July says: The mysterious American ship '*Maverick*' is still lying outside Tandjong Prick, Batavia Harbour, and is under Government observation ... Another report states that the ship, although flying the American flag, has a German captain and crew of Germans who affirm themselves to be naturalized Americans. This, however, they cannot prove by documentary evidence."[34] Thus, the *Maverick* had belied the expectations of the Indian revolutionaries. Pramatha Nath Mukherji, who was called for the United States, testified that he had left India in January 21, 1916 for Shanghai and wanted to contact Martin in Batavia only to find that the latter had left.[35] Martin, frustrated in his mission in the East, had departed for more distant areas and was not to return to India until some sixteen years later.

It appears that the Bengal revolutionaries had succeeded in their negotiations with the German agents in Java through their emissary Naren Bhattacharya (Martin) in persuading the Germans to agree to their suggestion, viz., to direct the *Maverick* to Bengal rather than send it to Karachi as originally planned, and there deliver the cargo in the Sunderbans." The conclusion may not be wrong that one group of revolutionaries in India was trying to steal a march over the other groups, although it is very likely that had the munitions been [illegible]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

covered in Bengal, the revolution would have had better prospects there than in any other

The Government was, however, very alert. ing on some clues, a large number of ranking revolutionaries were rounded up Bengal's.[57] One such clue may be mentioned. December 27, 1915 B. Chatterton sent the wing telegram from Goa to Martin in ria: "How doing—no news ; very ers. "On enquiry two Bengalees were found ca, one of them being Bholanath Chatterji m we have mentioned before. Chatterji mitted suicide in the Poona jail on January 1916.[58]

Another schooner the *Henry S* adds to the story of unfulfilled objectives with respect to shipping of arms to India. The general intention of this schooner which had on board two German-Americans, Wehde and Boehm, seems to have been that the vessel should go to Bangkok and land some of its arms. These were to be concealed in a tunnel at Pakoh on the Siam-Burma frontier. They were to be used after Boehm had trained Indians on the frontier for the invasion of Burma. The scheme failed. Boehm was arrested in Singapore on his way from Batavia. Boehm had joined the *Henry S* at Manila under instructions received from Heramba Lal Gupta in Chicago, about whom we shall hear later.[59]

FOOT NOTES

1. Spellman, op. cit, p. 31
2. Trial Records, p. 1234.
3. Spellman, pp. 32-33.
4. Sedition Committee Report, p. 150.
5. Spellman, p. 32.
6. Sedition Committee Report, p. 151.
7. Ibid., p. 149.
8. Trial Records, pp. 1263-1265.
9. Ibid., p. 1271.
10. Ibid., p. 1234 :

Q. to Khan : You sailed on what day ?
A. The 29th of August, 1914.
Q. And you sailed on the Korea ?
A. Yes.
Q. What was the first place you touched ?
A. Philadelphia.
Q. What was the next place ?
A. Yokohama.
Q. What was the next place ? A. Kobe.
Q. What was the next place ?
A. Nagasaki.
Q. What was the next place ? A. Manila.
Q. And the next place ? A. Hongkong.
Q. What was the next place ?
A. Singapore.
Q. And the next place ? A. Penang.

11. Ibid., p. 1241 :

Q. Before you left Hongkong, did you call on the German Consul ?
A. Yes.

Ibid., p. 1251. Q. What next point did you touch ? (after Penang) A. Rangoon.

Ibid., p. 1268. Roche : Didn't you testify yesterday that the German Consul whom you and your associates visited was at Hongkong ?
A. No, not Hongkong. Q. Where was it ?
A. Canton.

12. Ibid., pp. 1266-1268.

13. "In the middle of December, the Punjab Government reported to the Government of India that the doings of the returned Sikh emigrants had more than anything else engaged official attention, that the majority of them had returned expecting to find India in a state of acute unrest and meaning to convert this unrest into revolution." Sedition Committee Report, p. 150.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

14. Ibid. p. 158.

15. Ibid. p. 92.

16. The New York Times, July 8, 1917, 1, 4 : 1

17. Sperry, op. cit. . pp 43-44. Tauscher's signed statement dated Feb. 8, 1916 reads :— In order to make this shipment as secretly as possible I decided to ship the arms and ammunition in the name of my forwarding agent, Walter C. Hughes, who also acted as the receiver of the shipment in San Diego, Cal··· .. All expenses involved in this transaction were paid by me, and I was reimbursed by Captain Von Papen by check.

Later on, after the shipment had failed to reach its destination and was landed at the port of Hoquiam, Washington, Captain Von Papen informed me that he had told the State Department in Washington that this shipment of arms and ammunition was ultimately destined for German South African Colonies···

18. Giles T. Brown, The Hindu Conspiracy, 1914-1917, Pacific Historical Review, Vol. XVII, 1948 ; Spellman, op. cit. San Francisco Chronicle, January 19,1918 ; San Francisco Examiner, January 24, 1918.

19. Sedition Committee Report, pp. 121-124

Jitendra Nath Lahiri brought to the Bengal revolutionaries (in March) offers of German help and invited them to send an agent to Batavia to cooperate.....Naren Bhattacharji was sent to Batavia to discuss plans with the Germans there. He started in April and adopted the pseudonym of C. Martin .....In the same month the S.S. Maverick··· started on a voyage from San Pedro in California. On his arrival at Batavia Martin was told by the German Consul that a cargo of arms and ammunition was on its way to Karachi to assist the Indians in a revolution.

20. Sperry, op. cit, p, 52.

Sperry does not indicate any date. The date of the telegram as known from the T... Records (p. 1873) was Oct. 25, 1916. T... identity of the receiver and the sender has ... been established. The message ran as follows :—Recent information from India ... our groundwork all over India of our plan... connection with Germany is thriving. Lahi... Mukherjee, Sanya, Kirtikar have done g... work. Lahiri sent Mana Ben Roy, known ... Martin, and Narendra Bhattacharji, P... Chakraberti, to arrange the delivery ... distribution of arms. They came to Java ... the German Consul at Batavia directed ... to see Thomas Helffereich.

21. Sperry, *op. cit.* p. 47. When St... Hunt met Theodore and Emil Helfereich ... Batavia the latter "said that he had waited ... the Maverick for three weeks in the S... straits . . . and said that their arrangements ... this side were excellent and complete and ... were only awaiting the arrival of the ... when they could have easily put their ... scheme through. They observed that the pe... in India were all ready and prepared and ... only been waiting for the arms to turn up...

22. San Francisco Examiner, January ... 1918.

23. M. N. Roy's *Memoirs*, pp. 2... "Evidently, the clandestine activities of ... German propagandists and Indian revolutio... ries associated with them were not unknown to the American Secret Service. Indeed, American Secret Service agents were in ... 'conspiracy.' I have reason to believe that Starr-Hunt was one of them."

24. Giles, *op .cit.* p. 304.

25. Count Bernstorff, *My Three Years in America*, pp. 121-122.

"It was asserted .... that a cargo of arms and ammunition on board the ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

schooner *Anne Larsen*, and destined for our forces in German East Africa, was, in reality, despatched to India via Java and Siam ; but the proof was brought forward in support of this statement———Besides, even if it be admitted that the schooner in question was actually sent by the Indian Nationalists with a cargo of arms, it is absurd to regard the despatch of this small supply of war materials as a crime, and gloss over the fact that whole trainloads and ammunition columns were being shipped every day to France!" It may be pointed out that Von Papen is reported to have told Washington that the shipment was ultimately destined for German South African colonies. Foot note 17.

26. M.N. Roy's Memoirs, p. 22.
27. Ibid., p. 3-4
28. Trial Records, p. 243.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 211.
30. Phani Chakravarti or Pain was arrested at Shanghai. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 408.
31. Trial Records, p. 214.

In his Memoirs Roy does not mention Evelyn, "who was not only his wife, but an important help in his work until their separation in 1925."—

Overstreet and Windmiller, Communism in India, p. 22

32. Sperry, p. 52
33. Trial Records, p. 1744
34. *Ibid.*, p. 236
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 2162-2170
36. Sedition Committee Report, p. 121
37. Trial Records, pp. 1874-1875
38. Sedition Committee Report, p. 123
39. *Ibid.*, p. 124

——0——

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TODAY'S JAPAN

NANDA LAL MOOKERJEE

Having been defeated in the Second World War, Japan came under foreign domination for the first time in her history in 1945. Japan regained her sovereignty in April 1952, when the San Francisco Peace Treaty came into force.

Government

The present form of Japanese Government is based on the constitution of 1947. Under the new constitution, the sovereign power of the State rests with the people and the Emperor is the symbol of the State and the unity of the people.

Japan has adopted a parliamentary system of Government, under which the executive and the legislative wings are not as independent of each other as under the constitution of the U.S.A. The Prime Minister, who heads the Cabinet, is selected from the Diet by its members. At least half of the Cabinet members must be selected from the Diet, to which they are collectively responsible. If the House of Representatives adopts a resolution of no-confidence, the Cabinet must resign unless the House of Representatives is dissolved within ten days.

The Diet, the highest organ of the state power and the only law-making body, consists of two Houses—the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors. The members of the House of Representatives are elected for a four-year term, but their term may end short of the specified period with the dissolution of the House. The members of the House of Councillors are elected for a six-year term, with one-half elected every three years. Japan has universal adult suffrage.

The Judiciary today is absolutely independent of the executive and the legislative branches. At the apex of the judicial system stands the Supreme Court which consists of a Chief Judge designated by the Cabinet and appointed by the Emperor and 14 other judges appointed by the Cabinet. The lower court judges are appointed by the Cabinet from a list of persons nominated by the Supreme Court.

Political Parties :

The major Japanese political parties today are the Liberal Democratic, Socialist and Democratic-Socialist parties. The Liberal-Democratic party, which is now in power under the leadership of Prime Minister Mr. Sato, is Japan's only conservative party. The aim of the ruling party is to create a democratic order in Japan. The Socialist Party aims at creating a socialist society in Japan through a peaceful revolution. This party opposes the Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security between Japan and the U.S.A. and urges the withdrawal of U.S. military bases. The Democratic-Socialist Party stands against extreme ideologies and aims at creating a socialist society through democratic processes. Extreme parties have very little influence in the Diet. There are only three Communist members in the 467-seat House of Representatives and four in the 250-seat House of Councillors.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ECONOMY

Japan's post-war economic recovery has been many advanced countries of the West a surprise. The Japanese economy has expanded and is continuing to expand at a higher rate than that of any other country in the world. Real growth rate reached 18% in 1961, the highest in the world. The high rate of private savings continued, reaching 30% of G. N. P. in 1960, a record for a free economy. A significant aspect of the rate of economic expansion is that the price-level has remained more stable than in any industrially advanced nation. Growth with stability is the most remarkable aspect of Japan's economic policies.

The economy of Japan is a thriving complex of industry, commerce, agriculture, finance and all other elements of a modern economic group. Nature is not very kind to Japan. In an area of 369,662 square kilometres live 94 million people. The Japanese islands being mountainous, (only 16% of the land is arable to support this vast population) the cultivated land per agricultural worker in Japan is 1 hectare. The persons engaged in agriculture accounted for 27% of the total employed persons in 1963. Japan has very limited natural resources to sustain a modern industrialised nation. This has compelled Japan to depend upon foreign trade for economic development. She has to import food, raw materials and equipments to sustain her highly industrialised economy. In order to pay for these imports, she must process raw materials into finished and semi-finished products and export them.

Despite the dearth of natural resources, Japan has developed an economy that ranks among the most productive in the world. Among the major reasons for the grand success is the modern technology that Japan has developed. Another major reason for her success is a tremendous increase in productivity. Wages have increased but productivity has gone up at a faster pace. This had led to high rates of saving, capital formation and investment. This process of growth has resulted in changes in the country's basic economic structure. The centre of industrial gravity has been shifting from small-scale production of consumer goods to the heavy and chemical industries. The emphasis is shifting from labour-intensive to capital intensive industries.

16% of Japan's national income is earned from agriculture and fishing; 35% from manufacturing, mining and construction; and 49% from commerce, finance and services. Problem of unemployment is negligible in Japan. In November 1963, the number of unemployed stood at 330,000 or 0.7 per cent of the working population. Japan's Ten-year Economic Programme aims at doubling the national income by 1970. Per capita national income is scheduled to increase to $579, based on a projected population of 102 millions.

TRANSPORT :

The Japan National Railways, a public Corporation, operates about 20,500 kilometres of railways and accounts for 49.9 per cent of the total land passenger transport and 36.3 per cent of the total freight transport in the country. Regional services are provided by 163 private railway companies, which together have about 7,400 kilometres of railway track. Japan today has the world's fifth biggest merchant fleet, with 8,870,000 gross tons of shipping in mid-1962. Motor vehicle transport in Japan is not well-developed, for the transport in Japan has been developed around the railway and also for the bad conditions of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

roads. Population per one passenger car is 3 in the U.S., 9 in the U. K., 11 in West Germany but 165 in Japan. Civil aviation is developing at a very rapid rate. In 1962 Japanese airlines carried 2.9 million passengers more than 8 times the figure in 1955. A significant volume of goods is now being transported by Japanese airlines.

Population and Family Patterns

The Japanese population increased at the rate of 15 per 1,000 persons during the period 1925–1930. It increased to 20 during the baby boom period immediately after the war. However, the rate began to decline in 1950. To-day it is as low as 10 per 1,000 persons. By 1970, it is calculated that Japan will have a population of about 100 million. Legal reform, emphasis upon decentralisation of authority in post-war Japan and rapid industrial growth have influenced the re-organisation of the family, especially in urban areas. Most younger couples prefer to live apart from their parents. Both husband and wife now enjoy equality under law.

Government encouraged family planning has reduced the average number of children to 2.5, one of the lowest in the world. The mode of living has also changed under the influence and widespread use of modern household appliances together with the mass production of instant food preparations, ready-made clothes and other daily necessities. These have given wider opportunity for relaxation and educational and cultural pursuits to the entire family.

Religion :

Buddhism, Christianity and Shintoism are the three major religions in Japan. Shintoism received special patronage of the Japanese Government during the Second World War, but under the new constitution it finds no special encouragement. It exists side by s and sometimes overlaps in the popular with Buddhism. Many Japanese today Shinto rites when they marry and, when die, Buddhist funeral rites are performed.

Education

In Japan illiteracy is unknown practic The object of Japanese education today i create self-reliant citizens of a peaceful democratic state. In Japan co-education permitted and education is compulsory free for all children from the ages of six fifteen.

Art

Japan has been described as a country fine arts. The Japanese are highly endow artistically. Painting and drawing are ver popular spare-time pursuits. The Japan love of art and nature is reflected in ma aspects of their lives, in their architectu and in the popularity of flower arrangeme and the tea ceremony.

Music

Western music is very popular among th Japanese today. Many Japanese paren prefer their children to study violin or pian rather than the traditional Koto or Shamise The melodic and rhythmic subtleties of Japa nese classical music seem to have been lost in the dynamic movement of western music's tonic and dominant chords. But thanks to some modern Japanese composers who are using traditional materials in a new context, this has not only saved the traditional music from undignified trends but also has led to the creation of a unique contemporary Japanese music rooted in its own tradition.

Theatre

The theatrical arts in Japan are unique in their variety. The three major forms of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ical Japanese drama are Noh, Bunraku puppet drama and Kabuki. The Japanese theatre also offers modern drama in western style.

...ION PICTURE

Motion picture industry in Japan has made remarkable progress over the past few years. Japan has produced many quality films which have bagged numerous international prizes. But unfortunately the motion picture industry is facing severe competition from television. To regain its lost position the motion picture industry has devised a series of innovations, such as the production of wide-screen films in colour and emphasis on a few large-scale masterpieces with outstanding stars.

...TS

Every type of sport has a huge following in Japan. Judo, Baseball, Golf and Swimming are among the most popular sports in Japan. Japanese sportsmen have won great acclaim in international contests in table-tennis, amateur wrestling and gymnastics.

...AN AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Japan renounces war as a sovereign right of a nation and denies the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes. She is eager to improve her relations with nations having different political and social systems from her own for the sake of international peace. She is keen upon strengthening her economic ties with all countries.

Japan has not yet played any effective role in Inernational politics since the last war. Perhaps she believes that no country can play any significant part in world affairs unless she is internally sound. That is why she has channelised all her energy to rebuild the nation. Her alliance with the U. S. A. has also limited her activity in the domain of international politics. It is, however, gratifying to note that she is showing increasing interest in Asian affairs.

CONCLUSION :

The Japanese have highly receptive minds and they evince extreme eagerness to absorb new ideas and techniques. For all their formalism they are a highly competitive people. In his book, "History of Japan", Richard Storry has rightly observed that "irrepressible vitality and an instinctive love of beauty form the basic constituents of the Japanese character and are among its most admirable traits. Possessing these this race has much to give the world".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SOME FEATURES OF THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SCENE

Prof. H. J. PANDYA

There is a high degree of formalism in our administration. By formalism what is meant is the degree of discrepancy or incongruence between the formally prescribed and the effectively practised, between norms and realities.[1] The greater the congruence, the more realistic the situation ; the greater the discrepancy, the more formalistic. Some examples would make the point clear.

An administration, working within a democratic political framework, is supposed to be working according to certain assumptions or 'ground rules'. One such assumption is that the administration is politically independent and non-partisan, i.e., what is generally called politically neutral. Apparently with a view to maintaining and strengthening this characteristic of the political neutrality of our administration, we have even put a law on the statute-book prohibiting government servants from attending political meetings. However, the facts of political life in our country speak differently. There is a great amount of interplay between politics and administration[2], and the nature and measure of this process of interplay have adversely affected this traditional characteristic of our administration to a considerable extent. Often this interaction assumes the form of partnership between officials and politicians in enterprises, with ulterior ends ; and the roles played by officials in such partnerships, are, to put it mildly, highly dubious and questionable in nature.[3]

One of the charges levelled against our administration is that it is characterised by extreme over-centralisation, inability to delegate authority, to decentralise. The most frequent recommendations made in this re... are to strengthen field offices, to train ... mediate and subordinate personnel, so ... they can take over power, induce superio... delegate functions to others ; in general ... loosen up the bottle-necks at the centre, ... keep the administration in a perpetual sta... crisis.[4]

Unfortunately these recommend... mistake the formal aspects of administ... behaviour for the effective. If the trend... Union-State relations and the proces... decision-making at the State and district ... are examined it would be found that the ... pheral forces have become strong, and ... often than not, play a decisive role. Su... examination will reveal that institutions ... than the prescribed office actually govern... considerable extent, effective administ... behaviour. This suggests that effective p... is widely dispersed in our administration.

The reality would be better understood ... clear distinction is made between ... sanctioned or legitimate power, i.e., 'auth... and unofficially permitted or illegitimate p... i.e., 'control'. Thus the power structure ... administration consists of a highly centra... and concentrated structure overlapp... control system that is highly localised ... dispersed.

Another point often made against ... Indian administration is regarding its atti... to rules, precedents, forms, procedures ... It is a common complaint that this attitu... is characterised by rigidity.[5] On the ... hand, what is found is that a great amo... of liberty is taken, at almost all levels ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ministration in the interpretation of rules and ...gulations, and with regard to the applicability ...r otherwise of precedents, to particular cases. ...s far from uncommon to find that literal ...rrying out of the law is insisted upon, or the ...w may be disregarded utterly. Whether an ...ficial chooses to enforce a law to the letter or ...its its violation depends, quite often, upon ...clination, which is generally conditioned ...extraneous factors, and his advantages.

It is not difficult to see that in actual ...ctice there is a great amount of flexibility ...ther laxity and undue discretion in the ...ministrative behaviour, and it is perhaps ...use of this that corruption is rampant to ...ch a disturbing extent in our administration.

Since Independence, and particularly since ...launching of the development programmes ...depend significantly on the voluntary ...operation of the general public for their ...ministration, the role of the bureaucracy in ...country has undergone a revolutionary ...ange.[6] Formerly it was considered desirable ...an official to maintain a certain amount of ...oofness from the people and thereby maintain ...posture of awe. Now, public officials are ...pected to break all barriers and go to ...ple, persuade them to accept programmes ...extend co-operation in their implementa-..., to 'sell' new ideas to them. This new ...e necessitates an entirely new and different ...ge of bureaucracy to be projected to the ...ple. This has been recognised, and accor-...gly suitable methods and modes have been ...phasised. This technique of administration ...lls for a working arrangement in which poli-...al and administrative forces have to maintain ...very delicate balance. This technique ...ther presupposes a high degree of comple-...tariness in the roles of bureaucracy and ...political administration.

However, what is found in practice is quite at variance with what is required. The role played by political leadership particularly at the district level and the levels below is too competitive to leave any scope for the bureaucracy to project the desired image of itself, which is so very necessary for its effectiveness. The local political leadership seems to be always keen on creating the impression in the minds of the people that whatever good is done, is done because of it, and at its instance. This competitive trend in political forces, perhaps, accounts for the widespread political interference in the working of the administration.

Formalism has also entered the realm of norms governing the professional conduct of civil servants. The implications of formalism concerning the norms may be traced in the behaviour of both officials and members of the public. An official publicly adheres to the modern norms of professional morality but when he is out of the public eye, they seem to lose all significance for him and cease to be binding. As we have observed elsewhere in this paper, the norms governing his place as a part of the instrumental apparatus under the control of the political organisation are disregarded, and he is found playing roles which are not in accord with his norm-governed place. At times he ceases to be the neutral agent that he is supposed to be, and gets very much involved in the processes of politics. The same is the case with the sources from which, according to the norms, he should seek motivation. At times the forces which he is supposed to eschew become for him the driving forces.

The same ambivalence of orientation characterises the public in its dealings with the administration. On the one hand, the enraged citizen makes unreasonable demands and censures the administration for its failure to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

abide by the modern norms of professional ethics. But, on the other hand, he, without any sense of contradiction, busily works to undermine these norms by collaborating with corruption to secure special privileges for himself. Indeed, he lacks any strict sense of principle and implications of a rule of law. Rather, he takes advantage of opportunities to break the law when that serves his interest but demands rigid law enforcement when that happens to fit his convenience. Ultimately, the public becomes cynical about law and administration. The official is viewed as a leech and the accepted attitude towards the Government is normless. One abandons any attempt to 'reform' and seeks rather to cope with situations as they arise, pulling wires, paying what must be paid, hoping somehow to survive, and if possible, gain entree to some of the spoils of the system.

It is one of the pertinent points made by scholars, as a result of their examination of our administrative machinery, that it utterly lacks an efficient system of communication both within the administration, and in its relations with the public.

The ruling party has evolved a machinery of consultation and communication between the party and the administration at the State, District and Taluka levels. As an agency for the effective transmission of the interests and problems of the people to the administration and, on the other hand, to strive to create better appreciation of the problems and difficulties of the administration in the public, this arrangement would have served a very useful purpose. But presumably, the temptation of the immediate, though short-term gain proved more powerful and the entire machinery started interfering with the day-to-day working of the administration.[7] Naturally this interference of the administration cannot possibly be for the general and common interest of the entire clientele. The driving force behind practice was the spreading of political ence and hence, with the weakening of hold of the party in power on the masses, interference will be on the increase. phenomenon of political interference and effects, may now be analysed.

This phenomenon has divided the clientele into three classes. Two of the classes are privileged ones. One class is of the politically influential, who have cally powerful people to put pressure for with a view to get both quick and favour decisions from the administration. The is the class consisting of those who use mo to pressurize the administration to get desired results.[8] The third is the class sisting of those who do not have resort either of these. Paradoxically enough, it is the name of helping this class that the business of interference is carried on. Th is obvious that bribery and other corru practices are resorted to, to a certain extent, an alternative to political pressure. Unl responsiveness to these pressures on the of the administration results in the contravention of the egalitarian principle of deciding priority—first come, first served—in the transaction of business, and this, in its turn, is partly responsible for the inordinate delays in the disposal of the bulk of the business of the administration.

From this question of political interference springs the larger question of the responsibility of the bureaucracy to political parties. The present trends and practices in the matter go against the basic working principle of a democratic administration: that an administrative agency cannot be held independently responsible to the organization and policies of political parties.[9]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The place of public administration in our ...me of Government is one of the things ... which there is a great amount of ...derstanding, confusion and ambiguity. ...high time the role of bureaucracy was ...ed and made clear and its significance in ...odern state recognised. While defining ...le of administration certain 'inevitables' ...ave to be provided for. It will have ... recognised that administrative expansion ...become one of the compulsions, as it were, ...ur age.[10] Efficiency in administration ...have to receive a special emphasis. A ...bureaucracy will have to be efficient, or else ...ll prove a force capable of doing incal...le harm to the whole political structure, ...the harm would be greater and quicker if ...political structure is democratic. Indeed, ...ucracy is the very core of democracy in ...ense that no modern government can long ...e without an efficient administrative ...ization.[11]

The rational orientation in administration ...have to receive special stress—stress on ...ful study and testing of the adequacy of ...given means to accomplish specified ends. ...our politico-administrative value-system ...have to be examined to see if it requires ...adjustment to give the needed emphasis ...ciency as the goal, and rationality as the ...e of the approach of our administration. The institution of O & M can go a long ... in instilling the spirit of questioning and ...iny, and in moulding the necessary rational ...ach to the problems of administrative ...edures and practices, forms and methods. ...eginning was made in this direction in the ...ral Government in 1964 with the ...blishment of an O & M division. In ...e State Governments also O & M cells have ...been established. But unfortunately, the O & ...M activity has failed to make much impact on the administrative processes.[12] Another shortcoming of the O & M work in India is its being confined, by and large, to the Secretariat administration. The field organisations, and particularly the regular establishments at the district and at the levels below, have remained outside the sphere of the working of the O & M or even outside its sphere of influence. It is very necessary to fill up this lacuna in view of the common experience that the lower echelons of our administration show much less enthusiasm, drive, initiative and vitality as compared to the higher ones.[13] As a matter of fact, the field organizations will have to receive priority and special attention in any programme of administrative streamlining, because they are the agencies which come in direct contact with the people and work among them. These levels of administration constitute what has been aptly described[14] as its 'cutting edge'.

It is in this context that the control variables of a political and social nature will have to be provided to guard against the danger and possibility of the bureaucracy becoming over-powering. For this, non-bureaucrats will have to remain powerful, and what is much more important they will have to know how to use this power effectively for the purpose. The political leadership will have to be very effective and it could be so only if it can show the capacity for hard work and a good grasp of governmental processes. Clearly laid-down policies will go a long way in helping them to provide a good leadership to the administration.

The social power will have to work as a guide to bureaucratic performance and as a pressure towards programme-objectives to keep the administration moving with desired speed and to prevent it from becoming arbitrary in its modes of working. In the prevalent

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

situation, this will require the transformation of the factional forces and pulls working for narrow vested interests into a cohesive power working for the common interests of the clientele. Organizations like Sadachar Samities can, perhaps, play some useful role in this direction.

An attempt has been made in this paper to focus on some features of the Indian administrative scene. These features, perhaps, provide the contextual framework for the task of administrative reforms in India.

The phenomenon of formalism and its implications for administrative reforms should also be evident. If reform is based on a change in the law, a reorganization, redefinition of positions and duties, etc., probably no effective change in the behaviour will follow the change in norms and prescriptions. For this, we will have to seek first to achieve a higher degree of realism, i. e., to bring about a closer approximation of practice to prescription.

NOTES

1. Fred W. Riggs—'An Ecological Approach'—An unpublished paper read at the 1961 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

2. C. N. Bhalerao—'Substantive Forces in Indian Administration' The Economic Weekly Vol.XVI, No. 42.

3. The role played by officials, high and low, in the Parliamentary elections in the Gonda constituency in U.P. is indicative of the extent of such partnership.

4. Paul Appleby—'Public Administration in India : Report of a Survey'. See also Rajni Kothari—'Administrative Institutions of Government', The Economic Weekly, Vol. XIII, No. 21,

5. A. D. Gorwala—'Report on Public Administration'. See also Rajni Kothari, ibid, and C.N. Bhalerao, ibid.

6. R. Dwarakadas—'Role of Higher Civil Service in India'.

7. Findings of the ad hoc studies ... District Administration—K. K. Das Report ... U.P., and Planning Commission Study Group Report on Sabarkantha District in Gujarat.

8. The reference here is to those who are moderately well-off, but not so wealthy as to tempt the politicians in power to have vested interest in them.

9. John M. Gaus—The Frontiers of Public Administration, Chicago, 19... pp. 26-44.

10. "They constitute a fourth organ of the Government, along with the three traditional organs"—W.F. Willoughby, Principles of Legislative Organization and Administration.

11. "It is.....not a question of either democracy or bureaucracy, of *either* constitutionalism *or* efficient administration, but of a combination of the two, of a working balance between them, in short, of a responsible bureaucracy".—Arthur A. Maass and Laurence I. Radway, Gauging Administrative Responsibility, Public Administration Review, Vol. IX, Summer, 1949, pp. 182-192.

12. No less a person than the Director, O & M Division, Cabinet Secretariat (in the Ministry of Home Affairs), Shri R. Vasudeva, has admitted, with refreshing candour, that the O & M activity had not been effective enough to leave its impact on the processes of administration. One of the principal reasons for this, according to him, was the lack of proper authoritative backing from enough number of senior people at the higher rungs of administration.—Administrative Reforms Since Independence (Report of the Seventh Annual Conference), Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, pp. 10-11.

13. See Working Paper on Administrative Reforms Since Independence prepared by the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, for Conference on Administrative Reforms, held on August 10 and 11, 1963.

14. Dr. A. A. Park, in a talk at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HE GAVE US GITANJALI

Prof. R. C. MAHESHWARI

Tagore ascended the pinnacle of perfection as a mystic-poet in his masterpiece 'Gitanjali' but mysticism is not the only ground where the poet greets a farer of Gitanjali. He would unfold vistas after vistas of scenic grandeur of the land of Bengal unfolding themselves with kaleidoscopic rapidity before his mental eyes. The idle clouds heaping upon clouds and sailing across the sky, the rain falling in sheets, the golden streams breaking through the sky, the blooming lotus, the spring doing its flowering, the notes of the far-away song floating from the other shore, the clamorous waves, the yellow leaves falling upon the bank, the black veil drawing over the ever-wakeful blue sky, the stormy nights after the morning has closed its eyes, the lashes of lightning startling the sky from end to end, the thunder roaring in the sky, the darkness shuddering with lightning the dim shore of the ink black river, the fiercely naked horizon, the shadow chasing light, doves cooing in the shade, feathered leaves dancing and whirling in the quiet air of noon, the shepherd boy drowsing and dreaming in the shadow of the banyan tree, the sky decked with stars and cunningly wrought myriad-coloured jewels, the morning wearing on to noon, the noon closing in the dusk and the dusk being embraced surreptitiously by the night ; the ghats, bazars and the temples all have been picturesquely portrayed to lend a colourful meaning to the ideal spiritualism vibrating in every lyric. The descriptions are scented with a liberal sprinkling of similies and metaphors. The spiritualism, the mysticism and the romance of the trio-man (Chetan), Nature (Achetan) and Infinite (Aseem) pervades the very spirit of almost every lyric. At some places the spirit of the poets of European Renaissance and the fundamental ingredients of the Indian culture—Bhakti (devotion) and Atmotsarga (dedication)—have been dexterously blended in a complete whole. Conspicuous is the poet's spirit which yearns for the nearness of the Infinite and at the same time embracing the life and everything living in loving caress. His heart longs to join the orchestra of life. (Geet 2&3). The poet loves life abundantly ; so abundantly that his love overflows every other aspect leaving its delicate layer over them. This is unique in the saintly tradition of India. Throughout the ages the Indian saints, without exception, have vehemently denounced Life and all the worldly things associated with it ; but Tagore, by speaking of Life itself, made an epoch in the Indian saintly tradition and thus gave it a refreshingly new viewpoint and a fresh lease of life. Abruptly, at some places, the poet's moving fingers would stop only to reveal the heart which constantly struggles to find its way, where the Master's feet rest among the poorest, and lowlist and lost. (Geet 10)

The Poet's Theory of Life & Death

Like Kabir, the poet's spirit also yearns to embrace the Infinite. To him death is not dreadful ; instead it is the Lord's own messenger,—a purohit—who would solemnise the marriage of the spirit with the Infinite, after

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

liberating the former from the cage (body). In the magic spell of the moment, the poet brooks no fear though he is aware that there are dangers on the way (Geet 94). His love for death is as profound and as complete as is his love for life.

"I have loved Life so much
Why should I not Love Death".

And how the poet feels about the whole business of Life and Death—

জীবন আমার
এতো ভালবাসি বলে পেয়েছি প্রত্যয়
মৃত্যুরে আমি ভালবাসিব নিশ্চয়
স্তন হতে তুলে নিলে কাঁদে শিশু ডরে
মুহূর্তে আশ্বাস পায় গিয়ে স্তনান্তরে।

The child cries out when from the right breast the mother takes it away, in the very next moment to find in the left one its consolation. (Geet 95)

Having tasted of the hidden honey of the lotus that expands on the ocean of light and having had his play in the play-house of infinite forms, the poet caught sight of Him that is formless and his whole body and his limbs have thrilled with His touch who is beyond touch and thus the poet is blessed.

Blessed are The Pure in Heart

But the poet is blessed in more than one way. He is meek, innocent and pure in heart like saints and children. Speaking of them in Geet 60—he seems to be speaking of himself. "They build their houses with sand and they play with empty shells. With withered leaves they weave their boats and smilingly float them on the vast deep. Children have their play on the sea-shore of Worlds. They know not how to swim, they know not how to cast nets. Pearl fishers dive for pearls, merchants sail in their ships, while children [illegible] ther pebbles and scatter them again. [illegible] seek not for hidden treasure, they know how to cast nets."

Devotion to The Lord

The poet's devotion to the Lord is [illegible] plete and unqualified. "Amar Sakal [illegible] Tomar Parash." (আমার সকল অঙ্গে [illegible] পরশ). Like Meera he has not [illegible] faith in Tarka (Argument), Darshan (Phi[illegible] sophy), Vaada (ism) but unlike her, his Lo[illegible] is only a formless symbol, dissipated in [illegible] minutest particle of the universe. To Mee[illegible] the world beyond the visible form of [illegible] 'Giridhar Gopal' is vague, uncertain and [illegible] real like a vision that will dissolve. [illegible] Tagore's Lord identifies himself with His cre[illegible] tion. Though unintelligible, His presence [illegible] be felt everywhere in everything. The [illegible] contrast between the two is: while Meera [illegible] ships form, Rabindra would prostrate at [illegible] door of the Infinite till his whole form [illegible] bathed in the light, the world-filling light, [illegible] eye-kissing light, the heart-sweetening [illegible] and then

ঘন শ্রাবণ মেঘের মতন···তব ভবন দ্বারে

Like a rain cloud of July hung low with its burden of unshed showers let all my mind bend down at thy door in one salutation to thee.

Further,

নানা সুরের আকুল ধারা···নীরব পারাবারে

Let all my songs gather together their diverse strains into a single current and flow to a sea of silence in one salutation to thee,

And then,

Like a flock of homesick cranes flying night and day back to their mountain nests

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of all my life take its voyage to its eternal
shore in one Salutation to thee. (Geet 103)

The sentiments stirring in such moments
of devotional beatitude have been ventilated
by Nicolson who quotes Jalaluddin Rumi in
the way,

"My Spirit is mingled with thine Spirit
as the wine is mingled with pure water.
When anything touches thee, it touches me.
For in every case thou art I."

(The idea of personality in Sufism)

Karma Theory

Swami Ramdas says, 'Life becomes blessed
and glorious when its varied activities are
dedicated in their entirety to the Lord and
the Master of the Worlds who is eternally
seated in our hearts'. Almost in the same
vein the poet sings,

যত কর্মে তব শক্তি এই জেনে সার
করিব সকল কর্মে তোমারি প্রচার।

But the poet wants to go his own easy
way in worldly affairs.

'I ask for a moment's indulgence to sit by
thy side. The work that I have in hand I
will finish afterwards.' (Geet 5).

Little wonder that the much eulogized ele-
ments of Indian Spiritualism—Tapsya and
self-denial—are alien to his thinking.

'Deliverance is not for me in renunciation'
(Geet 73)

"Deliverance ?" The poet asks in exasper-
ation, "Where is this deliverance to be found ?
The question does not arise since Our master
himself has joyfully taken upon him the bonds
of creation ; He is bound with us all for ever.
Meet him and stand by him in toil and in the
sweat of thy brow." (Geet 11)

And for the ostentatious imposter he has
no sympathy to waste. As a matter of fact the
poet exposes his absurdities with the tenacity
which even Kabir may envy. Actually, in this
respect, he picked up the thread from where
Kabir had left it.

"Leave this chanting and singing and tell-
ing of beads ! whom dost thou worship in
this lonely dark corner of a temple with doors
all shut ? Open thine eyes and see thy God
is not before thee !

He is there where the tiller is tilling the
hard ground and where the path-maker is
breaking stones. He is with them in Sun and
in shower, and his garment is covered with
dust. Put off thy holy mantle and even like
Him come down on the dusty soil ! (Geet 11)

Clarity of Vision

Paradoxical though it may seem, yet Tagore
as a mystic is so devastatingly transparent in
thought, clear in vision, straightforward in
approach and so self-assured of his mission
that none of his songs brook any confusion.
All the time, like Francis Quarles, the poet
moves about with a self-sure air to proclaim

'I have found my life, my way, my light,
in Thee.
I live, I move and by Thy beams I see."

In no uncertain terms the poet admoni-
shes a 'self-styled Seeker'.

"Who are you to seek Him like a beggar
from door to door. Come to my heart and
see His face in the tears of my eyes'.

In Geet 6 the poet compares his life with
a little flower with faint colour and smell and
prays the Lord to accept it in His service
before it withers away. The earnestness, eager-
ness and ecstasy with which the offering is
made is remarkable and unique in style. The
poet says that it may not find a place in Thy
garland, but honour it with a touch of pain
from Thy hand and pluck it.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Approach to the Infinite

Gitanjali is a triology of human approaches to the Infinite. It stands, even to this day, at the cross roads of myriad sojourns, through ages past and moments fleeting in the present of the eternal question in us. The lyrics of Gitanjali give us a definite answer. The Infinite Sublime stoops over the eastern horizon and daintily embraces the earth ; we feel the glory and majesty of the stupendous spectacle and we are overwhelmed.

The triology of the approach of the romantic, the metaphysical and the final deliverance of the two in the culminative devotional surrender of the soul to the Infinite has a unique positive assurance for the reader of the lyrics of Gitanjali.

Tagore's Romanticism

Romanticism has in itself the dangers of dissipation. If streched too far it may either lead us to the wilderness of vexed speculations or it may end in the narrow alleys of 'isms' of the present day feverish world. It must at all times, specially in the domains of poetry, be blended with something positive that would supersede all that is insular, or all that tends to debase the Spirit unbound with tragic evasiveness.

In the romanticism of Gitanjali we are not oppressed with the insularism of a Tennyson ; of his perplexities in finding Nature ; there is no battlecry of freedom or liberty of a Byron or the Shellyian anguish of lamenting over the painted veil that would not lift. The lyricism of Gitanjali is definitely positive. A comparison of the poem "Where the mind is without fear. . ." with that of Tennyson's braggadocio 'There is no land like England . . . There is no hearts like English hearts' would make the difference conspicuous. Tagore has not allowed the patriotic fervour of a nation to debase narrow insularism but has blended it majestically with the loftiest spiritual, ethical moral values of life. Elsewhere in the ratatiratha' Tagore conceives of India as seashore where humanity through ages in glorious oneness : where emperors and riors find a meaning of life with the lowliest and lost.

The natural sequence of this romantic look on life, where humanity stands vindicated is to seek positivity in the metaphysical roach and herein lies the unique greatness and towering success of the lyrics of Gitanjali.

Spiritualism in Gitanjali

The spiritualism in the Gitanjali is, therefore, not mere dream pictures, mere exquisite bubbles on the yeasty waters which melt away even as we watch them. The Spiritualism here gives the readers more than mere solace. The poet is convinced of the light in the human heart and its oneness with creation. He, therefore, identifies himself with the momentous dew drop on a single blade of grass or a torn piece of cloud, or the murmuring rivulet kissing the skirts of mother Earth.

This monastic element of life through its myriad material manifestations is just quite in keeping with the oriental tradition. But the crowning success for the poet is to cause a final deliverance of the same in a devotional surrender of the finite into the Infinite. The traditional devotion of Meera for the Lord or of Kabir for Rama finds their echo in the sweet wordings of the lyrics of Gitanjali. The finite in the poet sits listlessly awaiting the approach of the Infinite ; clouds heap upon clouds ; the torrential rains carry on the lamentations of his heart through the nestling

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ds and he sits at the doorsteps to welcome ...in his abode.

Voice of Saints

...Gitanjali easily finds its place among the ...works of Indian saints and seers. It is ...presentative work containing much of that ...h is beautiful in the cultural thought-...nts of India through the ages.

...Tagore is no more with us but his ins-...r lyrics will continue to stir our blood ...ges unborn as much as they do now. ...like the verses of the Song Celestial, the geets of Gitanjali will continue to provide a pronounced clue to the Divine Light of Truth, descending as External Wisdom from the Heart of Love. The poet has immortalised himself and has left his image in the hearts of millions of his countrymen who would cherish it more than their most valued possessions. In the words of Shelly.

"T'is death is dead not he,
The one remains, the many change and pass,
Heaven's light for ever shines,
Earth's shadows fly."

—o—

RESTITUTION OF CONJUGAL RIGHTS

"In the council of state Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas's motion for consideration of the Bill to amend the Civil Procedure Code of 1908 to enforce decree for restitution of conjugal rights not by putting the wife in jail, but by attaching her property was carried by 16 to 6 votes, a few Indian non-official members voted for the Bill. Eventually the Bill was passed.

"It is really hateful to try to compel a woman to live with a man she loathes under threat of imprisonment. Are men anywhere imprisoned for not living with their wives? The men consider themselves very just and generous if they give only a subsistence allowance to their deserted wives."

(Aug. 1923—Page 253)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A STUDY ON FARM PLANNING IN KALYANPUR, KANPUR

By J. S. GARG and VISHNU PRASAD

Indian Agriculture is still a way of living. It has not yet assumed the shape of a business. Land and capital are the limiting factors of production, yet their potentialities are not fully exploited. Improved technology of farming has not yet travelled down to the level of the farmers. The traditional methods of farming are still in vogue, resulting into poor economic return and very low income of the farmers. Farm Management on scientific lines is not practised, draining out available resources without commensurate achievements.

A study on Farm Planning was undertaken in the section of the Production Economist, Govt. Agricultural College, Kanpur, during 1961—63, with the following objectives :

OBJECTIVES :

(1) To plan farming in such a way as to have fuller economic utilization of existing resources by introducing improved technology for stepping up yield per acre and pushing up income per holding.

(2) To demonstrate the economic gains of the improved technology of farming to the cultivators of the locality.

Method of study : The study was undertaken in 6 villages namely Barasirohi, Shahpur, Panka Bahadur Nagar, Bhelamau, Rampur Bhimsen, and Vinaikpur, selected at random in the Development Block, Kalyanpur, Kanpur. From each village two cultivators, one of below and another above 5 acres holding, were selected purposively. Co-operation in the operation of the plan was the uppermost criterion in the selection of a cultivator. Thus, in all there were 12 farms under study.

Before coming to the actual farm planning it was considered desirable to study the existing resources and practices of the selected farms. For this purpose fixed and working capital of the farmers, their practices of farming and their economic aspects were studied and analysed during 1961-62 to serve as a bench mark, for future reference.

To encounter the structural and operational weaknesses shown by the above study, alternative farm plans for each holding was prepared in consultation with the farmer in conformity with his resources. Efforts were made to avoid as far as possible major changes, disruption of the existing crop rotations. Since 1962 was the first year of the project, the changes in the alternative farm plan were limited to the introduction of green-manuring on the fields, transplanting in line, top dressing, interculture in paddy and line sowing of paddy and Arhar in Kharif. Application of single phosphate as a basal dose, sowing in lines with bamboo funnel and inter-culture with khurpi in wheat in Rabi, were also introduced. The alternative farm plans were executed during 1962-63.

In determining the total income, the prices were charged at prevailing market rates in Kanpur Mandi on 31st May, 1962 for both existing and alternative plans.

The alternative plans were executed under the close supervision and guidance of the Senior Research Assistant and data collected on structured schedule by the investigator himself by cost accounting method.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...LOW FINDING

Table I : Showing Physical Resources of Selected Cultivators

...up (in acres)	Average size of holding of selected cultivators (in acres)	Percentage of irrigated to total area of selected cultivators	Value of resources on per acre basis* Live stock (In Rs.)	Dead stock (In Rs.)	Total (In Rs.)
	4.61	91.55	358.33	105.65	463.98
...w 5 acres	7.64	85.75	516.66	158.88	675.54
...re 5 acres	6.12	88.65	437.49	132.26	569.76
...rage					

* Do not include value of land and dwelling house.

...t is clear from the table above that the ...l resources of the farmers in this ...y, in general, are not of high order.

Table II : Showing the average value ...put, output, net income, family labour ...me, and farm business income per acre of ...g of selected cultivators during 1961-62 ...e basis of existing farm practices.).

...group ...acre)	Below 5 acre	Above 5 acre
...ge size of hold- ...of selected culti- ...ors (in acres)	4.61	7.64
...t (In Rs.)	199.17	187.50
...ut (In Rs.)	289.82	263.02
...ncome (In Rs.)	90.65	75.52
...y labour income (In Rs.)	112.37	96.66
...business income (In Rs.)	114.09	98.59

...The above table reveals that the net income ...re on both size groups is very low ...that of input cost is sufficiently high. ...can be related to the fact that the ...ers in this locality in general do not follow ...ble crop rotations. Paddy-Wheat is a ...on rotation followed by most of the ...ers. The per capita consumption of ferti- ...is also very low. To keep the fields ...e in kharif season for wheat in Rabi is a ...mon practice followed by those farmers who do not have paddy in kharif. The crops are sown by broadcasting. Hence topdressing of fertilizers and interculture are rarely done. The local unimproved seeds are still in use. The use of insecticides or pesticides is never heard of.

The introduction of labour saving implements can help in reducing the overall input cost per acre. The adoption of improved practices like application of fertilizers, sowing of crops in line, inter-culture and use of green-manuring can substantially help in increasing the yield and consequently income per acre.

In the alternative plan, therefore, practices like green-manuring in fallow fields, transplanting of paddy in lines, line sowing of jawar and arhar, top-dressing in paddy, basal dressing of superphosphate in wheat and inter-cultural operation etc., were incorporated. Efforts were also made to make minor changes in the unscientific rotations but success could not be achieved in this direction as farmers were reluctant about it. Hence the alternative farm plan was of moderate changes. Drastic changes were as far as possible avoided to convince the farmers of the benefits of improved cultural practices.

The per acre economic returns of the alternative plans are shown in the following table :

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Table III : Showing the average value of input, output, net income, family labour income, and farm business income per acre of selected cultivators during 1962-63 (On basis of alternative farm plan).

Size group (in acre)	Average size of holding of selected cultivators (in acre)	Input (in Rs.)	Output (In Rs.)	Net income (In Rs.)	Family labour income (In Rs.)	Farm business income
Below 5 acre	4.61	220.09	361.94	141.85	170.22	175.94
Percentage of increase over the old Plan		10.50·/.	24.88·/.	56·49·/.		
Above 5 acre	7.64	202.85	313.57	110.92	135.89	140.61
Percentage of increase over the old plan		8.10·/.	19.21·/.	46.61·/.	40.50·/.	

On comparing the per acre returns, it can be concluded that there is invariable increase in the input, output, net income, family labour income and farm business income in the alternative over the old farm plan. The percentage increase in the alternative over old plan in the input in below and above 5 acres is 10.50 and 8.10 respectively ; while the increase in the output in the two sizes is of 24.88%, 19.21% order in the same sequence. The net income has gone up by 36.49% in below 5 acres holding and 56.61% in the above 5 acres holding in the alternative over the old farm plan.

Table IV : Showing the value of addl. input, output, net income, family labour income and farm business income of selected cultivators on per acre basis.

Size group (in acre)	Below 5 acre	Above 5 acre
Average size of holding of selected cultivators (In acre)	4.61	7.64
Addl. input (In Rs.)	20.92	15.35
Addl. output („)	72.12	50.55
Addl. net income („)	51.20	35.20
Addl. family labour income („)	57.85	39.23
Addl. farm business income („)	59.53	40.75

The table above reveals that by adopting moderate and partially changed alternative plan a farmer of lower size group on average invests an addl. sum of Rs. 20.92 per acre and in return gets a gross income of Rs. 72.12, leaving a balance of addl. net income of Rs. 51.20 per acre. Similarly a large holder by addl. investment of Rs. 15.35. gets Rs. 50.55 as addl. gross income and Rs. 35.20 as addl. net income. The family labour income and farm business income have also increased simultaneously almost in the same order.

So far, the addl. investment and returns have been shown on per acre basis. The addl. investment and returns on an average size of holding in the below and above 5 acre size group have been shown in the following table to give an overall picture of the economics of the holding by adopting alternative farm plan.

Table V : Showing the total addl. input, output, family labour income and farm business income in holding of selected cultivators, of below and above 5 acres.

Size group (in acre)	Below 5 acre	Above 5 acre
Average size of holding of selected cultivators (in acre)	4.61	7.64
Addl. input (in Rs.)	96.44	117.27
Addl. output (in Rs.)	332.47	386.20
Addl, net income (in Rs.)	236.03	270.65
Addl. family labour income (in Rs.)	266.68	299.91
Addl. Farm business income. (in Rs.)	274.43	311.38

The ratio between addl. input and output in both the size groups is 1 : 3 approximately.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CASE STUDIES

To arrive at the conclusion as to how the ...l income and output have been arrived at, ... case studies of two crops namely paddy & ...ts, are given in the following tables. In ...case of paddy, cultural changes to existing ...ern were transplanting of seedlings in ...o top-dressing with Ammonium Sulphate ...e rate of 20 lbs. nitrogen per acre and ...-culture by paddy weeder. In case of ...t cultivation the changes in alternative ...old farm plan were introduction of green-...ring in Kharif, use of superphosphate as ...l dose, sowing seeds in line by bamboo ...el, hoeing and weeding and timely ...gation.

Table VI: Showing the addl. expenses ...rred and income received from paddy crop ...per acre basis in the alternative over old ...n plan.

...s	Old plan	Alternative Plan	Additional
...ld in mds.	10.25	16.50	6.25
...put	89.20	109.99	20.79
...put	134.82	226.94	92.12
...income	45.62	116.95	71.33
...io of Addl. ...put & output	—	—	1:3.11

It can be seen from the previous table ...by making little changes in the existing ...ices of paddy cultivation, the yield, output ...net income have gone up from 10.25 mds., ...134.82, and Rs. 45.62 per acre respectively ...the old pattern to 16.50 mds., Rs. 226.94, ...Rs. 116.95 in the alternative pattern of ...ing paddy crop.

Table VII : Showing the addl. expenses ...rred and income received from wheat crop ...per acre basis in alternative over old plan.

...s	Old plan	Alternative plan	Addl.
...ld in Mds.	9.75	14.75	5.00
...put	168.40	202.94	34.54
...income	208.98	320.29	111.31
...addl. input output ratio :	49.58	111.37	76.77
			1:2.21

The above table shows that by introducing improved cultural practices in wheat cultivation, the yield, output and net income have gone up from 9.75 mds., Rs. 208.98 and Rs. 40.58 per acre respectively in the old plan to 14.75 mds., Rs. 320.29 and Rs. 117.35 per acre in the alternative farm plan.

Addl. input and output ratio in the case of paddy is 1 : 3.11 and that of wheat 1 : 2.31.

CONCLUSION :

It can be concluded from the above study that the recommended improved agricultural practices have great potential in them. The need is to make the cultivators aware of them. For this purpose extension methods like demonstration etc., are to be popularised for convincing the farmers about the economic benefits of improved practices. The above study is in progress for the year 1963—64 to confirm the findings of 1962—63.

Farm planning has great potential in stepping up food production but to achieve success great patience, endeavour, constant zeal and devotion are the pre-requisites of a planner for the planning and execution of farm plans. He should be very sound technologically also and have a basic background of agricultural economics and rural sociology. His approach should be on the principles of extension education. Since it is a very slow process, there is no short cut method to achieve spectacular results.

Planning at the micro level in the national agricultural economy of the country is the sine qua non of the successful execution of schemes aimed at increased production per unit of cultivation. A well-developed farm plan for a farm unit, used as a guide to operations and in conjunction with record keeping to measure results, helps a farmer put his resources to more profitable production.

It is an attempt to work out a complete plan for the benefit of a farmer in the direction of getting more stable and larger earnings. It is to be remembered that it is easier and safer to meet a farm problem with an imperfect plan rather than with no plan at all.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IN A DEFENSIVE MOOD

A. K. MAITRA

There is complete agreement that the Defence of India is of paramount importance. "Breathes there the man with soul so dead" as to dispute this ? Politicians of all shades of opinion (and in our country politicians are also of paramount importance so much so, that confusion often arises as to what is the ultimate objective, the good of the country or the good of the politicians) have given free and frequent expression to this sentiment—sincerely by a few, vociferously by many and hypocritically by others. However, it is by no means clear as to what our defence is threatened by. Is it some outside enemy (with the passage of time, it is to be remembered as a lesson of history, friends and foes change sides with sickening rapidity), is it an emasculated philosophy of life, is it corruption, is it greed to make money even at the expense of independence, is it foreign aid with invisible strings ? Or is it the combined offensive of an "axis" in which all these factors have entered into an alliance ?

How are the great masses of people giving their daily verdict on this, is difficult to ascertain in the absence of any tested apparatus to measure it. However, it can be taken for granted that a vague general feeling exists that it is better to be misgoverned by one's own nationals than to be governed well by aliens.

Thus any measure that the Government in power may take to strengthen our national security should evoke our unequivocal support. The Government on the other hand, being democratic in character in theory, is expected to take the people into confi... so that they clearly understand the ... and the purpose of the Government and ... mechanism, the pattern and the work... the measures the Government is adopting ... achieve the desired objective. Simply by t... mitting some noble message from ti... time from a raised platform, in imit... of the divine messages that the air-b... Gods were credited with in the 'Pura... national conscience and solidarity cannot ... forged now—the link with divinity h... been irretrievably broken off.

The Government must take the p... into confidence, in word and deed, to e... its unstinted and unflagging co-operation ... support. Taking into account the emoti... make up of our people, support may be ma... ted in the beginning but it may peter out ... the long run. Thus every means must be e... ployed to ensure that it does not wither u... the scorching rays of governmental (bure... cratic) formalities. It is the duty of t... ruling politicians, more than the executive o... cers, to achieve the peoples' participation ... the defence efforts. It is they who must s... the example and call the people to emu... them. If the action of the ruling politici... precipitates towards making inflamma... speeches only, the passions of the people ... be inflamed but their energy will not be h... nessed to constructive activity.

By its action, by its devotion to the cause ... by upholding the truth, public relations ... appear to be lamentably weak, can be strengt... re-established. Unless this is done, the ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

thing is likely to remain fraught with grave danger. The Government may not get the full co-operation of the people it so righteously expects and the people, lacking proper enlightenment as to aims and achievements of the Government may remain dubious and uncertain. Knowledge of the true state of affairs is the most important, vital and permanent link that binds the Government with the people and if this is withheld, spontaneous response from the people may not be forthcoming. There will be a few exceptional cases, where it is prudent to withhold knowledge from the people for the time being, but it must be borne in mind that such secrecy must be merely of a temporary nature and any tendency to impart to it a semblance of permanence will arouse the suspicion that motives other than those of the security of the country, are the major reasons. Such permanent concealment is clearly detrimental to the nation's larger interests and would breed tyranny and oppression, corruption aud injustice, which in the process of time will recoil not only on the ruling politicians but more severely on the people as a whole. After all, Government is for the people and if the people lose and those who run the Government gain, it will be a national loss and a race towards disintegration.

Defence of India must have the unqualified support of all right thinking people and as thinking is an important ingredient of the subject, the actions taken for such defence must withstand at least a cursory scrutiny. As a matter of fact, it must be capable of bearing the most incisive test. In promulgating our theory of defence, we cannot beat a hasty retreat, we have to take the offensive and to hold our own.

How do circumstances reveal themselves in the light of what has been said above? It has been stated that the method, purpose and the working of the measures taken, have to be made clear. Cases have come up before trying magistrates in which charges have been framed by the police under the Defence of India Rules against ordinary humdrum people who by the wildest stretch of the imagination cannot be conceived as putting the defence of India out of gear. If one is to take seriously the view that these people are capable of putting the defence of India in jeopardy, as the authorities seem to do, then surely it is in a terrible mess. A shopkeeper who had two kilograms of mustard oil without licence was alleged to have been arrested under the D. I. Rules. Another day-labourer who, to provide food to his hungry family, had bought 10 kilograms of rice from an unauthorised vendor was arrested under the D. I. Rules. The magistrate let off the accused in one such case with caustic comments against the police. People are left to wonder whether conventional criminals and anti-social activities are at such a low ebb that the police had to fritter away their energy in such a manner. If they have nothing else in their hand it may be suggested that they may be more usefully employed in checking the traffic violations by taxis, lorries, buses and particularly State Buses. If they do that, many lives may be saved. Or is it that the overall food situation has assumed such complexity that the authorities are completely out of their depth and they are in frantic search for scape-goats? Do the authorities know that in and around Calcutta, to pick up one instance, there is a large force of floating labour without any ration cards and if they know, what provisions have they made for them? If they set about procuring food they will be criminals in the eyes of the law. Many of these labourers are engaged in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

house and road building projects sponsored by the Government. Is one to arrive at the conclusion that the Government has to depend on criminals to carry through its projects ? Or is it that the police have found an easy way out by the application of the D. I. Rules to write up its monthly reports of activities and to keep up their statistics ?

We do not know why the D. I. rules were to be invoked in such petty cases and the authorities do not seem to care whether people are properly enlightened. In the process of enlightenment, it is the truth that is of paramount importance and not party propaganda. At this critical juncture, it is time to realise that our country is much more important than the interests of any party whatever its connotation may be. The broadcasting system is a powerful instrument of disseminating information far and wide. It seems strange that the All India Radio is engaged totally in broadcasting ideas held by the Government alone so that its news items emit a stale odour. The question arises why it should be made a carrier of the Government's views to the exclusion of everything else ? It smacks of totalitarianism. As a national institution, may we not legitimately expect that other points of view, though these may differ from the Government's, may find adequate expression through the broadcasting system ? Such diversity of views will not only stimulate the listeners but may have the salutory effect of sharpening the wits of spokesmen on behalf of the Government. Ordinarily such spokesmen are apt to be pompous and complacent. Preventing the people from making an intelligent and realistic appraisal of the situation will not serve the purpose of our defences.

Some of the acts of commission under the D. I. Rules may seem stranger—strange seem some of the acts of omission.

No exemplary action under the D. I. R appears ever to have been taken against called black money. It has been openly tted by the Government that an increas large amount is freely circulating, the of circulation is such as to upset the economic development of the country. Ye systematic action has been taken against leading operators. On the other hand th people are being coaxed and cajoled in manner that nurses employ in making re trant babies drink milk. Is there some ta ble connection between black money blackmailing, i. e., if too much fuss is m is the Government likely to get into waters ?

Black money implies that trade is being run in proper channels. It means g are being sold at prices far higher than sellers can legitimately charge or bill Black money thus can flourish only in a bl market. In India, Government is the big buyer and amongst Govt. Departme Defence is one of the biggest. Thus the gest blow falls on the Government and i bearing the onslaught with an equanim and accommodation of spirit that sai may aspire for in vain. But so m forbearance may disrupt defence, thou its spiritual merits may be very gre Modern defence is built up on and around pu chases of goods which consist of thousands o various items, small and big. The Governme must be buying all these goods from profiteer and black marketwallahs at exorbitant black prices. Defence expenses have thus conne tions with persons who are in their turn pa and parcel of the black markets. Battles might have been lost for a horse-shoe ; but wars will

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

definitely be lost for lack of spare parts and other goods. We have become reconciled to adulterated food (I will revert to it later) but what would happen if raw materials of munitions were adulterated ?

India was a land of magic ; the tradition is lost. Very often we witness feats of the astounding vanishing tricks -- tricks performed not with rabbits or pigeons but in respect of essential food stuffs e. g., rice, pulses, ghee, vanaspati, etc. The magicians who have specialised in these tricks have a roaring practice. I wonder why they do not tour Europe and America to show their feats abroad. Their skills would perhaps be so much in demand there that they would have to come back with their heads. This is a contingency that comes entirely under the realm of speculation and however pleasant the dream may appear some, no definite hopes on the subject can be held out. Such indulgence in these vanishing tricks weakens out defensive system. These are cases of scarcity amidst plenty. It results in waste of foreign exchange (food is imported) which could have been utilised in buying more effective war-equipment ; it results in frustration amongst the civil population to form the second line of defence. It may be remembered in this context that it is struggle carried on by the civil population that, more than anything else, brought freedom to India and lack of resistance on their part may have serious consequences. Again, no really sensational cases against these precious magicians under the D. I. Rules have come to light. It appears that D. I. Rules are ineffective in these spheres also. These spheres enshroud amongst others baby-food and important drugs. Reactions in the fish market are also patently absence of any evidence to the contrary, that the D. I. Rules are incapable of doing anything really effective and big. To use a Bengali phrase it kills moles and in so doing it creates stink.

The Defence of India is a very big thing. We must not suddenly wake up with a start to the idea of defence only when the enemy is at the door-step. The history of India has many instances of our volatileness. We start with great pomp and determination and then suddenly everything melts away. We have to fight against this historical trend as a first step in defence and this is no easy matter. We have to think of defence in peacetime. It must engage our attention all the time and all our activities in all other spheres are to be so co-ordinated that the total effect is the strengthening of defence. Even our five-year plans must be subservient to it ; because if it does not make us strong in our defence, it serves a very hollow purpose. A re-orientation of our outlook must take place and it must be remembered that major anti-social activities in the long run turn out anti-defensive in nature and the more anti-defensive the more heinous such activities are. This provides us with a yard-stick for measurement of anti-social activities. In the context of the tame, timorous non-interfering and amorphous character of our society, it is rather a difficult conception. Sudden eruptions of violence do not bespeak a social force ; social force is that integrated feeling which acts persistently, systematically and potently against the evils which have penetrated into our society, and this is what we patently and precisely lack.

It is the duty of leadership to inspire the whole nation not only into wooing the professed ideals but into doing what the ideals plaintly call for. The leadership must not only

One comes to the conclusion, in the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

show the way but follow it. This is shouldering a responsibility and holding a trust from which there is no getting away. If the leadership makes a mistake (mistakes may take place occasionally) as a result of which any section of the people suffers, but this suffering is not visibly reflected in the leaders, then it is to be concluded that between the leaders and the people there is an alien layer of separation which is dangerous.

Inflammatory speeches on the eve of any crisis inciting an easily swayed people into an emotional frenzy of a momentary nature do not serve the cause of defence, Calm judgment clear reasoning, sound knowledge, deep conviction and strong determination should be the mainsprings of our actions. Speeches will be judged not by their fireworks and rhetoric but by the deeds that follow. Our country has had enough of speeches, what is needed is action in conformity with speeches.

Another thing that has all the ingredients of a major muddle is why it is necessary to mobilise all our resources to ward off petty border skirmishes into which we are inveigled by Pakistan. International diplomacy comes into action when border incidents occur. All this noise over Nagas and Pakistanis boosts their morale and reduces our own morale.

In modern wars perhaps, the most important single force is the morale of the people. Morale is a compound of faith and confidence in future. Faith, that what one is fighting for is intrinsically just; confidence, that sacrifices made and hardship endured now will ensure a better future for the coming generation as a whole and not for a particularly small section of the people. If there is no hope that our struggles will result in increased facilities as regards food, housiug, education, medical care and employment, the spirit of fighting and resistance to the last will not survive. War brings out the real character of the people. By corrupting discipline, black marketing equipment and adulterating supplies, wars are not won. To win wars we require deadly honesty, unwavering determination and a deep sense of oneness. Modern weapons are also necessary but on the foundation of the charateristics mentioned above. If the foundation is lacking, the weapons will not be of any avail.

Lastly on the policy of national defence India must not be made the battle ground for other contending nations to settle their issues. France and Germany were the scenes of two of the most devastating wars in human history. Japan was the scene of the greatest crime against humanity, though the U. S. A. later have had hard to atone for it. Indications are that the next war may flare up in the so-called backward countries of South East Asia. India is situated too close to this area to maintain a complacent attitude. India must clearly guard against the possibility of war finding a lodgment on her soil. India is being tugged in two different directions—warfare and welfare—by two great Communist countries—China and Russia. Both are much too powerful for India. But an alliance of India with any of these powers would vastly strengthen the position of the successful candidate. Balance of power in the international sphere may change with dramatic suddenness and dictability. Indian leaders must be very careful now or India may be converted into a battle-ground for the next global war with consequences far graver than anything the history of India has so far witnessed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WHAT I SAW IN THE BORDER AREAS OF WEST BENGAL

Mrs. ILA PAL CHOWDHURY

It was a partly cloudy day, and the fleecy ds covered a blue sky, the breeze rippled r the green paddy—the date palms waved, the sweet note of the "Kokeel" throbbed the air. Mango trees were heavy with , the litchees in many places ripe and red d the jackfruit grew in tropical profusion.

To see this, it is difficult to visualise what ppened and is happening in the Mekligunj rder areas. The three points of disturbance, Tubigha, Karkare and Bakdogra, bear the rs yet.

Houses have been burnt and people left r homes under a sudden burst of firing.

Now they have all returned and are bravely ing in this harassed area. From the vernment side arrangements for C. I. Sheets build the new houses have been made and, l the houses are ready, tents have been vided.

Some times one hears the remark that "the ople of Bengal are easily frightened" and I e even heard some responsible Punjabi ecial Security Branch Officers' remark that e people of Bengal are cowards" !!

It is indeed surprising that such remarks uld be bandied about ! Such remarks are alled for and positively harmful at this ture. They neither advance national inte- tion, nor boost the morale of the people erned.

Under sudden firing and mortar shelling here is always bound to be evacuation of the civil population—it has happened everywhere, whether it be in Europe or in the Punjab.

If one's house is set on fire, one will have to take shelter somewhere. This is common sense. It would be futile, surely, to stand and get burnt with the houses ! The difficulties of these areas are not fully realised sometimes when such remarks are made. The village, as we understand it in other parts of India, is not the same here. Two, three or four houses are bunched together at fairly great distances and are called "Teras", this is the pattern of villages in these parts. Three or four male members in a small colony like this can hardly do much against sudden attack. The Government has now a scheme to rehabilitate the people of this area, in consolidated groups of at least 50 to 60 houses, thus enabling them to have confidence and solidarity. Secondly, these people were peace-loving people and did not have much truck with fire arms. Thirdly, tribal people who constitute a great deal of the population are easily confused.

In view of this, what is the picture that has ultimately emerged in these parts ? If we really see we would feel proud of our brothers in the border areas.

The police in our B.O. P's did wonderful work and the civil population, although they had receded in the first place,—later in the face of heavy firing, dug trenches, reached amunitions and carried food to our police forces. In fact the courage and cool-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

headedness of the civil population has been a matter for great admiration.

What is being done in these areas ? This question: naturally comes into the minds of most people. It is a joy to see what is being done. Mass rifle training is being sponsored by the Special Security Branch of the Central Government.

The civil population is enthusiastically taking training. In this area mass rifle training is being imparted by the 6th S.R.P., Gujrat Battalion.

The tea gardens have taken up this training scheme very effectively. The workers in the tea gardens now feel confident, that they can be the supporting line of defence should there be any aggression.

The women who work in the tea gardens, have turned out to be very good shots in many cases. The dark eyes of the Adibasi woman dance with joy as she gets a "bull's eye" on the target with the regular heavy army rifle. After all, skill with the bow and arrow runs in their blood !

I had the opportunity of meeting the commandant who is imparting the training in the tea gardens. He said, that "the women are really doing very well, it is beyond expectation."

The wives of the Bengalee staff in the tea gardens have also volunteered for rifle training and have developed a steady hand and a good eye. In fact sometimes they do better than the men. At the first firing, of the trained batch, as I watched them, the wife of one of the tea garden managers, got five bull's eyes, one after another, which was better than what anybody else could manage !

The Home Guard scheme is also working very well and in the whole tea area the garden workers and staff turn out in their smart ... forms and it is pride and satisfaction that ... feels when one watches them.

Screening for all rifle training is ... effective in the tea gardens. The manage... screen the people who volunteer for this ... ughly, as they usually know each person. Wh... they are sent for advanced training there ... again a thorough screening. Thus avoiding ... chance of pro-Chinese or pro-Pakistani ... ments getting rifle training as far as ... gardens are concerned. This myth, that ... been so much publicised of late that "thousa... of anti-national elements are getting ... training" has no factual basis.

In Dahagram, the narrow part that is In... while Pakistan is on one side and the Dah... gram enclave no the other—poses differ... Here our B. O. P does very good work ... gives adequate protection. The people go ... this narrow road, overlooked by Pakistan ... both sides within a stones throw, fearlessly ... are going about their normal work, in circum... tances that would probably be very unnerv... ing for the average rural population anywh... in India. On the other hand, anti-nation... groups have been going for what would appe... to be a planned programme of looting and ha... ssment in these areas. They are dressed ... in the uniform of the Indian army and ... they stop cars and people and, perhaps ... snatch minor things like fountain pens etc. ... The object is to make the people of the area ... feel dissatisfied and unsympathetic towards ... our army. This needs very strong action by the ... police, as this sort of thing takes away popu... lar suffort for the army, which at such times ... is very necessary and vital.

In Dahagram enclave itself—1000 or ... more Hindu families that remain there ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

being constantly harassed. I was told that a peaceful type of population has been put in there and the minorities are being tortured in many way. Against acts like this, it is to be hoped that world opinion and all civilised opinion will prevail.

The Indian army, which is second to none, will surely protect the territory and borders of India, while the civil population, men and women, will be the effective support, once they are equipped with adequate training and know how to use fire arms. It is not a question of whether there is need to protect India in Bengal or Punjab. The main question is that the people of India have that same determination and courage, whether it be in Bengal, Punjab or the South for the Indians are ready to protect India and fight for India.

IGNORANCE AND HUNGER CAUSE REVOLUTIONS

"There is plenty of Ignorance and Hunger in India; and these in France, according to Carlyle, caused the French Revolution.

'If the gods of this lower world will sit on their glittering thrones, indolent as Epicurus' gods, with the living chaos of Ignorance and Hunger weltering uncared for at their feet, and smooth parasites preaching peace, peace, when there is no peace, then the dark chaos, it would seem, will rise . . . . That there be no second Sansculottism in our earth for a thousand years, let us understand well what the first was; and let Rich and Poor of us go and do *otherwise*.'—Book III, last chapter.

Let us Indians also, Rich and Poor, go and do *otherwise* than what we have done hitherto."

Ramananda Chatterjee in *The Modern Review*, July, 1923, Pp. 99-100

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Consolidating The Plans

(Continued from page 104)

What has been happening ever since has been too well-known not to say too distressing to need reiteration in the present discussion. Shri Morarji Desai appeared to have placed too great a reliance on the assurances given to him by the concerned trades in the country that they would not take advantage of the situation of emergency for speculative gains for themselves and that nothing would be allowed to affect the supply and prices of essential consumables such as food grains, cloth and other essentials of existence. But by the time the next taxation budget was formulated in March next year, speculative hoarding and other pressures by the more powerful sectors of the trade had reduced the situation to such a shambles that there was no conceivable means by which either the Government or the public could contain the raging price pressures that had eventuated in the meanwhile. When, eventually, the taxation budget was, at last, presented to Parliament and which was described as the most massive-ever tax effort of the Government, the expectations of any possible deceleration in the mounting price pressures that might have been entertained in the meanwhile, were wholly dashed to the ground. The taxation budget was formulated with no regard for the well-known canons of public taxation except that of deriving the requisite volumes of revenue with the least trouble, whatever its consequences may be to the economy in general. It should be mentioned that even before the 1963-64 budget was formulated, the trends in public taxation had already been following a process of increasing proportions of indirect taxation with not a little of the burden being placed upon excise revenues to be derived from essential consumables. This had its corresponding effect upon the price structure and the trend was further substantially extended in the new budget considerably accentuating the inflationary potentials that already been invested in the structure of the country. While his last year's Budget to Parliament present Union Finance Minister, Shri T. Krishnamachari, frankly admitted this potential of the existing taxation although he has done nothing effective obviate this. As a result the country been living continuously in the midst of price crisis which has become endemic since the beginning of 1963 and from which no relief so far seems to be in sight. In fact, in course of a recent public pronouncement, the Vice Chairman and Chief Executive of the Planning Commission, Shri Ashoke Mehta, was reported to have stated that no substantial relief from increasing price pressure was in sight in view of the burdens of the twin requirements of defence and development and the people must reconcile themselves to continue to live with it for an indefinite period in the future.

It would be idle, therefore, to claim as has been done by official spokesmen from time to time, that increasing price pressures in the economy have flowed from the requirements of increasing defence appropriations in the budget from year to year since 1962-63. There are evidences to prove that neither the Government nor the Planning Commission bestowed the necessary consideration to the need for containing the raging price pressure in the economy while providing for additional defence and development appropriations. Several factors have contributed to the situation. First and foremost, not adequate attention was paid to the urgent need for the development of agricultural production as a base for over-all and ordered economic development and in the Second Plan priorities and especially so in the Third Plan, the necessary priorities for the development of the requisite infra-structure for agricultural

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

development were not accorded. Alongside of this, such overwhelming emphasis was placed upon the rapid and massive development of an industrial base, that this served as a disincentive in agriculture. Other consumption industries also suffered in comparison, with the result that supplies have been only marginally adequate, making them easily amenable to heavy price pressures. Additionally, Plan implementation has consistently continued to fall short of estimated and expected performance causing a corresponding imbalance between the money supply and the supply of goods, both of which have been additionally loading the price factor.

There has also been another very important additional factor operating in the process to which deprecatory references have been made from time to time but to effectively deal with which the Government have utterly failed so far. We refer to the very large volume—the exact dimensions of which do not seem to be known to anybody—of **black money** which is being currently euphemistically referred to as **unaccounted money.** The dimensions of this money has been variously estimated at anywhere between Rs. 2,000 crores and Rs. 3,500 crores. It may, in fact, be a little more or even more. But what makes its operations so sinister is that it cannot be brought under the purview of the disciplines, fiscal and monetary, to which the organized credit sector is subject. Nor has there been made any serious attempt by successive Finance Ministers to devise necessary measures to completely freeze and immobilize it which is what should be done. Other countries, even among the under-developed nations of South-east Asia, have suffered from a like disease in their economy and some of them have been able to devise means for at least very substantially immobilizing it. Given the boldness and the honesty of purpose, one finds wholly to understand why it should not be possible to obtain like results in this country also. Our Government appear to have been following a very curious expedient in this regard. Even in the last Union Budget (1965-66), the Finance Minister included certain special provisions to deal with this class of money-holders which, in effect, were tantamount to very substantial concessions if they would disclose their holdings and pay the taxes due on them within a certain period. The Finance Minister was asked if he had any other more effective devices in view if the concessions offered failed to evoke the necessary measure of response, to which he was reported to have very boastfully replied that he had ample and effective measures in contemplation which he would not hesitate to apply if the concessional offers given in the Budget were not taken advantage of. The time limit set was until the 31st of May last and the amount of tax money derived from this source from all over the country as reported in the press within the prescribed period was about Rs. 50 crores which means, that the gross funds against which the tax thus has been paid would be approximately Rs. 125 crores. If the volume of existing **unaccounted money** is computed at even as low a level as only Rs. 2,000 crores, the effectiveness of Mr. Krishnamachari's latest measure to bring this within the disciplines to which the credit market is subject would seem to have almost wholly failed of its purpose. The time for soft-soaping such anti-social elements as the holders of black money has long been past and drastic and deterrant measures would seem to be immediately called for to deal with them. The least they would seem to deserve is the complete freezing of their assets in this behalf and it should certainly be possible to devise effective means to do so ? We have, in these columns, suggested several measures in the past towards such an end. An important one in this respect was that all hoards of food grains wherever discovered—and it should not be difficult to discover them given the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

requisite honesty of purpose on the part of the investigators—should be wholly confiscated to the public pool without any compensation whatever, unless it were possible to prove by the hoarders concerned that this were being financed by legitimate sources of credit. This one measure, we feel sure, would very substantially eliminate a fairly considerable proportion of **unaccounted money** from the market.

The consciousness would now at long last appear to have been dawning that one of the principal factors leading to the present spiralling upwards of prices has, apart from the incidental causes already mentioned above, primarily been the wide disparities, first in agricultural allocations in the Plans and, secondly, the inadequate development quantum in relation to the outlays undertaken. The inescapable result of such a situation has been to generate a volume of demand on the one hand that supplies could never expect to meet even to a rmote extent and, on the other, that the price position, already critical as a result of this situation, has been further aggravated beyond all reasonable measure by speculative pressures upon only marginally available supplies of food and other esential consumables.

Agricultural Priorities

The low priorities accorded to agricultural development—however vociferously the Party and the administration may seek to repudiate the fact—would be evident from the fact that the persentage of expenditure on agriculture in the First Plan was only 15, 11 in the Second Plan and 14 in the Third Plan of the total. Comparably, the allocation to industries rose from about 4 per cent in the First Plan to 20 per cent in the Second and to 25 per cent in the Third Plan. Among the infra-structure for agriculture, the allocation for irrigation, which was 16 per cent of the total in the First Plan, fell to 9 per cent in the Second and was further reduced to 6 per cent in the Third Plan. This prioritity in agricultural allocations appear to have been reflected in the actual incidence of tion. Food grains production, which estimated to have been at the level approximately 50 million tonnes in rose by about 30 per cent to 65 tonnes during the First Plan period (by end of 1955-56) and rose, further to 77.5 million tonnes or by 18.4 per cent the end of 1962-63, that is, throughout Second Plan period and during the first years of the Third Plan. It is also cant that by far the largest proportion expenditure on irrigation was covered expenditure on staff, largely derived urban areas.

It is also equally significant that the proportion of expenditure on agricultural development (including irrigation fell, total expenditure on the Second Plan doubled compared to that of the First Plan and in the Third Plan there was a further doubling of expenditure compared to that of the Second Plan. The consequential burden has been more than proportionately heavier, a great deal of which the agriculturist had to bear not merely in direct and indirect taxation, but also in the increased prices. It is claimed that this last has not been an unmixed evil for the agriculturist must also have benefited from the more than less 30 per cent rise in agricultural prices that had been evinced in the meanwhile. This is a claim which would seem to disregard the especial features of our existing agricultural economy. Such a claim could have been sustained only if it were true that the agricultural community in the country as a whole generally have a substantial marketable surplus from out of what they normally produce. It has to be borne in mind in this connection that some 10.9 per cent of our rural households own no land at all, the holdings of the next 30.7 per cent of the households are less than 1 acre each

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a further 14.6 per cent own no more than about 2.5 acres of land per household. This means that approximately 56.2 per cent of the rural households have no marketable surplus—indeed their production fall far short of their own consumption requirements—and cannot, therefore, be expected to benefit from the rise in agricultural prices that has occured in the meanwhile. On the contrary, the burden of this rising prices would be bound to fall on them as adversely as on any other community in the country who have to depend on market supplies at current prices for their basic food requirements.

ges and Prices

It is also claimed that price rises have been more or less compensated by corresponding rises in the wage rates where the large majority of fixed wage earners are concerned and, in most cases, where industrial labour is concerned, cost of living allowances have been linked to price indices with the result that price increases are supposed to be compensated by corresponding increases in the money income. This, to anyone who is familiar with the mechanism of prices in an inflation-market, would appear to be individious reasoning of a particularly mischievous character. In the first instance, the proportion of fixed wage earners in the economy as a whole is practically infinitesimal compared to the total army of the employed or partially employed. Besides, what is even more important is that the proportion of the unemployed, visibly, is practically immeasurable in its vast magnitude. No reliable data as regards the real measure of unemployment in the country would appear to have yet been worked out by the appropriate working group of the Planning Commission nor by any of the other concerned agencies of the Government. According to a study undertaken by a visiting lecturer in economics published in these columns some time ago, the incidence of unemployment in the country as a whole was computed at very nearly a 100 million persons. This may be an exaggeration. Likewise, a team of foreign experts recently worked out the figure at something like 70 millions which, again, may be an underestimation. But even accepting this lower figure as more realistic, the burden of unemployment would seem to be colossal even after more than 14 years of development planning and when regard is had to the fact that according to the latest Census estimations, there would be an annual addition of some 10 millions to the country's unemployed personnel, the effect of price rises of the measure already experienced would seem to be completely back-breaking.

It is obvious, therefore, that however one might try to link wages to prices, the effort could cover only a very small proportion of the country's population, while the vast majority would continue to suffer from its burdens. The other inevitable consequence would be that such a situation would be bound to slow down the rate of increase in production in every sector of enterprise. It is a vicious circle, that development planning of the order and in the manner in which it is being essayed in the country to-day, would appear to have landed us into, and there does not seem to be any point in the circle at which a break-through might be possible with a view to retreiving the economy from its present dismal state. It is not necessary in this context to enter into the argument as to whether the country is really facing bankruptcy or not. When a country is unable to provide the very basic minimum of food and clothing, housing and other essential amenities, it is quite irrelevant as to whether she remains still technically solvent; it is obvious that she is unable to meet the very basic obligations that her Government would be expected to shoulder.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Problems In The Economy

It should be pertinent, in this context, to ask a few basic questions and try to find answers to them and to analyse as to whether the answers conform to the Plan structure as it was sought to be erected by the agencies concerned.

The very first and basic question that would seem to arise in this context is what are the basic problems of the economy? The answer is abvious.

First and foremost, the feeding, clothing, housing, education, public health and other such basic requirements of a population of some 450 million people (at the stage when the country first launched into planned development). It was a commendable desire on the part of the Government of the country to seek to stimulate the economy to a process of growth by which the extremely poor standards of living of the people could be progressively raised to a more adequate and respectable standard. Our agriculture was primitive and was hardly able to produce enough to provide the very minimum food requirements of the people. Industries were even more inadequate to provide the other amenities of progress towards a more wholesome living standard. Capital was scarce and the rate of capital formation in the country, in conformity with the low rates of production in all fields of enterprise, was extremely slow.

It was envisaged that if the business of introducing a tempo of growth were left to private enterprise alone, the rate of progress would be extremely slow and would hardly be expected to cover the requirements of the annual additions to the population in the conditions then obtaining in the country. Besides, a major share of whatever progress would be evinced would continue to be appropriated by the leaders of industry and commerce and the people as a whole would continue to wallow in their miserable living conditions for indefinite periods in the future. It was, therefore, decided that the Government would take upon themselves a progressive increasing share in developing the economy both by way of new investments as well as control and management of the sources of production, so that the benefits of increased production may be more evenly dispersed over the entire community.

The facts, primarily, of the economy would, therefore, seem to be, first, that capital for new investments was scarce and the Government assumed the responsibility of acquiring larger proportions of capital resources than would be normally available and controlling and managing its investment. Secondly, with a view to ensuring a balanced and even rate of development Government assumed the power to allocate investments of both public and private capital in accordance with a plan which would be formulated for over-all development under their sponsorship and control. The question as to whether it was even necessary or even wise for the Government to assume control of the sources of production and their management, having regard to the lack of both adequate experience and administrative resources in the field was only incidental, and what would appear to have been of more paramount importance was that the Plans as formulated covered the requisites of progress while, at the same time, were to be in conformity with the basic facts of the economy as it subsisted.

This is the point where planning would appear to have gone all wrong. Planning, on analysis of facts, would appear to have been undertaken to conform not to the basic facts of the residuary economy, but to those of the particular fads and fancies of the powers that were. From the very initial stages, it would appear, the heaviest emphasis would seem to have been laid upon a technology-based capital-intensive structure of development which would appear to have been a repudiation of the conditions upon which the superstructure

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

development was ostensibly sought to be ...ed. It is conceded that there would ...e to be certain basic producer industries ...ich could only be developed in accord... with the requisites of large-scale ...ization. But as to whether they ...ld be overwhelmingly technology- ...t and, consequently capital-intensive ...rganisation and structure, should have ...determined by the basic conditions of ...economy. The use of advanced techno... as recently averred by an eminent ...ian economic thinker, is primarily a ...ession to **labour scarcity** and, accord... to the same source, its employment in ...derdeveloped economy may prove to ...rious, presumably because such a pro... would seem to ignore the basic prom... of such an economy, that of providing ...most wide-based area of employment ...n the comparatively scarce amount of ...l available within the economy.

That is one of the primary problems of ...dian economy in particular. Deve... ...nt has to have the primary objective ...reating new employment opportunities ...residuary unemployed of the order of ...70 to 100 million employables while, ...same time, creating scopes for further ...yment opportunities for the absorp... ...of some 10 millions every year. What ...sought to have been accomplished ...the Plans, it would seem, was first ...ate what has been described as the ...rs of self-generating and self-sustain... ...velopment so that some time in the ...e future employment opportunities of ...der required would be automatically ...ted within the economy. Such a ... of the matter would seem to ignore ...ct that by the time such a stage could ...ched, even if the tempo of develop... ...in all its various sectors could have ...maintained at the estimated levels ...as regards investment and production, ...would be such a heavy back-log of ...employed in the country, that the ...ial millenium would continue to re- main an ever-receding goal, in every different field of enterprise in the economy.

Unfortunately, it would seem that this is one of the primary requirements of development that has been consistently ignored in formulating the successive Plans. A heavy emphasis in the development programmes would appear to have been laid upon the development of technology-based heavy basic producer industries ignoring, more or less entirely, the corresponding claims of light consumer industries as a balancing factor. A census of employment incidences in most of these industries would be bound to reveal the fact that although primarily capital-intensive in their financial implications (that is in the quantum of capital investment per unit of labour employable for obtaining optimum production), most of such industries have a labour-intensive operational organization, with the result that productivity has been largely ignored. To cite an example, in a public sector integrated steel plant at its 1 million tonne capacity level which should have been able to obtain optimum capacity production with a labour force of less than 6,000 men, the actual number of personnel employed exceeded 17,000. Productivity in a heavily over-manned industry would naturally be in the inverse proportion to the number of persons employed over the scheduled capacity, and cost of production would be higher in direct production. This may be one of the reasons among several others why public sector enterprises continue to run at a considerable loss while private sector industries show a gradual and progressive rise in their profit earning from year to year, although the production incidence remains comparatively at a low ebb.

Another equally basic fact of the economy that would appear to have been virtually ignored in the Government's anxiety to rapidly modernise society and life in the country, is that the economy was primarily agrarian and rural, agricultural occupations providing subsistence, directly

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and indirectly, to well over 80 per cent of the population. The methods employed in agricultural production, moreover, were most primitive and knew hardly anything of the benefits of irrigation water and chemical manuring. It was initially well-conceived that efforts should be made to somewhat modernise the processes of agriculture by providing irrigation water to enable it to become free of the mercy of the seasons and to enable the benefits of intensive cultivation to be provided by the availability of chemical fertilizers. But this objective appears to have receded in the background with the subsequent Plans after the first, although the agricultural population was made to share the burdens of industrial development through increasing taxes, direct and indirect, and by reason of steadily increasing prices. The claim that rising agricultural prices would benefit the agricultural worker, as already demonstrated, ignored the fact that farming, for the overwhelming proportion of our agricultural workers, remains at a subsistence level and it was not, therefore, possible for them to benefit from the rising agricultural prices in the country, except to a comparatively smaller sector of the agricultural population. It is the trade that mostly benefits out of rising prices and the actual agricultural producer has to share burdens of this price pressure equally with the rest of the community.

It appears to have been recognized that agriculture was unable to sustain the heavy burden it had to bear in this country and the need to wean away a progressively increasing proportion among the agricultural workers to other occupations appreciated. The history of our medieval economy (it still remains virtually medieval in structure) would seem to point to the fact that since actual work in the field in agricultural occupations did not call for more than 100 to 120 day's labour in the year, most agricultural workers had a subsidiary occupation to fall back upon during the seasons of lean agricultural occupations. To look at the innumer-

able caste-nomenclatures in the c
would seem to support such a view o
matter, for most of them have been o
tional in meaning. Instead of co
weaning away a certain proportion
agricultural workers from the fields a
rural homes and inducing them to
to suburban and slummy industrial
plexes, it might have been a more
some process to provide more mode
sources of subsidiary occupation to
within their own environments. T
actly what it has not been done wi
result that the feeble efforts to develo
organize handicrafts and cottage ind
under official patronage that have be
evidence have set in a process of urb
tion which has been fast creating
problems than they should ever be ex
to solve. For one thing, they have
multiplying the growth of miserable
which have already become one of the
colossal social and economic proble
the day. They have, moreover, c
problems of housing which the Gover
are patently unable to cope with. But
is even more important, this proce
been responsible for occasioning a dis
tive in agriculture, which is one o
heaviest stumbling blocks today o
way to agricultural development.

Put The Clock Back?

One could enumerate the innume
problems that the present process of de
lopment planning has been creating in
country without being able to solve any
the old subsisting ones, almost indefini
It would not be an exaggeration to
that planning has been entirely wrong
conceived, ignoring as it did the
problems in the economy. With the res
that the country has now arrived at a sta
of confusion and distress from which
almost impossible to pull out. It is
some reason that a certain school of e
in the country pleads that planning
be discarded even at this late stage and

CC-0. Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

natural laws of economic adjustments lowed to take over to arrive at some sort stability in the remote future, even if may mean the continuance of the present erable state of affairs for an indefinite od. There are others who with equally nt reason seem to hold that all future ning should be wholly agriculture- sted, leaving industrialization, at least the time being, at the stage where it has ved upto the present times. In either e, it would be virtually putting the clock k, an expedient which we could not rd to adopt with the heavy load of eign and internal debts and other obliga- s that we have acquired in the process. e Prime Minister, following his recent ference with a team of World Bank re- sentatives in New Delhi is reported to ve advised a year's suspension of the ation of the Fourth Plan and a whole- e concentration, in the meanwhile, upon e development of our agricultural poten- s only. This is wise advice, on the face it. But the question will still continue demand an answer as to what may be e to retrieve the situation in respect of heavy investments already incurred in er fields of enterprise ?

nsolidation—The Only Way Out

The only reasonable answer to the esent impasse would seem to be what e World Bank President is already re- ted to have advised—consolidation of e investments of the past Plans. We nnot, surely, afford to write-off our in- stments of the past 14 years simply be- se in our unwisdom we have not utiliz- them wisely and well ? A large pro- tion of this capital, we must realise, is rrowed both at home and abroad and in e present stage of development we do not appear to have earned the competence even being able to pay the due interest them out of their yields, let alone pro- vide for their amortization. The only thing to do in the circumstances would, we feel, be to consolidate old investments, reorganize the related management to progressively give the requisitive yield and hold over any but the absolutely minimum maintenance investment to enable this consolidation to be wholesomely achieved. In the meanwhile, all new investment, except where absolutely called for for purposes of consolidation of the old investments, such as provision of power and transport and marketing facilities etc., should be held over except in the agricultural sector. There should be ample concentration of both investment and effort in the agricultural sector to enable the basis of a surplus agriculture to be created. It should be recognized, belatedly though it may be, that a suplus agriculture is a basic requirement of rapid industrial development.

At the same time both administrative and economic measures must be devised and applied with a view to ensuring a stable price regime. Prices have already vitiated,—and they may well do so again in the future,—the very processes of development. A multi-pronged attack on this problem would appear to be immediately called for. There will have to be physical controls inevitably, but for purposes of effective physical controls a reorganization and consolidation of the concerned administrative machinery will have to be undertaken. There must be fiscal measures and monetary instruments also applied to the same purpose and, above all, the entire taxation structure will have to be re-examined and reorganized to divest it of its present heavy inflationary potentials. One may wonder if the Government have the strength, power, capacity and, above all, the imagination and the willingness to assume these responsibilities ? If they have not, they will have to go, perhaps, sooner than they can visualize.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TIME TO DISCARD INFLATIONARY FINANCING

In course of a detailed Memorandum submitted by Union Finance Minister, T. T. Krishnamachari to the members of the Congress Working Committee and Chief Ministers of States now in conclave in Bangalore ae we write, it is reported to have set out in fairly extensive details the present (and increasing) pressures on the country's economy and to have emphatically underlined the urgent need to completely give up the present depenendence upon all forms of inflationary finance in respect of future Plan schemes. The Memorandum is reported to have made the following points:

1. It examines the current food situation in the country, especially in the perspective of the zonal system, statutory rationing and an ultimate move towards monopoly procurement if the situation does not turn for the better. It is suggested that the Government must acquire a commanding position in the marketing of foodgrains and rapidly expand monopoly procurement to ensure stability of food prices. It may not be possible, the Memorandum is reported to have underlined, to eliminate the present zonal system in view of the continuing crisis, but a more realistic and long-term national food policy is an urgent need of the moment. Rice prices which had come down by very nearly 10 per cent between October and January last and wheat prices by 12 per cent between January and early May, have again been steeply rising.

2. The Memorandum details the steps that have been taken to deal with the increasing inflationary pressures in the economy, both in respect of unearthing *unaccounted* money, as also to regulate bank credits, but suggests that even more stringent measures will have to be devised with a view to successfully containing the inflationary pressures and to check the acclerating rise of prices.

3. The Memorandum further suggests that the size of the Fourth Plan should be based on a *realistic assessment* (emphasis ours) of the available resources and those which the Centre and States may jointly agree in advance to raise additionally.

4. The Memorandum points out that in view of the high monetary demand generated by the increasing defence and development expenditure, there is no scope at all for deficit financing; the aim should be to restore *balance to the* (emphasis, again, our own) this year by a stringent scrutiny of expenditures, additional source mobilization and reinforcing the machinery for tax collection.

5. The Memorandum says that while budgetary measures are important, it is also necessary to keep the over-all credit situation under constant review. Money supply, during 1963-64 expanded by a net 13 per cent and, although it fell- to some 9 per cent in the following year, has again since been rising.

6. Referring to the foreign exchange situation, the Memorandum underlines that account of the critical foreign exchange sit in the country a considerable part of the capacity created in the past few years rem unutilized for lack of maintenance imports although it was somewhat mitigated by aid friendly countries, it was clear that our indu could not expect to run to full progressive crease in export earnings. This aspect of situation has been acquiring increasing im ance on account of the steadily increasing dens of debt-servicing charges. The Memo dum, therefore, suggests that the time has when it has become extremely urgent to s India's economic Plans in such a manner as reduce their foreign exchange contents to absolute and irreducible minimum. India been facing difficulties on foreign exchange since the beginning of the Second Plan which now assumed critical levels. Faced with the tremely low level of foreign exchange reserv which leaves little scope for manouverings, r imports and exports remaining more or less tic at a moderate level, the launching of Fourth Plan will inevitably have to be done an environment of rigid discipline in foreign change spendings.

7. As far as the price situation is concer ed, the general index of wholesale prices reached the all-time peak of 161 in January year. Although the price level fell by some teen points until the middle of March last, have again been rising at an accelerated tempo.

8. On the question of prices and wages the Memorandum says that while steps have been

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to control inflation, very little ...ment has been made to evolve a *coordinated* ...es, profits and income policy. Increase in ...es without a corresponding increase in pro... activity inevitably pushes prices upwards to the ...ment of both the producer and the consum... If there is a case for granting an increase, ...ould be done in such a way that it does not ...se a pressure on demand. Wherever pos... ...s, reliefs should be given in the form of ...er retirement benefits, or savings certificates ...which will help a family to plan its pros... ...y over a period instead of adding to the ...ent inflated demand.

9. The most important part, the Memo... ...dum avers, of an incomes policy is to ensure ...d support prices for agricultural commodities ...not become an "*engine of inflation*."

The Memorandum has also listed some other ...essary measures which it is considered desir... ...le and necessary for dealing with the current ...omic situation in the country, especially in ...inflationary aspects.

Although the Memorandum does not seem to ...r so in so many words, the primary implica... ...ns of its theses would seem to be that in the ...esent circumstances of the national economy ...d, on the one side, its overwhelming empha... ...on inflationary sources of finance and, on the ...er, on a corresponding measure of inflationary ...ssures on the price structure, conditions are ...very propitious for the launching of the ...urth Plan in the shape and size in which it has ...en formulated by the Planning Commission ...d which, with certain reservations, have been ...nerally accepted by the Party and the Govern... ...nt as the very minimum requisite for the neces... ...y progress towards a stage of take-off in the ...sirable future. Coming as this Memoran... ...m did at the present juncture, it is read by ...y keen observers as not merely a statement ...the economic faiths of the Union Finance ...ister but also an instrument of political lever... ...e for his position in the Cabinet. Such a view of ...e implications of the Memorandum would be ...ely to bring the Finance Minister sharply in ...nflict with some of his Cabinet colleagues as ...ell with other Government and Party agencies ...n the country.

Read together with his earlier broadcast on the subject, the Note is regarded by some as some sort of a notice both to the World Bank and other international agencies that T.T.K. would be glad to settle for a significantly attenuated Fourth Plan size, rather than agree to the terms and conditions for a larger and more liberal Fourth Plan foreign aid.

So far as his Cabinet colleagues are concerned, Mr. Krishnamachari's Note would be likely to bring him into sharp cleavage with, first of all, the Union Food Minister who, instead of wishing to pursue his earlier scheme for monopoly procurement and increasing physical and price control devices, appears to have been increasingly reverting to a position of virtual subservience to the trade. Although Mr. Subramanium holds that he is as anxious and as keen as Mr. Krishnamachari to stabilize prices, he seems to have been increasingly realising that compulsion is unworkable in a climate of shortage, both immediate and prospectve; a matter which has recently been brought into sharp focus over the controversy arising out of the Maharashtra Government's jowar procurement scheme.

There are two obvious aspect of the matter so far as this is concerned. In the first instance, in the event of deciding for a compulsive device for stabilizing food prices and maintaining supplies—a decision which was actually taken at the height of the last year's food crisis in the country—the State Governments, except for some of the deficit states, would not be likely to conform to the Centre's wishes in this behalf. But even most of the deficit States do not seem keen on accepting such a proposition on the supposed ground that they cannot be quite sure that the Centre would be willing or able to shoulder the responsibilities of maintaining supplies to their States to uphold such a decision. Another very cogent reason for the States' unwillingness to endorse the Centre's earlier decision to enforce total procurement and impose physical and price controls may be that wih the general elections barely two years away, the States who will generally have to bear the principal brunt of both organising and financing the elections, are not any too keen to create a situation which is likely to affect the interests of the trade who, by and large, contribute the major share of the election funds to the Party. Secondly, most

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

States feel, and it is only realistic to do so, that they simply have not the administrative machinery to work a wholesome, foolproof and efficient system of monopoly procurement and controls.

In the result, the situation as it has been developing over the past one month since the onset of the lean sason in rice, is already threatening to once again lead to a crisis in the supply and prices of foodgrains of, perhaps, an even worse magnitude than with which the country was faced in 1963-64. This is obviously due to pressures created by deliberately engineered devices by the interested parties in the process with which the Government, in spite of all their claims to the contrary are either powerless to deal or to which they prefer to remain indifferent with deliberate intent.

It must be realised that the private sector has ever been dominant in the food grains trade in the country. The Government have no means of curbing the profiteering and anti-social activities of the trade under the present system of what may be described as the introduction of a *mixed economy* in the food grains sector of the country's trade. With several hundred million sources of supply, so far as internal production of food grains is concerned, and import incidences covering barely 5 per cent of the total available supply, any kind of curb on the activities of the trade would be inconceivable so long as the Government are not able to decide and reinforce their decision by the creation of the necessary machinery for wholesale and total procurement by Government agencies or, in other words, a complete take over of the food grains trade under the public sector. Mincing measures such as the Food Grains Corporation of India would be worse than useless to deal with a situation of the overt nuances with which the Government should have been quite familiar by now. On the contrary what they actually appear to have been doing has been to surrender whatever little initiative they might have seized under presssure of a crisis last year, leaving the consumer and the country entirely at the mercy of the profiteer at all stages of distribution of food grains to the consumer.

What would appear to be rather fatuously cunning in this connection is that the present attitudes of the Union Food Ministry—[illegible] hardly he given the name of thinking—[illegible] justified on the ground that since large [illegible] of foodgrains are with-holding supplies [illegible] market with a view to reaping a larger [illegible] of profits, it would be inimical to the Government [illegible] agricultural policy of providing incentives [illegible] surplus agricultural producer, to impose [illegible] sive edicts to curb their independent [illegible] This is a most specious argument for [illegible] 10 per cent of the country's agricultural [illegible] ducers produce a surplus harvest, some [illegible] cent are just subsistence farmers and very [illegible] 50 per cent can only produce enough to [illegible] their own consumption for barely half a [illegible] But to this question we hope to revert in a [illegible] appropriate context.

But to return to Mr. Krishnamachari's Memorandum, it is almost inevitable that [illegible] from some of his Cabinet colleagues, his [illegible] not likely to prove very popular also within Party enclaves. What this note would seem [illegible] virtually amount to is that the Fourth Plan should conform to the available resources and additional taxation incidences that it might be possible for the Centre and the States together to generate without recourse to such forms of taxation as would be likely to have an inflationary impact on the price structure. So far as the foreign exchange contents of the Plan is concerned, reading between the lines what the Union Finance Minister would seem to have been advising, is that bringing to bear the maximum incidence of import substitution on the one hand and export promotion on the other, any foreign exchange earnings that may emerge as a result should mainly condition our foreign exchange outlay on the Fourth Plan. Accepting of such a view of the matter would certainly be bound to slow down the rate of development in the immediate future and to that extent the Party would be losing a most valuable propaganda counter at the next general elections. But from the road of *no-return* which Planning would appear to have been following, this may, perhaps, be the only way to retrieve, to whatever extent possible, an otherwise irretreivable situation. But this we have already discussed at some considerable length in the preceding note.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WILLIAM MCDOUGALL'S ANALYSIS OF SCHIZOPHRENIA

PRANAB KUMAR DE, M.A.

...ou visit a reputed mental hospital, you will ...probably be surprised to find a peculiar class ...patients who, when asked any simple question, ...offer you a vacant look and a meaningless ... If your curiosity is aggravated by the sor... ...al picture of these unfortunate creatures and ...you approach mental doctors for further in... ...mation, they will give you to understand that ...disease which these patients suffer from is the ...st acute form of psychosis known as Dementia ...rox or Schizophrenia.

The word "Dementia" generally means acquir... ...mental deficiency. The patients who suffer ...m dementia originally possessed a normal and ...thy mind, but this has undergone a process of ...ay. The prototype of this process is to be ...nd in the gradual failure of intelligence in ripe ...age.

"Last Scene of all,
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans
everything".

This is known as senile Dementia.

But in the case of "Emotional Dementia", the ...ent loses all interest in life ; expresses no ...ures or ambitions and sits from day to day in ...same corner, inert and lethargic.

Meaning and Symptoms of Schizophrenia

Schizophrenia is the most disastrous form of ...hogenetic disorder. But it is very difficult to ...e schizophrenia. There is no unanimity ...ng psychologists and medical men on the ...stion whether it is one disease or a group of ...eases, or a system of bad habits. The main ...ures of Schizophrenia are :—

Uncooperativeness, hallucinations (especially ...f hearing and sight), incoherent associations, ...ir judgment, deterioration of feeling and emotion with an apparent apathy, disorder in the process of thought, etc. All these symptoms may not be simultaneously present in every case of Schizophrenia. But one feature is generally found to be common to all Schizophrenic patients, namely, "emotional apathy and indifference." Some of the patients seem extremely apathetic, while others show much emotional excitement and even the seemingly apathetic patients sometimes break out with violent emotional outbursts.

Schizophrenia may be aptly described as a dream state, a prolonged half-waking dream. The Schizophrenic patient interprets all sense experiences in terms of the imaginative preoccupations of the moment.

Is Schizophrenia curable ?

Some authorities are of the opinion that the disorder is primarily an organic, degenerative disease and is essentially incurable. W. McDougall, however, does not belong to this group.

Some others hold that some at least of the cases can be cured, if skilfully dealt with at an early stage. The great champions of the Psycho-Analytic School have lent their support to this opinion. McDougall does not accept this point of view *in toto*.

Again, some cases of Schizophrenia are found to develop in the absence of any adverse circumstances. These cases are believed to be derived from a degenerative change due to a congenital defect of constitution. But certain other cases of this disorder seem to be produced by prolonged struggle with adverse circumstances. These cases can be cured by skilful treatment.

Cases of Schizophrenia :—The following two cases of Schizophrenia arranged in order of increasing severity will help to bring out the nature of this mysterious malady.

Case—(1) Dr. Milton Harrington has reported this case:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A young man "rather suddenly" became moody and depressed, and gave up work to spend his time in bed or lounging about the house. He indulged in violent outbursts, during which he talked incoherently and behaved in an irrational manner; his condition finally becoming so serious that it was necessary to commit him to a hospital.

Close investigation of this case revealed that the young man was the youngest of a large family and was taught to avoid difficulties rather than face and overcome them. But this man was ambitious. Sometime before the breakdown, this young man was promoted from an inferior post to one of considerbale responsibility demanding more ability than he possessed. Consequently the affairs of which he was in charge had fallen into disorder. His vanity prevented him from seeking help from others and he became "more anxious and depressed." Conditions gradually worsened and the young man resigned from his post and went home to hide himself. After some few weeks of this life, his condition worsened further and he began to exhibit emotional outbursts. This was just a device to convince his relatives that he was really sick and needed rest. But this made matters worse and he was admitted in a mental hospital where he gradually improved and was discharged after six weeks.

Case—(2) The second case is more severe.

A young man aged twenty-three years was admitted to a mental hospital as a case of Schizophrenia of the Katatomic type.

This young man was over-indulged by a fond widowed mother and was timid, indolent and yielding before all difficulties. He was unsuccessful in all the jobs that he took and very often indulged in drinking and self-abuse.

Two years before he became a victim of Schizophrenia, he was engaged in a prolonged flirtation with a young married woman who was a friend of the family. This affair constantly provoked his sexual impulse and made him almost mad with sexual temptations. But as he was mentally very weak, he strongly repressed his impulse for fear of consequences. He was terribly afraid that he might be accused of having raped the woman. This dread made him restless, quarrelsome and fearful. Sometime later his fear of being accused arose in connection with other women. Three weeks before admission to mental hospital, he began to hear [illegible] voices which accused him of rape, and pointed out his wretched condition. Five before admission, he refused to speak, [illegible] food and held his urine as long as possible.

He remained in this condition for [illegible] months. After eight months he improved a little and smiled when spoken to, but refused to speak. Later, this young man that while he lay in bed indifferent and he was keenly alert and noticed everything around him. During the first few months continued to hear voices. These voices demned him as a wretched creature who before him nothing but all enveloping darkness. He also said later that he was so much powered with fear that he was afraid even move, eat or urinate. He suffered from the that he might lose control of himself commit a sexual assault upon some woman.

W. McDougall thinks that this poor victim of "Emotional Dementia" dominated by the conflicting impulses of sex of fear. There was also the unsatisfactory ing of the sentiment of self-regard, indicated the habitual shame, secrecy and yelding to all difficulties.

The chief symptoms of the second are: lack of interest in other persons, emotional apathy, dullness and indifference, hallucinations of hearing etc. But, what are these due to? McDougall thinks that this is due to the conflict of two dominant impulses—the impulses of sex and of fear. This mental conflict gave rise to perpetual preoccupation with self and loss of interest in other persons. All the available mental energy of the patient is absorbed in the construction of pleasant phantasies. The patient has lost all interest in life and is terribly afraid. This is why the patient has refused to speak and to move. The negativism of the patient is simply a manifestation of the incapacity to take judicious decision. The Schizophrenic's sentiment of self-regard helps in the deadlock of impulses, cannot take decisions.

"But, with the continuance month of this self-absorbed brooding finds free outward expression in effective

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

revolves always in the circle of incomplete
ual activity, the mental powers in general
ually, the life of rich fantasy gives place to an
ressing dementia, until the patient glimmers
in corner of the asylum, dull-witted as a
(W. McDougall).

Liability to Schizophrenia

But the question still remains what type of
are particularly liable to Schizophrenia? W.
Dougall seems to accept the analysis of
chmer. According to Kretschmer, Schizo-
ia is a disorder to which persons of the
ythymic or schizoid type are particularly
e. persons of the schizothmic type are
acterised by a tendency to a life inside self,
the construction of a narrowly defined indi-
dual tone, or an inner world of dreams against
ts as they really are, of an apposition of
and the 'world'. A tendency to a sensitive
drawal follows. Among these are
be found eccentrics, egoists, idlers as well as
ists hostile to the world.

The Schizoid type thus corresponds to
's 'introverted' type, though the two are not
ly alike. Jung believes that Schizophrenia
rely an excessive degree of introversion.
s McDougall points out, "there are markedy
verted men who are not schizoid, i.e., are
prone to Schizophrenic disorder, though they
are liable to Neurasthenia." A simple introvert may succeed in maintaining sympathetic relations with his fellow beings. But the ego-centric introvert, who is the schizoid, does not know humour and is therefore peculiarly liable to this dangerous psychogenetic disorder.

William McDougall, however, thinks that excessive introversion is not alone sufficient for explaining Schizophrenia. It involves intolerable mental conflict and complete indifference. This indifference or irresponsiveness of the Schizophrenic mind distinguishes Schizophrenia from Neurasthenia, Hysteria and Manic Depressive psychosis.

William McDougall "accepts" the distinctions drawn between Hysteria and Schizophrenia by Prof. Blenler and Prof. Kraepelia. Prof. Blenler, for example, thinks that hysteria involves dissociation and schizophrenia is characterised by strong repression. But "the effective splittings, which can be comparable to those of hysteria, are more lawless, worse determined, more massive, and then again not so pure and sharp as in hysteria, so that the worst contradictions can actually exist together. The Schizophrenic psyche is infinitely more split than the hysteric".

McDougall adds that the "splitting" are not an expression of dissociation. They are the expression of "the essential integration of the whole system of mental functions."

—o—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A NEW APPROACH TO IRRIGATION AND POWER

W. RADHAKRISHNA

In India, rivers have had a powerful influence on national and local life. Successful agriculture in most parts of the country is not possible without the use of river waters. The large land resources of India cannot be put to use to productive utilization without a simultaneous development and use of the water resources. In fact, an integrated development of the land and water resources of India is of paramount importance to the country's economy.

Under certain favourable conditions, river waters provide a cheap source of power either directly or through the generation of hydro-electric power. In India, with oil and coal deposits confined to certain parts of the country, hydro-electric power has an important part in her development.

Irrigation is the life blood of Indian agriculture ; unreliable rainfall and inadequate water supply have been major causes of India's scanty harvests, crop failures and, in the past, of famine. Realising the importance of irrigation and power in our economy the Five Year Plans launched an era of project construction.

Need for Inter-State Co-operation

In the traditional conception of constitutional government the national or federal government has no direct concern with the local or regional governments. Even in a classic federal state like the U.S.A., increasing participation of Federal Government in local affairs has been recognised. This is inevitable since through the mass-media of communications the whole world is knit together. Modern wars are ... costly. The defence of the country ... lies on the shoulders of the Federal Go... ment. This requires increasing co-op... tion between the Central Government ... the various State Governments.

Whether constitutionally provided ... not in the interests of the nation, ... Federal Government is assuming a ... role even in matters which fall directly ... the state jurisdiction. This is a wel... feature but at the same time we are ... of the criticisms levelled against this ... that it leads to over-centralisation, ... tapism and, finally, is making the St... less-autonomous. It is a well-known ... that in all Federal countries the State ... Regional Governments have innumer... responsibilities and limited resources, ... the Federal Government has large reve... and less functions. In order to disc... the manifold functions stated in list I ... our Constitution, increasing co-opera... between the Central Government and S... Governments are the paramount need ... the hour. The Central and State Gov... ments are not rivals but comrades st... towards a common goal. Hence efficie... administering the country is the crite... and not who is holding more or ... power.

More so in a field like Irrigation ... Power, the co-operation between the U... and States has become an urgent necess... The disputes between various State Gov... ments can only be resolved by the ... intervention of the Central Govern... Our major rivers are above linguistic ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

political jurisdictions. The catchment area of a river will be in one State, irrigate another, and reach the sea through some other State. A river that flows through several states, otherwise called an inter-state river, presents a federal problem. Allocation of water and power from such a river may be determined by an inter-state pact but here comes in as a conciliator the Union Government comes in. This is why the National Planning Committee recommended that "as problems of governmental relations arise in negotiating agreements for the execution of the works, in apportioning costs, etc., proper training must be regarded as a federal subject and not left to individual states."

The total cost of irrigation and power projects included in the First Five Year Plan was about Rs. 970 crores of which irrigation accounted for about Rs. 620 crores. Additions and revised estimates brought the figure to nearly Rs. 720 crores of which Rs. 340 crores were spent and the balance carried over to the Second and Third Plans. The total cost of new irrigation projects included in the Second Plan was about Rs. 380 crores of which 172 crores were to be spent during the Second Plan, the balance being required in the Third and subsequent Plans.

About 70 per cent of the total expenditure in the First Plan and about 65 per cent of the Second Plan relates to the matters which have been exclusively assigned to the States, like education, health, forests, agriculture, irrigation, electricity etc.

Thus expenditure on major projects is now largely met by financial assistance from the Centre. The Central Government is directly interested in the efficient and economical execution of the projects. The Second Plan says that "in view of the large programmes of Irrigation and Power development required all over the country and the urgency of special attention for backward regions, the Central and State Governments should work in close co-operation in the execution and development of important Irrigation and Power Projects." It is essential that engineers should be recruited and trained on a common basis and that they should have uniform standards of efficiency and feeling of belonging to common and important cadres. The State-Reorganisation Commission have also recommended the need for the constitution of an All-India Service of Engineers. The Planning Commission recommended that the States should co-operate with the Central Government in establishing such an organisation as early as possible.

Integrated Development

As indicated earlier, the rivers present an inter-state problem. It is, therefore, necessary to view the development as a whole. It is necessary sometimes to develop simultaneously irrigation, power, navigation, flood control etc., to be utilised to the maximum extent. At present, the States are responsible for the development of irrigation and electricity. A river basin scheme may extend over two or more states. Electricity may be generated in one State and supplied to another. In such a case each State examines the question from its own point of view, delaying agreements because certain other States cannot agree.

Sometimes projects are given up because there is no agreement regarding allocation of costs between two States. Again, the projects are not taken up because the States cannot raise large funds. The controversy on Tungabhadra which lasted more than forty years well-illustrated the necessity of harmonious inter-State relations which the Centre should strive to bring about.

Machinery to Solve Problems

For achievement of optimum benefits, development schemes of different states

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

have to be closely co-ordinated. Water stored in reservoirs in one State may be used with advantage for irrigation in adjoining States. Similarly, power available in one State may be distributed to other States. In certain cases it may be useful, to divert waters from one basin to another for the benefit of the region as a whole.

Co-operation between States is essential for investigations, allocation of waters and sharing of costs. Differences often arise between states in regard to the sharing of costs and benefits of such schemes. In order to resolve such difficulties the Government of India had enacted two statutes namely, River Boards Act, 1956 and Inter-State Water Disputes Act, 1955.

The first Act would enable the Government of India to constitute Boards for different inter-State rivers in consultation with the States concerned. The Second Act provides for the constitution of tribunals with the necessary authority for the adjudication of disputes between two or more States in respect of river valley projects and their benefits.

For the successful implementation of Power development programmes it is necessary to ensure an orderly development of regional inter-State Grid which may be inter-connected to form an all-India grid. The Central Water and Power Commission have undertaken studies in regard to planning of regional grids in close co-ordination with the various State Electricity Boards.

The following inter-State grids are proposed to be established during the Third Plan Period. (i) Southern Grid—interlinking the States of Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Madras, and Kerala; (ii) Gujarat, Maharashtra; (iii) Punjab, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh and (iv) Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The final aim is a systematic development of regional grids which could eventually be inter-connected to form an all-India grid as part of the power development programme.

It is essential that when the Government launched upon gigantic programmes like Bhakra, Nagarjun Sagar, Chambal, Tungabhadra etc., proper criteria should be laid down for selecting the projects. In a welfare state the "Benefit-Cost" approach cannot be the proper criterion. The financial productivity test should be replaced by a broad, comprehensive yardstick. "When India has declared herself a welfare State, when the public sector is steadily expanding and taxes of the Government are taken with a view to establishing a socialist pattern of society, it is surprising that the narrower view point as regards investment criteria for irrigation has not been given up."[1] Decisions are being taken on ad hac basis. A comprehensive broad policy regarding allocation of priorities, has not so far been evolved. There is an imperative need for such a policy in view of the various developmental programmes contemplated by our Government. The investment criteria for irrigation should, therefore, be sufficiently broad to take into account also the fact of the increase in national income, the built-in-stability of the economy and the progressiveness imparted to the economy by such projects.[2]

The recent Krishna-Godavari conflict between Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, and Maharashtra could have been avoided had there been a central authority contemplated by the River Boards Act, 1956. The Gulhati Commission in unmistakable terms recommended the setting up of such a Board at an early date. The State-wise approach to the inter-State rivers is a great blunder. Unless and until a basin-wise programme is drawn and the central authority is given

1. NCAER *"Criteria for fixation of Water rates and selectom of Irrigation Projects"* P. 29.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the power to implement them, integrated development of the water and power resources cannot be expected.

Finally, it may be said that great advantages accrue to the nation from control over water and power resources. Investment and control over water resources imparts stability in an inherently unstable industry, namely agriculture. Seventy per cent of the Indian population, out of eighty per cent who live in villages depend on agriculture. An assured supply of water is, therefore, essential. In fact, it is the **sine qua non** of the economic development of our country. A properly devised water and power policy would contribute to stability and expansion of our industries. Higher investment in irrigation and power amounts to top priority of the two strategic and vital industries namely agriculture and industry. Thus through a proper investment criteria the static, stagnant economy may be transformed into a dynamic, self-generating and self-sustaining economy.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Some Features of "The Modern Review"

We have said above that very few Indian newspapers notice Indian periodicals and that some of those which do, ignore the existence of 'The Modern Reveiw'. Those, again, which notice 'The Modern Review' ignore two of its features, namely, its editorial notes, regularly contributed to its pages by the editor month after month during the last thirty-one years and eight months, and its illustrations.

Regarding the editorial notes it would not be proper for us to say anything. If we mention them at all, it is not because we have any exaggerated idea of their value, but because they are perhaps a distinctive feature of 'The Modern Review' alone among Indian monthlies.

As regards the illustrations, we are not under any delusion in relation to their quality. Nevertheless a few facts may be mentioned.

So far as our knowledge goes 'The Modern Review' is the only English monthly in India which publishes every month a reproduction in colours of some original painting. We say nothing as regards the quality either of the reproductions or of the printing themselves. But it is a fact that we sometimes receive requests for reprints or for the blocks of some of these from some Indian editors outside Bengal. What is of greater significance, some of the artists whose paintings we have reproduced have received requests from the office of a famous American illustrated monthly for some of their works. Our readers may also be interested to learn that one of our readers in Brazil, who is not a native of India, asked us to name some of our artists who may be able to supply him with the design for his seal with an Indian philosophical motto.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Our black and white illustrations, too, have not gone unnoticed abroad. To mention a few facts : We had to supply to a famous American illustrated monthly, at its request, photographs of Jawaharlal Nehru's reception in Barabazar, Calcutta, and of his interview with Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan, published in our journal. The same monthly cabled to us for a copy of Satyendranath Bisi's portrait of Mahatma Gandhi published in our jonrnal in May. An American News Service also asked for a copy of this photograph. Rabindranath Tagore's portrait in our last June number was reproduced from a photograph by S. Saha which had been awarded the first prize in an International Photograph Competition in London.

Another fact may be mentioned here. 'The Modern Review' supplies a fairly larger quantity and a greater variety of original contributions than any other English monthly published in India. But as those very few newspapers which notice 'The Modern Review' devote to its notice generally the same amount of space as they devote to the notices of other periodicals, they thus unintentionally lead their readers to infer either that our journal contains no more reading than other monthlies, or that, except the few articles mentioned in these newspaper notices, the other contents of our monthly are entirely unworthy of notice.

(Ramananda Chatterjee in *The Modern Review*,
Sept., 1938, Pp. 289-290)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indian Periodicals and Indian Newspapers

Indian newspapers conducted in English do not generally take any notice of Indian periodicals conducted in English. That is not because the conductors of newspapers dislike the periodicals, but perhaps because they think that notices of periodicals will not serve any useful purpose or interest their readers. Whatever the cause, as our newspapers do not generally notice periodicals, we have to place some facts about our monthly before our readers.

A very small number of our newspapers notice some Indian periodicals. Some of those very few Indian newspapers which notice some Indian periodicals ignore the existence of 'The Modern Review.'

There are some Indian newspapers which reproduce entire articles from 'The Modern Review', sometimes without any acknowledgment and sometimes with the name of our monthly printed in small type in the same line with the last sentence of the article, which readers may take to mean that that sentence alone is taken from our journal !

A certain daily of Calcutta, which sometimes reproduced, on its leader page, our articles without any acknowledgment, recently performed a remarkable feat. It reproduced on its leader page on the 31st July Professor Dr. M.N. Saha's article on "The Philosophy of Industrialization" in our last (August) number which was published on the first August. It printed the name of our monthly at the end of the article in small type. Subsequently some of its correspondents gave this daily the credit for publishing Dr. Saha's article, and the daily, of course, did not say that the credit belonged to 'The Modern Review' !

(Ramananda Chatterjee in *The Modern Review*, Sept,. 1938, P. 289)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Students and Public Movements

"'Where there is 'Bande Mataram' there is victory. So the Brojamohan Institution has stood first at the Entrance in the New Province and second in the whole University. It has also obtained three Senior Scholarships at the First Arts and one Honours at the B.A. The number of passes at the F.A. and Entrance are exceptionally high.'

"In August last we read in the papers the above telegram from Barisal. It is well-known that Barisal has been the centre of the Swadeshi-boycott movement. Nowhere has it been so successful as there, and students, teachers and professors have taken part in it. They have done most admirable famine relief work, too. So, according to the official theory, Barisal students ought to have fared the worst in the University examinations. But the very reverse has been the case. What is the rea-on ? Students, teachers and professors who are really patriotic, as they are at Barisal, far from neglecting their proper duties, discharge them more zealously than others, and at the same time do their duty to their country. Patriotism of a genuine character is characterised by a more rigorous self-discipline than can be produced by a thousand Risley circulars or the still-born babies of those circulars godfathered by Messrs. Jennings & Co., un-Ltd."

(Ramananda Chatterjee in *The Modern Review*,
Oct. 1907, Pp. 387-88)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE
A Tribute

NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

Ramananda Chatterjee lived and worked at his best in the great age of modern Bengali culture, which was roughly the epoch between 1850 and 1920. Except for national independence all that he stood and fought for had been accepted and achieved by the latter date. Had he lived only for four years more he would have seen independence too, and with it the final closing of his age.

Thus his work has to be appraised in its historical setting and for its historical importance, and it is only his personality and spirit which has a message for us today. Fortunately, his living presence is not necessary for recovering his personality. I worked for five years on the editorial staff of *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review* and had opportunities of coming into personal contact with him. But my tribute to him would not have been different if I had never known him. He was not a man who gave himself away in social relations. He was shy and ill at ease with strangers, and so no outsider could have had much snare in his humanity, affection, and humour, which were reserved for the circle of his intimates, I might say for his family only. In these days, when *a l'Americaine* the stature, bulk, mannerisms, and poses of a statesman matter much more than his ideas and policies, Ramananda Chatterjee would have had no Prees at all. But he lived in an age when the vocation of a publicist mattered more than his talk, behaviour, and acting in company or public.

Thus it happened that I came to know and admire him from his writings and work [illegible] before I saw him. My earliest magazine read[ing] was *Pradip*, edited by him. Then it [was] *Prabasi*. *The Modern Review* I did not [see] till I was out of school, but from that [time] read it regularly. So it was these magazines which provided a fair portion of my literary fare, which in its turn shaped my ideas and tastes.

In those early days I was once going [down] Amherst Street, near the old Alms House, when suddenly my brother who was with me [drew] me and, pointing to an elderly man who was walking before us, whispered, "Ramananda Chatterjee !" I was almost hushed into [silence]. He walked slowly, and his progression was jerky. We overtook him, and I had a [good] look at him. If I had taken note only of his walking I would have called it awkward, but the expression on his face cancelled all physical impressions. I could easily see that he was walking along without much awareness of what was around him, communing even in the street with himself. That impression of a self-sufficient inner life was never effaced, even counteracted, by my personal contacts with him. It was on the contrary deepened.

Religion

What was that life ? Religion was certainly an essential element in it. But though curious about the varieties of religious experience I never arrived at any knowledge of [the]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He also did not write about religion except in its social aspect, and he did not give me the impression of being infused with mystical inspiration. What he revealed most was a rational and practical preoccupation with religion. But his religious convictions and piety must have been deep, for he went to Brahmoism when to do so was to break with Hinduism and Hindu society, even though he came from a conservative Brahmin family and by embracing Brahmoism gave his mother great pain.

After religion it was his country which occupied the largest place in his thoughts and emotions. In fact, his patriotism was perhaps the only passion in his life. But this passion was neither sentimental nor effervescent in the normal Bengali manner. It was a steady and sustained motive power in his life, and not a sudden spurt of feeling which was likely to be exhausted by one participation in an agitation.

This passion kept him pinned down to his writing and ruled out all other forms of political activity. The routine of his life was monastic: *Laborare est orare*, to work is to pray, the motto of the monks was also his motto. But this unremitting labour never turned out declamation or demagogy. His writing was not 'hot stuff' by Bengali standards. It was even cold. But that very difference made us aware of his quality. Though fond of and given to effusion, those Bengalis who had also the capacity to think, were more and more tired of froth and effusion. So we came to have immense admiration for Ramananda Chatterjee's factual manner. "He gives facts and figures," we used to say appreciatively.

His politics certainly did not pursue the Bhakti Marga, not to speak of the brand of that Marga whose dependence was on the *khol* and *karatal*, the drum and cymbal. Hia manner might be called the Jnana Marga, and even the Statistics Marga.

It was Liberalism, the European Liberalism of the nineteenth century, which infused his argumentative manner with animation. The Liberalism was seen in his social doctrines and preaching, and most emphatically in his attitude to the rights of women. There was no greater well-wisher and champion of Indian womanhood. His reaction from the traditional Hindu disrespect for women was so thorough that I sometimes felt amused by his readiness to publish pictures of any Indian woman who had done something besides cooking, in the features devoted to women in *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review*.

One day, when a photograph arrived for this feature, which he kept in his hands, I found the face so unprepossessing that to prevent the publication of this embodiment of ugliness, I quietly threw it into the waste-paper basket. After a few days Ramananda Babu came to me with a very worried look, and said, "Do you know if a photograph of so and so has arrived? I expressly wired for it." It was, of course, near my feet, but unable to disclose the sin I had committed, I replied that I recollected vaguely that something like that had come, but that I would search among my papers and tell him later. After allowing time for this pretence to be convincing, I just picked out the photograph and gave it to him in his room. He smiled with pleasure, "Yes, that is the lady!" On account of this, we who no longer stood in need of the championship of Indian women, thought his zeal rather overdone. I used to say irreverently, "Do you know the constitu-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tional doctrine Ramananda Babu holds ? It is that Woman can do no wrong."

Specific Service

His specific service to Bengali culture and literature must now be mentioned. He was, of course, bound as the owner and editor of magazines to draw as much talent to them as he could. But his search for it was not confined to popular and pleasant writing. He looked for significant writing, and even when such writings contained unpopular views he had the courage to publish them. I still remember the ribald comments on *Gora* that were published in the conservative magazines, and the scandal that the publication of *Achalayatana* gave rise to. Suresh Samajpati commented in *Sahitya*, "Rabi Babu is free to be Maeterlinck if he wants to be but he should leave Hinduism alone."

Not less remarkable was his readiness to give encouragement to young and unknown writers. In those days it was impossible for a young author, poet, novelist, or story-writer, to gain recognition except through the magazines. Ramananda Babu was always ready to give this opening to writers who had not established themselves. He published the stories of Prabhat Mukherji, and the novel *Dihi* by Nirupama Devi. It gives me great pleasure to mention that the very first story written by my friend Bibhuti Banerji was published in *Prabasi*. I might add that my first appearance in print was in *The Modern Review*.

Another aspect of his adventurousness was seen in his conversion to and support for the new school of painting in Bengal and the older Indian paintings. Before he took up that cause he used to reproduce pictures in the European Academic style by such painters as Ravi Verma, Dhurandhar, and others of the same school. But when convinced of the genuineness of the new style, he published work of the Indian School continuously for decades. For a long time the only way in which the general public could form any idea of this school was by looking at the reproductions in the two magazines. He incurred much ridicule by this championship.

But, as I have said, the ideas and doctrines even the achievements of Ramananda Chatterjee have passed into history. It may even be said that they have become time-barred for an epoch which is completely different from that in which he lived. We are passing through disturbing portents towards an age still to come, whose ideas and doctrines, if there are to be any, are still inchoate. So the thing in Ramananda Chatterjee which is of practical significance today is his personality ; the type of man who is the instrument of a social and cultural tansformation.

From this point of view, a specific feature of his political and cultural outlook might be singled out for mention. Its was that, even for political independence, he considered himself as a Bengali, and had very little respect for the exiguous and rarefied concept of 'Indian'. This was very realistic, for if even today a man wants to be a good Indian and a Hindu Indian, he can be so, not by talking about being an Indian and nothing else, but by being what he really is—that is, a Bengali, Hindustani, Tamil, Maharashtrian, Gujarati, or a comparable *'national,'* and superimposing his Indianness on this solid coat, which is to be the concrete base of his pan-Indian projection. To be anything else, is to be a shadow, almost spectral, on the national plane.

Ramananda Chatterjee obviously felt this, and he had no very great respect for [illegible]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

consciousness. He did not believe in Hindi as possible pan-Indian language and ridiculed the Hindi crusade at times, not sparing even Mahatma Gandhi. If he felt any Indianness, it came through his consciousness of being Hindu. That was why in later life, in spite of being a strict Brahmo and a Brahmo from an age when no Brahmo admitted that he was a Hindu, he did not hesitate to describe himself as such, and he even accepted the presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha. He felt that true unity for India could be based only on the Hindu way of life, and not by setting up an organization which had no living body.

Strength and Faith

I come last of all to the general aspect of his personality, which to my thinking contains the most positive lesson for us today. It is his character, with its strength and faith. He never forsook his *dharma,* his vocation. In these days when everyone is ready to give it up for the sake of even paltry worldly prizes, his indifference to every activity except his journalism, and his dedication to the vocation of a publicist are examples which put us to shame.

Those who saw him in the days of his successes might have thought that this was only adherence to the profession in which he had become prosperous. This could be assumed only by those who were completely ignorant of his early struggles. He gave up the teaching profession to devote himself to precarious journalism, left Allahabad and moved to Calcutta where he had to restart life. Those years were hard for him. He himself told me one day of his experiences. He said that as he carried on through a particular year, the burden appeared to be unbearable, and he decided in his mind that he would give it up after completing the year. But when the end of the year came, he added, he thought that after having gone through so much anxiety and privation for years he might as well hold out another year and see what happened. I thought that it was like rowing on in a life-boat from a wrecked ship in the hope of being picked up by a passing steamer. Fortunately, the steamer came. But that should not make us forget the faith and courage that kept him rowing. Only a man with a true conception of success in life could survive that struggle. For that I would forget all his writings and his opinions, to contemplate only his personality and say, *Ecce homo.*

(*Now,* May 28, 1965)



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indian Periodicals

Rural/Urban Income Disparity and the Tax Structure

Writing under the above Legend in the *A. I. O. C. Economic Review* in its issue dated July I, 1965, Shri Chittapriya Mukherjee of the Visva-Bharati University has sought to demonstrate with the help of officially published statistical data that the prevailing notion, sought to be broadcrst by the country's ruling *coterie*, that the rural sector of the country's households have been carrying a far slenderer proportion of the gross tax burdens, is entirely erroneous. The latest tendency at the apex of the country's administration appears to have been to heap increasing burdens of taxation on the rural sectors so that corresponding measures of tax reliefs as incentives may be provided to the urban and more affluent sections of the community on the pretext of encouraging capital formation. Currently, it is being broadly hinted that with a view to bridge the Rs. 3,000 crore resources gap for the Fourth Plan, immediate interim tax budgets, even long before the beginning of the next Budget-year should be formulated by the States directed mainly at the rural sectors. Shri Mukherjee's study would appear to have been published at a time when it was becoming essential that the influence of political considerations in formulating fiscal decisions affecting the interests of the nation and which are largely based on wrong or erroneous premises were thoroughly and courageously exposed :

Like all other popular and easy-to-grasp catch-words the one that has recently gained currency is that the rural sector is not contributing enough to the state exchequer. With the increasing gap in our internal resources the vocal section of the people which has reaped good dividends during the last decade and a half out of the huge amounts spent by the State, asserts that the rural people (is there any homogenous class like that ?) who have undoubtedly obtained some indirect benefit but have so long escaped from payment of a higher share of taxes, ought to pay more to the national exchequer.

It is true that with the rising tempo in our developmental expenditure and targets, a larger contribution must come from internal sources ; and the rural people forming about eighty per cent of the total population, should generally speaking, be prepared for further sacrifices. If the overall *per capita* income is low and income disparity is too wide to permit further extension of the net of direct taxes, recourse has necessarily to be placed on indirect taxes, whatever the theoretical objection

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...y be about the adverse effects of such a tax ...structure on the income distribution pattern ...g the present phase of growth.

Without going into the question of the ...ure of indirect taxes borne by the rural sec... it can be mentioned that while indirect ...s covered about 63.3 % of the total tax ...enue in 1951-52 (when the total tax reve... was Rs. 741 crores as against Rs. 1538 ...re in 1961-62), these accounted for as ...h as 67.8 % of total tax revenue in 1961-62 ...al figure in this group jumped from ...469 crore to Rs. 1042 crore, i. e., an ...rease of 122 per cent). Even without going into the intricacies of the incidence of such taxes in respect of different commodities, or into the pattern of consumers' expenditure as revealed from the NSS data, it can perhaps be assumed that a substantial part of this revenue came from the rural sector.

Data relating to income distrlbution pattern in the rural and urban households (1960), throw some light on the tax paying capacity of not only the low income group of the rural sector but also of the corresponding group in the urban sector. A summary of the data published in the Mahalanobis Committee report is quted below.

Income per Household (1960)

	Rural Sector			*Urban Sector*		
...-tax Income Class (Rs)	Proportion of House-holds	Average pre-tax Income per Household	Percentage share of pre-tax aggregate income	Proportion of house-holds	Average pre-tax income per household	Percentage share of pre-tax aggregate income
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
...low Rs. 3000	94.4	911	76.0	85.6	1125	49.8
...s. 3000 and above	5.6	4867	24.0	14.4	6592	50.2
...l classes	100.0	1126	100.0	100.0	1935	100.0

From the above Table we observe that, ...ough the extent varies, income disparity ...th in rural and urban sectors is extremely ...e and leaves little scope for extending ...ect taxation to the lower income ...roups.

Another interesting conclusion can be drawn from the report published in the March '65 issue of the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin. This relates to the volume and pattern of saving during the plan period. A summary is reproduced below in Table II.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Volume and Pattern of Saving
(at 1948-49 prices)

Sector	1950-51 Amount (Rs. Crore)	P.C. of Total Saving	P.C. of National Income	P.C. of Saving of Household Sector	1962-63 Amount (Rs. Crore)	P.C. of Total Saving	P.C. of National Income	P.C. of Saving of Household Sector
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Household Sector	381.7	75.9	4.3	—	853.9	65.6	6.4	—
(a) Rural Household Sector	147.6	29.3	1.7	38.7	197.2	15.2	1.5	23.1
(b) Urban Household Sector	234.1	46.6	2.6	61.3	656.7	50.4	4.9	76.9
Total Saving	503.2	—	5.7	—	1300.7	—	9.7	—

At the beginning of the Plan period, aggregate saving as percentage of national income was only 5.7 as against 9.7 in 1962 63 ; rural households (forming about fourfifths of the total households) accounted for only 1.7 p. c. in 1950-51 and 1.5 p. c. in 1962-63. Urban sector households on the other hand improved their position from 2.6. to 4.9 p. c. ; columns 5 and 6 show that their relative share vis-a-vis the rural household sector increased from 61.3 to as high as 76.9 p. c.

This again, indicates the extent of tax paying capacity that has been generated in rural sector during the period ; saving as percentage of income is no doubt a fairly dependable yardstick for the purpose of assessing the paying capacity in different sectors of the economy.

A reference may in this context be made to the sector-wise income pattern as obtained from the National Income Statistics and Census reports.

Per Capita Income by Industrial Origin
(at Current prices)

Sector	1950-51 P.C. of working population	P.C. of National Income	Per Capita Income (Rs.)	1960-61 P.C. of working population	P.C. of National Income	Per Capita Income	Increase of Col. 7 over Col. 4 as percentage of Col. 4
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Primary Sector	72.12	51.31	189	72.28	48.74	220	16.4
Secondary Sector	10.62	16.06	390	11.70	18.38	512	31.3
Tertiary Sector	17.26	32.63	506	16.02	32.88	669	32.2
Aggregate/ Average	100.00	100.00	266.5	100.00	100.00	326	22.3

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It is evident that the primary sector, which corresponds largely with the rural sector, has failed to obtain the benefit of higher *per capita* income to a degree that might compare favourably with the other two sectors. The secondary and tertiary sectors have improved their position (vide columns 7 & 8) at a rate much higher than the overall average that is pulled down due to a very small increase in the primary sector.

The analysis of pretax and post-tax household income (a summary of which is reproduced below), made by the Reserve Bank of India (vide its Bulletin of September 1962) provides us with a comprehensive clue to the question of tax paying capacity of the rural sector.

Pretax and Post-tax Household Income
(average of 1953/54-54/55 to 1955-56-56/57)

Households	*PC* of Total House-holds	*PC* of Total Income of House-holds	*PC* of Taxed amount paid by House-holds	Per Household			Per House-hold direct Tax paid Rs.	Col. 8 as *PC* of col. 5	Index
				Pretax Rs.	Income Index	Post-tax Income Rs.			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Rural Sector									
(a) Farm Households									
(i) Low income group (Below Rs. 3000)									
(a) Agricultural labour	21.0	6.6	—	401	(31.5)	401	—	—	—
(b) Non labour Farm Household	43.9	34.4	35.5	1001	(78.5)	983	18	1.80	(104.0)
(ii) High income group (Rs. 3000 & above) farm households	2.0	5.5	7.8	3470	(272.2)	3384	86	2.48	(143.4)
(b) Non-farm Households									
(a) Low-income group	11.9	21.8	—	2333	(182.9)	2333	—	—	—
(b) High-income group	.4	3.1	10.6	10426	(817.7)	9803	623	5.97	(345.1)
Total Rural Sector	79.2	71.4	53.9	1150	(90.2)	1135	15	1.30	(75.2)
Urban Sector									
(i) Low-income group	18.5	17.6	—	1212	(95.1)	—	--	—	—
(ii) High Income group									
(a) Non Salary-earner	2.0	8.8	29.4	5433	(426.3)	5131	304	5.60	(323.7)
(b) Salary-earner	.3	2.2	16.7	10044	(787.7)	8722	1322	13.16	(760.7)
Total Urban Sector	20.8	28.6	46.1	1751	(137.3)	1701	50	2.85	(164.7)
Aggregate Households	100	100	4100	1275	(100)	1253	22	1.73	(100)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

From this summary Table it is observed, among other points, that 79.2 p. c. of households in the rural sector, having a share of 71.4 p. c. of the aggregate income of the household sector, pay only 53.9 p. c. of the total taxed amount, and the per-household average income stands at Rs.1150 (i. e. 90.2 % of the overall average of Rs. 1275 for the aggregate households). Of the two groups in the rural sector which do not pay any direct tax, agricultural labourers forming 21 p. c. of households and covering only 6.6 p. c. of aggregate household income are, naturally, not liable to pay any direct tax ; the other group that does not pay direct tax is low income non-farm household sector. The largest group in the rural household sector (non-labour farm household, low income group) forming about 44 p. c. of the total households, has a share of 34.4 p. c. of the aggregate income and pays an amount of tax that covers 35.5 p. c. of the aggregate tax contribution by all households……Columns 6 and 10 show the extent of disparity, within groups, in respect of pretax income to tax-ratio.

Non-labour farm households (low-income group) having an income of about Rs. 1000 (which stands at only 78.5 p. c. when compared with the overall average income of Rs. 1275) have an income-to-tax ratio (1.80 p. c.) that is much higher than the average ratio for aggregate households. The point is further illustrated in the following table which summarises the index of columns 9 and 10 of the preceding Table in respect of the tax-paying groups only.

	Index of pretax household income (1)	Index of pretax-income tax ratio (2)	Index of [illegible] between (1) and (2) (3)
Rural Sector			
Low-income Group non-labour farm household	78.5	104.0	(−) [illegible]
High-income-farm Household	272.2	143.4	(+) [illegible]
High income non-farm Household	817.7	345.1	(+) [illegible]
Urban Sector			
High-income non-salary	426.3	323.7	(+) [illegible]
High-income salary earner	787.7	760.7	(+) [illegible]
Aggregate-average	100.0	100.00	

Whatever the arguments may be in favour of capital formation and tax incentives for the same, or in respect of the difference in 'standard of living' between different social groups or income groups, this surely stands to reason that if the *nation as a whole* has to make sacrifics, the fundamentals of the canons of taxation must have to be observed in a manner that would impart a feeling of equity and of equitable sacrifice amongst different income or social groups. Problems of capital formation and equitable income distribution are no doubt conflicting at this stage of growth ; but the moot point remains, to what extent the rural sector is expected to contribute so long as the present income disparity is there ?

—o—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Foreign Periodicals

COUP IN ALGERIA

Writing editorially on Col. Boumedienne's coup d'etat in Algeria of June 19 and under the above legend, what the New York Times of June 20, 1965 has to say should be interesting to our readers:

"Lightning struck Algeria when Col. Boumedienne ousted President Ben Bella yesterday. There had been no inkling that this was going to happen, which shows how well the chief of the armed forces prepared his coup. The President had felt so sure of himself that in recent months he was releasing his jailed opponents.

Even with hindsight there is little to help forward an understanding beyond the fact that Col. Boumedienne has been a potential threat to President Ben Bella at all times during the three years of independence. The colonel is a mystery man politically, except for activities that have involved him at least as far to the left as the ousted President. Algeria, in that respect, has not improved its position.

The retention of Mr. Ben Bella's Foreign Minister Bouteflika would seem to indicate that the Minister was on the plot and that the Afro-Asian summit meeting will open as scheduled on June 29 (*This has since been proved an incorrect prophecy*). If the coup was a personal struggle for power, as it may well have been, the timing could have been related to the Algiers conference. President Ben Bella would have been the leading figure there. Now, if the conference is held, his successor will hold the center of the stage.

Communist manipulations may have been a crucial factor in light of China's strenuous efforts to keep the Russians out of the June 29 conference. It looked as though Moscow was willing to participate, despite Peking's vituperative drive. Mr. Ben Bella managed cleverly to remain neutral between China and Russia, and he got help from both. He also, incidentally, was getting help from the United States; American food under Public Law 480 has been feeding about one Algerian out of three.

Algeria's most important links are still with France, which has great investments in Saharan Oil and Gas, and which still has to use the Sahara desert for testing atomic bombs. Since the Algerian economy is in bad shape, it would be suicidal for the new regime to sever its links with France and the United Sates.

It is too soon to guess what may happen but not too soon to say that this is one of the most important events of recent times in Africa, and therefore, in the world. All the original political leaders who led Algeria to freedom are now gone. A new era begins for the dominant nation of North Africa.

Colonel Boumedienne may prove to be another Nasser, another Marshal Ky or even another Fidel Castro. Therefore, while one can say good riddance to Ahmed Ben Bella, it is far from safe to welcome Col. Houari Boumedienne. In Algeria, as elsewhere in the revolutionary era, Colonel Boumedienne is first of all an Algerian nationalist. The question is: what path he will take toward his goal of a stronger and more viable Algeria—Socialist, Communist, or just military dictatorship?

A TRULY MISUNDERSTOOD WAR

The situation in Vietnam remains threateningly explosive and current American policy in this extremely fluid theatre of international power politics continues to be envisaged by varying schools of opinion all over the world—including a distinctive section of American opinion itself—as leading towards an almost certain escalation of this localized trouble into an eventual and, possibly

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

devastating, global conflict. C.L. Sulzberger, the well-known U.S. political columnist, writing in the **New York Times** under the above legend, seems to endeavour to clear some of the misunderstandings of current American-Vietnam policy in this regard :

The commendable desire of such American politicians as Senator Fulbright and of such allied statesmen as Prime Minister Wilson to see the Vietnamese war terminated by negotiated settlement fails to acknowledge one basic factor. Neither the Vietcong, the North Vietnamese Government, nor Communist China, has shown the slightest interest in negotiations. It takes two sides to negotiate, and what the other side makes plain is that all it wants is total victory.

The Chinese line was recently affirmed by Marshal Chen Yi, Peking's Foreign Minister who said : "In our opinion the present situation is extremely favourable to Vietnamese people (meaning the Vietcong) and extremely unfavourable to American imperialism . . . Now it is American imperialism and its lackeys which need negotiations to get their breath back and withdraw from the deadlock. . . . ."

The Vietcong View

"The peace talks concocted by them (the Americans) are aimed solely at gaining at the conference table what they have not been able to get on the battlefield. It is obvious that such peace negotiations would profit only the aggressor (the United States)."

This harmonises with the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese view. The latter as stated by Hanoi's Prime Minister, Pham Ven Dong, is that peace can be discussed only when Washington and Saigon accept four preconditions : (1) withdrawal of all U.S. troops ; (2) neutralization of both Vietnams pending reunification : (3) settlement in accordance "with the program of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation" (political apparatus of the Vietcong) ; (4) subsequent reunification of all Vietnam.

A Call To Surrender

This is tantamount to surrender by [illegible] and Washington. Such preconditions cannot be accepted as a basis for negotiations. The Vietcong specially spurns President Johnson's offer of unconditional talks. It contends [illegible] does indeed stipulate : that U.S. troops would withdraw ; that terms would not be discussed with the Liberation Front ; that Vietnam should be permanently partitioned.

In fact only the first condition is stipulated. Obviously, the United States cannot withdraw prior to negotiations. But Washington does not demand permanent partition and would clearly be prepared to meet Liberation Front representatives at least as members of Hanoi's delegation.

Present thought of negotiations seems wishful thinking. The Vietcong is clearly preparing for a second summer monsoon offensive while both the Saigon Government and its army show new signs of rotting away. It is impossible that, under these conditions, the United States should contemplate military withdrawal.

One can understand the sincerity of Wilson's committee of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in hoping to explore possibilities of negotiation, but one cannot imagine their mission succeeding. Until the Vietcong, Hanoi and Peking have been shown that they cannot capture South Vietnam, an unbridgable gap exists. The French, who are realists even if they oppose our views, acknowledge this gap and foresee a long long war.

Against this background recent suggestions appear meaningless. Fulbright proposes we offer "a reasonable and attractive alternative to military victory." But the Communists proclaim they want no such alternative.

A Global Test

Peking sees in the Vietnam conflict a chance to prove its theories of "revolutionary warfare" as a means of establishing pro-Chinese regimes throughout underdeveloped Asia, Africa and Latin America. China indeed boasts the Vietnam war is a global test and attacks every capital favouring negotiations.

Moscow is particularly belaboured. [illegible]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...week the New China News Agency accused ...Russians of "trying to bring about peace ...ations in a painstaking effort to find a way ...for the U.S. aggressors." The *Peking Review* ...Soviet leadership is "interested only in ...ing well with U.S. imperialism." It is not ...U.S. Government that is isolated on this issue ...many well-intentioned people think—but the ...ese Communists and, above all, the ...It is most unlikely Peking would permit ...or the Vietcong to negotiate at this time, ...it is even less likely the latter might wish to ...

...lic Goal

Twelve years ago French Premier Rene Mayer ...in a Washington speech that France was ...fighting in Vietnam to prevent Communism ...capturing all Southeast Asia and outflank- ...India. This was not really true ; France ...fighting to stay in Vietnam. The United ...is fighting for the rather quixotic goal of ...ually getting out. But Mayer did coin a ...se.

...e called the 1953 conflict "the misunder- ...l war." That label can assuredly be applied .... One purpose the Wilson peace tour can ...ve when it fails—as it almost certainly ...ail—is to make more Americans and ...ica's friends realize that what the Vietcong ...Hanoi want is peace at no price, and what ...e wants is no peace whatsoever.

...TO WRITE WITHOUT THINKING

...Editor Norman Cousins, writing ...rially in his own magazine, the ...urday Review under the above caption ...sses a matter which we feel is vital ...a system of healthy educational struc- ...a problem which is common to most ...tries and most peoples, but which is ...ially significant in the context of the ...y emancipated and developing nations. ...hope our educational administrators ...especially, the community of our ...ers will read carefully the following excerpts and profit by the lessons they would seem to indicate :

Our colleague, the *New Yorker* magazine, recently sent one of its men to Princeton, New Jersey, to look in on the Educational Testing Service, an organization that periodically assembles large numbers of teachers for the grading of College Entrance Examination Board Papers. On this particular occasion 185 English teachers from all over the country were on location, and were reading 68,000 essays by high school students. The assigned subject in the essay was a quotation from George Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman* :

> The reasonable man adapts himself to the world ; the unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore all progress depends upon the unreasonable man.

The *New Yorker* did a straightforward reportorial account of the event in typical "Talk of the Town" fashion. We confess we read the item with mounting horror, not because there was anything untoward in the way the *New Yorker* reported the story but because of the basic facts that pertained to the essay question.

We were bothered, first of all, by the nature of the assignment. Taking an aphoristic paradoxical syllogism by G.B.S. and attempting to expound or speculate on it can succeed only in spoiling it. Aphorisms, like any form of wit, are not meant to be broken down or hashed over. They derive their beauty from their economy of line and their ability to produce a collision in the mind between two separate trains of thought. There is something highly inartistic and presumptuous about opening up an aphorism, dissecting and reassembling the parts into a much larger non-aphoristic whole. You take an aphorism as it is ; you do not fool with it or do dissertations on it. An aphorism is like a souffle ; once you start to poke and prod or take it out of its frame, it falls apart.

This is not all. The notion that the way to test writing ability is to assign a subject gives us the willies. Good writing is something that begins in a man's gizzard. An idea grows inside him until it is ready to pop. The process can be painful or satisfying or both, depending on the idea ; but it is a process. We should suppose

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that the function of the creative teacher is to encourage the student to select his own subject from among the things that are coming to life in his mind. He will never learn to write well unless he develops the ability to dream, to stew and to be possessed by all sorts of notions that are itching to be expressed.

What is most disquieting of all, however, is the fact of an arbitrary time limit of twenty minutes for writing these essays. What goes on here? A student deserves a high grade if he can think of a good title for an essay in twenty minutes—even before he writes one word. And if it takes two hours or even two days to think through the main points he wants to make in his essay, he will be developing the good habits that go into good writing. What the CEEB does, however, is to separate writing from thinking. Twenty minutes! Words are not tins of chipped beef to be assembled at so many per minute. The significant thing about a sentence is not how long it took to be written but whether it has its proper place in a sequence of ideas and conveys its message with reasonable clarity and, if possible style—difficult though it may be to define anything so amorphous as style. The surest way to destroy good writing is to have a clock ticking away in a man's mind. Thomas Mann felt he had done a good day's work if he produced a single typewritten page that said what he wanted to say—not approximately, not passably, but precisely, with the words turning just right, the weight and the accent just where he wanted them, and the colour and texture providing the desired effect.

Would we eliminate the essay, altogether, from English examinations? Certainly not. What might be done is to get the checking questions out of the way on a separate paper and then ask the student to write an essay of an appropriate length—on a subject of his own choosing or he can choose from a fairly long list. He would be substantially free of time limitations; that is, he could spend the rest of the day on his paper if he wished. And he would be free to take time out for consulting books or other materials. Even this approach is somewhat squeezed but is far better than the twenty minute straitjacket.

Somewhere in this favored land there must be English teachers who not only do not commit the literary sacrilege of setting a time limit on an essay but who allow and indeed require their students to spend several days thinking about the idea before presuming to commit it on paper. These teachers are as interested in providing the proper environment for creative writing as they are in the writing itself. They encourage the widest possible reflective reading. They recognize the dangers that come from conditioning their students to deal in easy, glib answers. These teachers—and we are convinced there must be many of them—ought to go to mat with people like the CEEB. Perhaps they might even say that if the CEEB persists in its twenty minute essay requirement, they will instruct their students to ignore the question—not because they lack respect for the examining body but because they have too much respect for the English language.

Finally, we quarrel about neatness requirements of English examination papers, where such requirement exists. The more crossing out, the more reworking and transposing and insertion of second thoughts, the greater the evidence that a student is fully engaged in that painful but infinitely rewarding exercise of the intellect—good writing.

—o—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

THE BHAGAVAD GITA : A new translation P. Lal (1965) Published by Writers Workshop e Gardens, Calcutta-48.

Of all the translations of the Gita this is simplest and the best so far available. Prof. is a renowned scholar of the St. Xavier's ge Calcutta whence he was taken to USA to re on English at American Universities which visited (1963-64) from coast to coast, his y, wife with two children—a son (Ananda) daughter (Srimati) all participating in ol and college education in USA staying as Professor of English at the Hoptrat College Island, New York. There Prof. Lal con- American Publishers who produced his Sanskrit Plays, much appreciated and staged ifferent college stages of America. This ages Prof. Lal to complete (health permitt- a lucid translation of the entire Mahabharata, greatest book of poems in any language of world. We welcome Prof. Lal who opens world-famous Bhagavad Gita in simple elegent Queen's English which shows the of his work with the historical Epic habharata which at the beginning of the fratri- war of Kurukshetra was supposed to be ed by the questioning of hero Arjuna and ered by Krishna himself. We wish him all ess in translating the entire Mahabharata into en's English and thus strengthen India's cultur- ations with the entire English speaking Union embraces Australasia, Canada and the Americas. Prof. Lal is a keen student of Comparative Literature. The Lake Gardens Press, 162|92 Lake Gardens, did its best in typography and binding this important Indian classic which will do good publicity for Prof. Lal's forthcoming Mahabharata in complete English translation with Index and critical notes etc.

Kalidas Nag

VEDIC PAINTING : By O. C. Gangoly.

Prof. O. C. Gangoly has literally consecrated his life to the discovery and elucidation of all the aspects of Indian Arts and Crafts. When he edited the renowned illustrated journal, *The Rupam*, each of its copies showed originality and revealing qualities. Now in his advanced age of eighties, he has the satisfaction of affirming that in the last half a century of his active life he has covered the entire field of Indian and Oriental Arts. He started his publication with a slender volume on *South Indian Bronzes* followed by a sister volume on Indian architecture in Java. Thus linking up the study of Arts in India with that of art and architecture of Greater India, he has encouraged all Indian scholars to pursue a path of cultural migration from India to the Indian cultural colonies of South-East Asia. Prof. Gangoly is also the only living link between the early pioneers like Abanindra Nath Tagore and his worthy disciple Nandalal Bose of the Bengal school of Painting and the present generation of artists and art-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

historians. Years ago, at the time of the World War I there arose a big controversy if there could be an image-worship in Vedic India, when we were supposed to be iniconic.

In his latest illustrated book (1965) on *Vedic Painting* Prof. Gangoly has given two very significant illustrations : (1) *Suryodaya* and (2) A Mountain on fire, both illustrating the eternal divine symbol of the solar system and the earliest manifestation of the Vedic god, *Agni*. Prof. Gangoly is supported by Dr. Ananda Coomarswami, who showed years ago how the tongues of fire rise up and touch the sky. (Boston Museum Bull. No. 197 ; June, 1935). In the present volume on Vedic Painting Prof. Gangoly has added valuable illustrations of Vedic *Rishis* like Vasistha and Angirasa etc. as illustrating the encyclopaedic dictionary of Buddhism both in Chinese and Japanese as carefully compiled by the Japanese Sanskritist J. Takakasu and French Indologists like Prof. Sylvain Levi and Paul Demieville who compiled the Sino-Japanese Encyclopaedia of Buddhism which in many places reflect the old Vedic traditions as conserved in the conventions of Sino-Japanese images.

Thus, through love and devotion has Prof. Gangoly gone step by step from the medieval and modern Indian Arts to the very Vedic dawn, and we, on behalf of all admirers of Oriental Art, congratulate Prof. Gangoly whole-heartedly and wish him ever new discoveries of Truth and Beauty.

Kalidas Nag

ENGLISH

A COMPLETE TEXT BOOK FOR N.C.C. CADETS : By Capt. B. B. Chatterjee, M.A. This book has been written for N.C.C. Cadets, infantry and rifle units in accordance with the new syllabus prescribed by the N.C.C. Directorate, Government of India, Defence Department. Published by Prakash Mandir (P) Ltd. 3 College Row, Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 8.50.

After the Chinese attack on India N.C.C. training was made compulsory for College Students. A good Text Book was required for the guidance of the cadets and Capt. Chatterjee's book fills the bill very well. Among the important sections of this book one may mention the following Chapters on (1) Organisation of Infantry, (2) Field Craft, (3) Section Leading, (4) Patrolling, (5) Tactics, (6) Route March, (7) Weapons Training—Rifle—Light Machine Gun—Sten Machine Gun—Grenades H. E. & Smoke, (8) Battle Drill, (9) Map Reading, (10) Atomic Weapons. The book is well illustrated and of about 400 pages Demy Oct. paper board binding. We congratulate the Publishers and the author for this important and nationally useful publication.

A.C.

INTRODUCTION TO COMPARATIVE MYSTICISM : By Dr. Jacques De Marquette published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty, Bombay, Pp. 229 Demy Oct. Board binding with dust jacket. Price Rs. 6.50.

The book is a survey of the bearing of mysticism upon the understanding of the nature and destiny of man. It makes an analysis of the teachings of Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Zen, Hebrew mysticism, Platonists, Christian mystics and of the Sufis of Islam. Dr. Marquette is well known in India. He has been connected with youth movement in France. He is a regular scholar and has lectured before universities in many lands.

A.C.

INDIA UNDER THE KUSHANAS : By Dr. Baij Nath Puri Cr.-Qto, Pp. 268+XII, 20 illustrations, cloth bound with artistic jacket Rs. 20/- published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Chowpatty : Bombay.

Dr. Puri is a well known scholar and has been President of the 1959 Session of the Indian History Congress (Ancient India Sec.). The Kushana period of Indian history provides opportunities to the research student which are not so profuse in the other historical periods of Indian history. Dr. Puri has made a useful survey of this period in a very scholarly manner and has dealt with the social life, economic conditions, education, religious life, literature, art and architecture of the period with a view to make its dry chronology unfold the living realities which have not been taken notice of by students of history.

A.C.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MAHABHARATA : By Sm. Kamala Subramaniam. Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Gamdevi, Bombay 7, Pp. 766+XV cr. Qto. Well bound with illustrated jacket, Price Rs. 30.

"A well written book rightly says Sm. Subramaniam has brought the magic of its human interest and spiritual profundity. Besides bringing the central story into relief, she has given due place to all important conversations and episodes." Sm. Subramanian knows how to tell a story and has told this story of stories in a manner that has proved that she has ability to carry on a sustained effort without any loss of artistic balance. All who cannot read the *Mahabharata* in Sanskrit or in any of the other great literatures of India in which the *Mahabharata* in translation finds a prominent place, will find in this English rendering of the great epic many pleasures which they have not enjoyed before.

TULASIDASA : By Chandra Kumari Handoo. Publishers : Longmans Ltd., 17, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta-13. First Published in 1964, Pp. 300. Price Rs. 12-00.

The book is an authentic, comprehensive and beautifully written work on the life of India's one of the most eminent saint-poets. The author had taken immense pains and devote considerable time to collect available data about Tulasidasa's life who for long has remained in the shadway of legend and of popular legend. The author has presented a significant interpretation of the works of the poet Tulasidasa, which also highlights the spiritual values inherent in Indian culture.

The materials, for Tulasidasa's life, which took several years to collect, remained scanty till they could have been very carefully sifted and the facts and incidents, which came to light on the poet-s life have been marshalled in their proper perspective and sequence.

The book is divided in two parts. Part one deals with the life of the poet and Part two deals with the works which are impressive in bulk and in quality worth as well. Materials for the book have been examined critically and in detail, before being incorporated in the work. In the chapter 'Tulasi's Ideals', the characters of Rama and Sita, as depicted by the poet have been discussed in length. There is also an exhaustive appendix in which extracts from the poet's works have been quoted. In two smaller appendices a partial horscope of the poet is given along with important dates of his life. At the end of the book a glossary of Hindi and Sanskrit words used in the text is given. A select bibliography and detailed index have also been given.

Sm. Vijaylakshmi Pandit in her foreward to the book rightly observes : "Valkimi's epic depicted a perfect man who could walk with the gods. Tulasidas was lost in ecstacy when he thought of the benign Lord who lived among men and shared their sufferings. In pouring out his love for Sri Ramchandra in verse, Tulsidasa gave a new direction to devotional literature, particularly in Hindi.

"Srimati Chandra Kumari Handoo has drawn on many rare sources to write this work. The picture of Tulasidas and his masterpiece is presented with great sensitivity. It adds considerably to our understanding as well as our own appreciation of the man and his classic."

Srimati Handoo, it can be righly said, has done a great service to the English reading public by writing the life of the Saint-poet Tulasidasa and rendering into English illustrative portions of his works. It is a publication worth reading and possessing.

C. K. H.

STORIES FOR THE INNOCENT : By C. Rajagopalachari, A Bharatia Vidya Bhavan (Bombay) Publication, July, 1964. Pp. 246. Rs. 2-50.

Most of the stories by Rajaji were originally in Tamil and were published in leading Tamil Journals. A section of these stories was rendered into English and was published in the Hindusthan Standared of Delhi in 1945 titled as "The Fatal Cart and Other Stories". The book contains 36 stories. The first sixteen were translated into English by C. R. Ramaswami, Rajaji's son, who died eighteen years ago. Excepting two stories (Nos. 30 and 36) which were written in English, by Rajaji himself—the rest were translated into English by Prof. P. Sankaranarayanam.

Translation is not an easy job and very-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

often it is found that transmutation is from good into bad, but the volume under notice is an exception and the innate excellence of the original stories by Rajaji, who is a born and inimitable story-teller, has been maintained and the readers, no doubt will find enough gold in the stories in English. Readers may be surprised to see that Politics do not exhaust Rajaji, who is a well versed scholar in classics and in modern literature. The stories in this volume will fascinate the reader—mainly because of their subtle humour and unobtrusive didactic motif.

C. K. H.

LIFE AND TIMES OF BIRSA BHAGWAN : By Surendra Prosad Sinha. Published by the Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi. Pp. 179. 1964. Rs. 7-50 P.

This is the first volume in the series "Studies in Tribal Bihar" under the general editorship of Dr. Sachchidananda, M.A. (Pat. Lond.)., D. Litt (Pat.) Director of Bihar Governmnt's Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi, who in his note says : "In a world where values are changing fast, there is a tendency to deny history. But can we afford to forget the past ? Before looking to the future we must took to the past. There is need to arouse among the tribals a sense of glory in their history and culture. This can most fruitfully be done by a study of the life and times of their great men", and hence this attemp to present in a limited compass an authentic life of Birsa Bhagwan, who at the turn of the last century created an unprecedented stir, almost a rebellion, against the British Raj in Chhotanagpur.

In Munda history and tradition Birsa is a name which looms large. Risa Munda is credited with placing the Mundas on a sound footing as diligent and settled agriculturists in Chhotanagpur. But there can be found no authentic history of Risa who lives in myth and legend and in the shrouds of antiquity. Birsa is the only other known Munda culture hero. Birsa shot through the sky of Chhotanagpur like a meteor and left an indelible impact on the minds of the people specially on the Mundas. He is a legend in history.

The book vividly portrays the life of Birsa Munda the great tribal hero who shook the foundation of the British rule and the Christain Missionaries the Jgirdars and Zamindars exasperated by organising and leading the people, the Mundas and other allied tribals establishing a Munda Raj, ousting the British at the close of the last century. Birsa gave the people a religion and a code of life and was acclaimed as 'Dharti Aba', father of the earth by the people.

Birsa used Satyagraha and non-violence as his weapons to fight the British Raj—but in spite of this British forces slaughtered hundreds of Munda men, women and children on the Dombari Hill and this is a tragedy no less inhuman and ghastly than the famous Jallianwala Bag "killing of the innocent". This study portrays the unique tribal movement which the British Government had to face in the closing years of the last century.

Attempt has been made to describe the exploits of Birsa and his Munda followers, who may be called pioneers of our national struggle. From the records available—it can be easily realised the greatness of these fighters for freedom who rated no service too dear and died fighting for their motherland. Birsa and his great disciples deserve to be ranked in the same gallary as Kunwar Singh, Laxmi Bai and Tatya Topi.

The Mundas created a tremendous stir and burst forth into a violent rebellion at a time when the then political leaders of India did not even to think of such a thing.

Some interesting plates have been given enhancing the value and interest of this study to epitomise the valiant struggle of the Mundas under the great leader Birsa.

C. K. H.

Editor—Ashoke Chatterjee
Printed and Published by Kalyan Das Gupta, Prabasi Press Private Limited,
77/2/1, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta-13.
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE PRABASI

INDIA'S LEADING BENGALI MONTHLY

Advertisement Rates For Single Insertion

	Rs. P.
ARY POSITION	
Full Page	100.00
Half-page or one column	60.00
Quarter page or half-column	35.00
One-eighth page	20.00
to and or opposite contents	125.00
half-page	75.00
quarter-page	45.00
one-eighth page	30.00
L POSITIONS	
facing second page of the cover	150.00
facing third page of the cover	140.00
facing last page of the reading matter	140.00
facing back of the Frontispiece	155.00
half-page	80.00
ON WITHIN READING MATTER	
... ...	180.00
... ...	95.00
... ...	50.00
... ...	30.00

within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

	Rs. P.
ge of the cover (1"x6")	190.00
page of the cover	200.00
ge of the cover	75.00
page of the cover **(One-colour)**	225.00
(Bi-colour)	275.00
(Tri-colour)	350.00
EMENT size 8"x6" (to be Printed and supplied by the advertiser)	
8 pages (or 4 slips) ...	400.00
4 pages (or 2 slips) ...	250.00
2 pages (or 1 slip) ...	50.00

ICAL DETAILS & OTHER PARTICULARS

Type area of a full page	8"x6"
" " half page	4"x6"
Number of columns to a page	2
Length of a column	8"
Breadth of a column	3"
Type area of half-column	4"x3"
" " quarter-column	2"x3"

s and screen blocks (65 screen) are accepted. ctures or unmounted blocks are not accepted.

ABASI PRESS PRIVATE LIMITED
120/1 Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13

THE MODERN REVIEW

Subscription : Payable in Advance.

Annual — Inland	:	Rs. 15.00
" — Foreign	:	Rs. 24.00
	:	
Half-yearly—	:	
— Inland	:	Rs. 8.00
— Foreign	:	Rs. 13.00

(Advance Payment. Rates are inclusive of postage)

On V.P.P. order—V.P.P. Charges—extra

16 Single Issue :
Inland : Rs. 1.25

Cheque on Banks outside Calcutta are not accepted.

If regular subscribers do not renew their subscriptions and/or send stop-orders in due time, the next issue after the expiary of their current subscriptions, will be sent per V.P.P. —assuming their willingness to continue.

Complaints of non-receipt of any issue of the Modern Review—must reach our office by the 15th of the month in question—and in all cases the *Subscriber Number must be quoted.*

Terms for News Agents :—On application : (minimum 5 copies of the Modern Review per month—should be ordered. Special Rates for 20 or more copies per month—on advance payment.

Manager
THE MODERN REVIEW

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW Price : India and Pakistan Re. 1.25 P. Registered No.
Subscription—Ind. & Pak. Rs. 15.00, Foreign Rs. 24.00, Single copy Rs.2.00 or equi
Phone : 24-5520

CITY BOOK SOCIETY

THE PIONEER PUBLISHERS OF ILLUSTRATED JUVENILE LITERATURE

Books of Late Jogendra Nath Sircar entertained and enlightened the Children of Be
&
Enthused Lakhs of Non-Bengali Children to learn Bengali.

Hasi Khusi I
99th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Hasi Khusi II
38th Edn. — Re. 0.80
(The two most outstanding books to learn Bengali)

Mojar Galpa
25th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Asare Swapna
18th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Ranga Chhabi
31st Edn. — Re. 0.80

Khelar Sathi
27th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Chhabir Bai
25th Edn. — Re. 0.70

Bane Jangale
9th Edn. — Rs. 5.00

Galpa Sanchaya
5th Edn. — Rs. 4.50

Khukumanir Chhara
17th Edn. — Rs. 3.50

Chhabi-O-Galpa
19th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

Chhotoder Chiriakhana
7th Edn. — Re. 1.87

Hasi Rasi
33rd Edn. — Re. 1.40

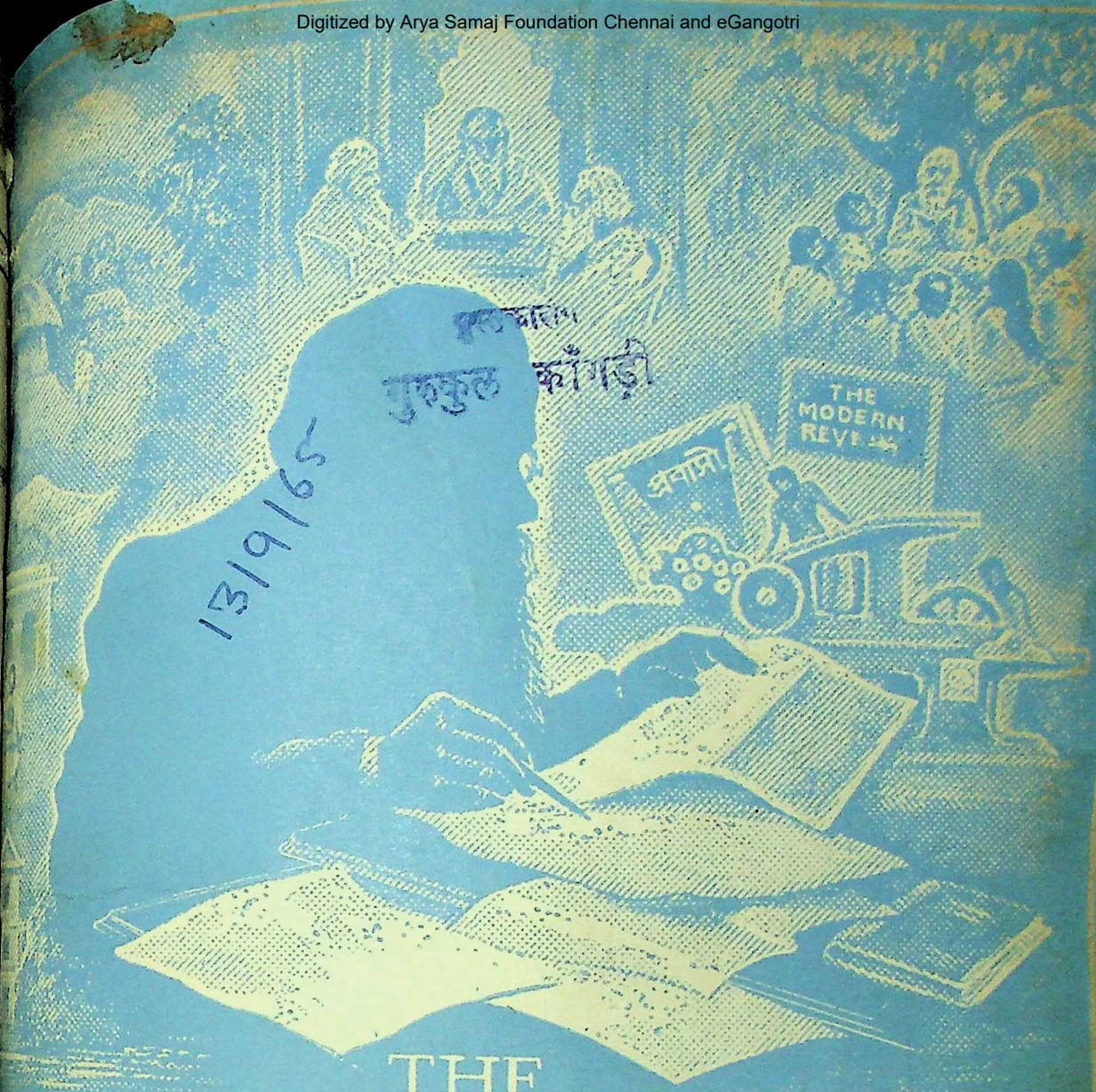
Chhotoder Ramayana
36th Edn. — Re. 1.12

Chhotoder Mahabharat
36th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

CITY BOOK SOCIETY
64, College Street
Calcutta—12.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



गुरुकुल काँगड़ी
131965

THE MODERN REVIEW

SEPTEMBER : 1965



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOR

PRINTING

WITH A DISTINCTION.

Contact the

PRABASI
PRESS
PRIVATE LD.

We print in 3 LANGUAGES

ENGLISH

BENGALI

DEVNAGRI

❋

for more details—Contact the

MANAGER

PRABASI PRESS PRIVATE LD.

77-2-1 Dharamtala Street,

CALCUTTA—13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

S 11

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ASK FOR ANTOL



THE MOST DEPENDABLE







ANTISEPTIC





ANTOL prevents infection—kills the germs before they have a chance to do harm.

■ A powerful but soothing antiseptic, ANTOL gives protection in open cuts and insect bites.

■ As a mouthwash and gargle, ANTOL pervents throat infection and colds.

■ ANTOL is an efficient disinfectant and can be used to keep floors and walls free from germs.

KEEP HANDY **ANTOL**

THE MOST DEPENDABLE ANTISEPTIC

A BENGAL IMMUNITY PRODUCT

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. CXVIII. No. 3 CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER, 1965 WHOLE No. 7

NOTES

ABIDING VALUES OF EASTERN AND WESTERN CULTURE—Vigilante

CURRENT AFFAIRS—Karuna K. Nandi

T. S. ELIOT—A GREAT CRITIC—Prof. Debi Prasad Bhattacharyya

WHITHER INDONESIA ?—Prof. Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji

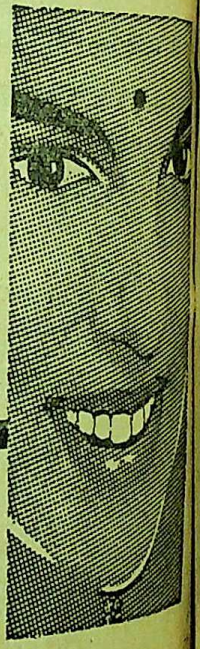
THE CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS OF THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT—Prof. Satyabrata Rai Chowdhuri

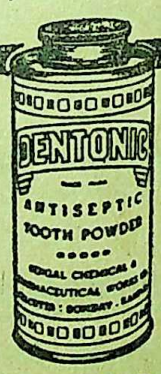
MAKHANLAL AND KEDARNATH—A TRIBUTE—Sunit Kumar Mukherjee

How Sparkling

Pearly white teeth give charm and glamour to a winning smile. You, too, can be the proud possessor of beautiful shining white teeth and healthy gums by following the simple 'DENTONIC' habit.

Chlorophyll added to Dentonic helps in curing Pyorrhea.





Dentonic

ANTISEPTIC TOOTH POWDER

Available Plain and with Chlorophyll.

For your Smile of beauty

BENGAL CHEMICAL

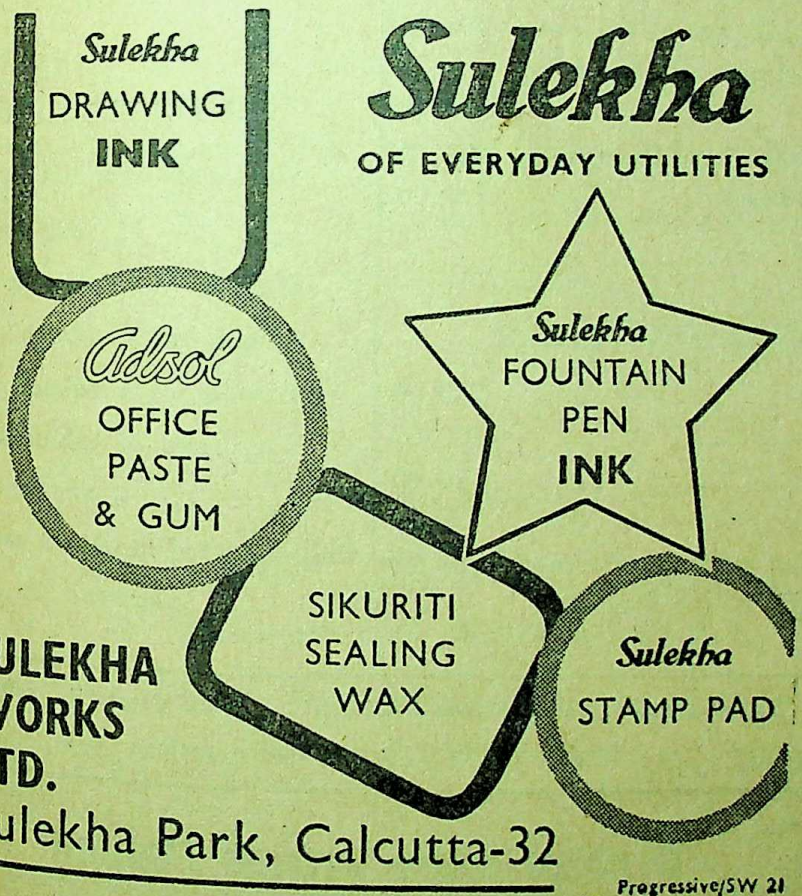
CALCUTTA • BOMBAY • KANPUR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONTENTS (Continued)

	PAGE
THE CONQUERING CONFEDERACY—Fr. Michael R. Vaz., S. J.	222
LE 'HINDU PATRIOT' AND THE REVOLT OF 1857-58—Sudhir Chandra	225
CASE FOR REGIONAL PLANNING—A. G. Prasad	228
ODUNT MARTUND—B. M. Sankhdher	231
E ART OF THE TEACHER—G. Venkatesan	235
E PROPERTY RIGHTS OF WOMEN IN THE SUTRA PERIOD—Mrs. Ruby Dutt	239
E DAY'S GLUTTONY AND INDIAN POLITICS—Deepankar Ghose	247
CIAL ACTION PROCESS—M. K. Sethu Rao	257
LAYSIA AND SINGAPORE—Elisabeth Barker	260
HREE LEADERS OF THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE—D. P. Shrivastava	262
NDIAN PERIODICALS—	269
OREIGN PERIODICALS—	271
OOK REVIEWS—	278



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

—Advertisement Rates—

ORDINARY POSITION

	Rs. P.
Full Page	150.00
Half-page or one column	80.00
Quarter page or half-column	50.00
One-eighth page	30.00
One-eighth column	20.00
Page next to and or opposite contents	180.00
Ditto half-page	100.00
Ditto quarter-page	60.00
Ditto one-eighth page	40.00
Ditto one-eighth cloumn	30.00

SPECIAL POSITIONS

Full Page facing second page of the cover	200.00
„ Page facing third page of the cover	190.00
„ Page facing last page of the reading matter	195.00
„ Page facing back of the Frontispiece	210.00
Ditto half-page	110.00

POSITION WITHIN READING MATTER

Full Page	220.00
Half-page	120.00
Quarter page	70.00
„ col.	50.00

Space within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

COVER PAGES

Second page of the cover
Third page of the cover
Fourth page of the (*One-colour*)
(*Bi-colour*)
(*Tri-colour*)

SUPPLEMENT size 8½″ × 6″ (to be printed supplied by the advertiser)

8 pages (or 4 slips) ..
4 pages (or 2 slips) ..
2 pages (or 1 slip) ..

MECHANICAL DETAILS, Etc.

Type area of a full page	8″ × 6
„ „ „ half page	4″ × 6
Number of columns to a page	2
Length of a column	8″
Breadth of a column	3″
Type area of half-column	4″ × 3
„ „ „ quarter-column	2″ × 3

Only Mounted Stereos & coarse screen blocks screen) are accepted.

Subscription Rates 1 year Rs. 15.00. Half yearly Rs. 8.00
Single copy Rs. 1.25P. including postage.

Prabasi Press Private Limited

77/2/1 DHARAMTALA STREET,
CALCUTTA-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WEST DINAJPUR
DISTRICT GAZETTEER

By J. C. Sengupta, I. A. S.

Price Rs. 15.00 Pages 259

This first volume of the new series of District Gazetteers of West Bengal is a comprehensive and authentic introduction to the district of West Dinajpur in seventeen Chapters.

Published by the State Editor, West Bengal Dist. Gazetteers, Govt. of West Bengal, 23, Rajendra Nath Mukherjee Road, Ground Flour, Calcutta - 1

Available From :

THE SUPTDT. OF GOVT. PRINTING
38, Gopalnagar Road, Alipore, Calcutta - 27

(2) Govt. Publications Sales Office
New Sectt. Bldgs., 1, Kiran Shankar Roy Road, Calcutta - 1

W.B. (I & P. R.) 5707/65

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

দুইটি প্রখ্যাত ভারতীয় মহাকাব্য

কাশীরাম দাস বিরচিত অষ্টাদশপর্ব্ব

মহাভারত

রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত

কাশীরাম দাসের মূল মহাভারত অনুসরণে।

প্রক্ষিপ্ত অংশগুলি বিবর্জ্জিত ১০৬৮ পৃষ্ঠায় সম্পূর্ণ

শ্রেষ্ঠ ভারতীয় শিল্পীদের আঁকা ৫০টি বহুবর্ণ চিত্রশোভিত

ভালো কাগজে—ভাল ছাপা—চমৎকার বাঁধাই।

মহাভারতের সর্ব্বাঙ্গসুন্দর এমন সংস্করণ আর নাই।

মূল্য ২০৲ টাকা

ডাকব্যয় ও প্যাকিং তিন টাকা

রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত

সচিত্র সপ্তকাণ্ড রামায়ণ

যাবতীয় প্রক্ষিপ্ত অংশ বিবর্জ্জিত মূল গ্রন্থ

অনুসরণে। ৫৮৬ পৃষ্ঠায় সম্পূর্ণ।

অবনীন্দ্রনাথ, রাজা রবি বর্ম্মা, নন্দলাল, উপেন্দ্রকিশোর, সারদাচরণ উকিল, অসিতকুমার, সুরেন গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় প্রভৃতি বিশ্বখ্যাত শিল্পীদের আঁকা—বহু একবর্ণ এবং বহুবর্ণ চিত্র পরিশোভিত।

পৃথিবীখ্যাত কৃত্তিবাস বিরচিত রামায়ণের এমন মনোহর বাঙ্গলা সংস্করণ বিরল, নাই বলিলেও চলে।

মূল্য ১০·৫০। ডাকব্যয় ও প্যাকিং অতিরিক্ত ২·০২।

প্রবাসী প্রেস প্রাঃ লিমিটেড

১৭।২।১ ধর্ম্মতলা ষ্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা-১৩

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A Tourist Heaven: Visit Madhya Pradesh

During your holidays.
COME AND SEE:

* The Famed Khajuraho Temples—
  The Highest Watermark of Medieval Sculpture and Architecture Poem In Stones
* The Great Stupa of Sanchi
* Mandu—
  'The City of Joy'
* The Proud Gwalior Fort
* The Milk-White Marble Rocks near Jabalpur
* Pachmarhi—
  M. P.'s Health and Summer Resort

A number of other places Trekking, Sight-seeing and Shikar

MADHYA PRADESH OFFERS A CHOICE
For Every Taste and Inclination

CONTACT

DIRECTORATE OF TOURISM, BHOPAL, (M. P.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

MODERN REVIEW

GOES TO PEOPLE
WHO COUNT
AND
ARE YOUR
BEST BUYERS

ADVERTISE IN THE MODERN REVIEW

and Reap
the Best of
RESULTS

For particulars:

Contact — **The Manager**

77/2/1 DHARAMTALA STREET, CALCUTTA-13

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



PREM

By courtesy of the artist Mr. M. A. R. Chughtai.

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

SEPTEMBER 1965

Vol. CXVIII, No. 3 WHOLE No. 705

NOTES

The Language Question

This question of imposing a language on the people of a country is not quite so simple, even if the people accepted the language. English, for instace, had the backing of the ruling power as well as of large numbers of the educated people; but English was only the official and court language of India and in spite of its wide use among the upper classes for social intercourse, it never replaced the Indian languages and attained the position of a national language. The reason for this was what may be called emotional rejection. English was never accepted by the people of India as their own language. It was a linguistic expedient and it remained so without being admitted into the inner recesses of our mind which determined our preferences. The fact that highly educated Indians, whose knowledge of English was beyond doubt extremely good, continued to express their feelings and thoughts in Bengali or in the other Indian languages, proved that English was not accepted as the language of India. Romesh Chandra Dutta, Rabindranath Tagore, Michael Madhusudan Dutta and many others can be mentioned as examples. The idea that Hindi will be accepted as India's national language is ridiculous for the same reason. A Bengali born in the U.P. and who spoke Hindi from his infancy, when he comes to Bengal, studies Bengali and English, soon puts Hindi out of his mind. In Bengal no Bengalis and very few of the others speak correct Hindi. A kind of spoken language which may be called Dhobi's Hindi is spoken in the bazars and kitchens, but Hindi as a literary language is unknown in Bengal, in spite of the fact that large numbers of so-called Hindi speakers come to live and work in Bengal. The Hindiwallahs of Delhi, perhaps, thought that as the Hindi speakers would be the virtual rulers of India after the British, Hindi should automatically take the place of English. They forgot that Hindi was not a properly moulded language at all. As born socialists the Hindi speakers should have abhorred unearned gains. The hope that Hindi will be India's national language without any **mehannat** or **shram** on their part is a sneaking acceptance of a social evil, i.e., getting something without working for it. Literary Hindi is, as yet, an unknown language in India. Dhobi's Hindi cannot be a national language. English is spreading more than it did under the **British Raj**. It is a wonderful instrument of communication with the outside world and is in use as a common language in India among millions, who are the teachers, administrators, engineers, doctors, lawyers, **entrepreneurs** and important workers in various fields. Thousands of crores are locked up in our heads in the shape of knowledge which is mainly

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

recorded in English. We cannot jettison the knowledge and experience of generations of Indians in order to establish an underserving and undeveloped language in a high place. And that previously mentioned factors of emotional rejection will work more potently in the case of Hindi, in so far as the Non-Hindi speaking peoples of India will not only emotionally reject Hindi as an alien language but will also doubly dislike it as it will not grant them admission into any hitherto unknown intellectual or aesthetic spheres of experience.

Admittedly, Hindi may slowly develop and begin to fill a wider sphere of communicational activities in our national life. That may take two generations of concerted effort on the part of Indians of all linguistic groups. This cannot be brought into operation by a statutory imposition of Hindi as a State language. What is more, **it should not be** attempted as a psychologically and morally sound method of achieving a political objective.

It is now accepted by all Hindiphils that India cannot be coerced into giving up English and replacing that language by Hindi. Hindi may be used with English and other Indian languages without creating any linguistic blocks anywhere in any manner whatever. That is, Hindi must not be permitted to cause any inconvenience to the people of India and it must make its way into our national mind in a smooth and easy manner and without anyone ever having to ask his orderly or a salesman, postal clerks, booking clerks and passersby to translate the contents of notices, signs, forms, tickets, receipts, bills, letters and other commonly used documents because of any over eagerness on the part of politicians to force Hindi upon the Nation. There have been examples of such pressure tactics from the various Departments of the various Hindi intensive secretariats of some Governments. These underhand tactics alienate people from Hindi raher than make them accept it. If Hindiphils want to make [illegible] language assume the position of a Necessary Evil, this sort of indirect forcing may achieve their purpose. But that is [illegible] the aim of any true lover of Hindi.

In order to be a proper all round vehicle of expression, a language must have [illegible] words to express the thoughts of modern people. These words must be sense-conveying in a precise, unambiguous and [illegible] manner without destroying the rhythm and musical flow of the language. Coining new words anyhow and forcing them into circulation by means of painfully concocted compositions usually lead to the rejection of such words by the people. The Rashtrabhasha kitchen has produced numerous unpalatable tidbits which have mostly failed to [illegible] When "eaten" by loyal adherents of Hindi as the **prasad** of the **rashtradevata** these queer delicacies of linguistic hybridization have led to dire consequences. **Paribhasha** is not easily born. The mother language must be able to accept it as an offspring and successfully let it mix, play and grow with her other word-children. A misfit, alien in origin, sound, form and suggestiveness can never be accepted as a useful synonym, no matter if the Ministry of Education or Information agreed to be its foster father. Hindi requires thousands of [illegible] new words. Such as have been created are quite often very unequal in their etymological features and are unacceptable as cognates. In Bengali this game of word creation has been going on for over a hundred years and is still continuing. The most objectionable part of manufacturing words is the obviousness of patch-work translation. One has only to read a few articles or stories written by our "moderns" to discover the gruesome fact of thinking in English and translating such thoughts **anyhow** in our languages. The net result is confusion in the field of communication, not to speak anything about wastage of human and other resources.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If, therefore, we desire a proper development of Hindi, or any other Indian language, the last thing we should try is compulsory introduction of the particular language into forms, notices, circulars, tickets, tokens, correspondence etc., of governmental, technical or legal origin. It will make the effort ridiculous right at the start and will make it difficult to carry through such ideas. The development of various languages of India should be commensurate with their use as instruments of communication by the State, the educational institutions, business houses and industrial. Overdoing things at any stage would be disastrous. The idea that Hindi will even-tually replace English in India, is only sound to the extent that Hindi becomes a comparable language with English. As things are now, Hindi cannot be compared with English to any recognisable extent. The idea therefore should be dropped. There are other languages in India which are more developed but none of these can replace English. The Governments of India and the States should in the meantime devote their talents to increasing the supplies of food, clothing, housing, medicines, hospitals, schools, books, power, means of transport, roads, railways, banking, foreign exchange, general consumer goods, jobs for the unemployed and to develop India upto international standards in matters of health, wealth, defence, education, internal security, law and order and a general freedom from want and disabilities. Unless we achieve certain minimum standards in life, their hopes and promises in the matters of establishing Hindi or Tamil as official language, of abolishing nuclear weapons and war, of making India totally free of stopping American intervention in Vietnam and of continuous Congress **Raj** in India, will not be realised.

Sneaking attempts at giving Hindi a push up by making its use optional, side by side with English on Central Government Files will immediately make non-Hindi knowing Indians put in a demand for their own languages and, surely, 14 optional alternative languages cannot be permitted to be used in making remarks. Nor can Hindi be granted a special privilege without destroying the equality of rights of all Indians. It is well known that more people in India know how to read and write English than Hindi. And those who know only Hindi, Bengali or Tamil are usually half-educated. It is therefore unnecessary to allow any Indian language to be used exclusively, i.e., without English, for any administrative work of the Central Government. Those who know only Hindi or Bengali etc., should not be employed in administrative services, in Government departments.

Certain Governments have tried already to force Hindi upon non-Hindi speaking Nationals of India in different spheres of life. The Government of Bihar for instance lost no time in even Printing Cadastral Survey Maps of Bengali speaking areas of Bihar in only Hnidi (including numerals). The road signs, mile posts etc., had already gone Hindi in areas where nobody belonging to the locality was Hindi speaking. We have reasons to believe that Bengali speaking people of these areas were also harassed in schools, in the matter of owning property and in other ways. Importing of Hindi speaking persons from far away districts of Bihar to do office work in Government departments also happened. Such behaviour interfered and is still interfering with the so called National Integration movement initiated by the Government.

Recently the work of forcing Hindi is taking newer shapes. Central Government files at first required "Hindi also" side by side with English. It was soon described as "Hindi with English translation" in order to give a psychological priority to this artificially cooked up dialect. It is high time that the Constitution of India got its vital amend-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ments passed in unambiguous terms to put **rashtrabhasa** type Hindi back where it belonged. The non-Hindi speaking people of India do not want this synthetic language as their State language and that must be recognised and admitted as a potent political fact. The Congress Party has now passed the highest point of its political power. Congress made expedients will now disappear one by one in so far as these expressed the desires of leading party members. The Hindi business was one of these. It will have to be wound up.

Out Sovieting The Soviets

One Sunday we felt like listening to the Children's Program broadcast by the A.I.R. Calcutta Station. We were surprised to discover that our children had so far advanced in political economic thinking that they avidly swallowed talks on the Fourth Five Year Plan. The public are no doubt fully repaid for what they give for their receiving licences to the Government of India. Some may think this sort of program is blatant propaganda in support of the Government's activities, but after all the children of India are entitled to receive full information on these various activities; for mental enlightenment may induce them to forget their growing physical wants and sorrows. In America they extol pep talk for its ability to prevent that sinking feeling.

Sandesh Again

The sandesh ban has come to the fore after a certain uneasiness among Congress addicts. We are now ready to welcome an Ordinance on this fateful subject. We had no knowledge that Calcutta Milk Supply was one of the Fundamental obligations of the Government. Nor that the Defence of India rested upon milk supply. A government which was under any statutary obligation to supply milk to all citizens of Calcutta might have thought of "milk at any cost". But a government which possibly supplied milk to only 10% of Calcutta's population could in no justice interfere with the food habits of the greater part of that population just to prove that welfare meant the greatest inconvenience to the greatest number.

What is the Rupee Worth?

The Maharashtra Labour Gazette of June 1965 publishes an enlightening article of the changing value of the rupee by H. V. R. Iengar, ex-Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, Bombay. The following quotations from the account published would give a good idea of the fall in the purchasing power of the rupee during the periods 1914-1964 or 1939-1964 or 1947-1964 as one would like to look at the rupee from different base years. "Professor Agarwala, Professor of Economics in a North India University, started a controversy some years ago by stating that the rupee is now worth only 17 pice. There has been a question about this in Parliament and some debate has ensued. Some critics profess to be shocked by the inexactitude of the Professor, while there are others who appear to be glad that the grimness of the current situation has been brought out so clearly.....

"No analytical tool can be so dangerous when wrongly applied, as the statistical tool.....'one must therefore, choose a base year which does not lend itself to....statistical legerdemain.....

"For our discussion, it might be of some value to go back to 1939 the year before the Second World War began.....Those of us who are old enough" may even go back to 1914 before the First World War.....For long range analysis, one might go back fifty years—which is not too long ago as it happens to be just about the time when the First World War started. But such a long analysis, although interesting in itself particularly in so far as it permits an historical comparison with other countries may

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

be of value in so far as our current ...culties and preoccupations are con-...ed. For dealing with this, it would be ...e appropriate to go back to 1947, when ...became independent.....

"During the First World War prices in ... just about doubled. Prices remained ... all through 1920 and then started ...ually going down. There was a conti-...s drop from 1920 till 1930-31 when the ...lesale index was virtually the same as ...914. After that there was a dramatic ...in line with the World recession. There ... a gradual improvement thereafter, but ...939 the index figure was very little over ... of 1914.....

"During the Second World War the ...lesale price index went up some two-...a half times. On the basis of 1939= ...e general index of wholesale price in ...45 was 244 and in 1945-46, 245. A re-...ersion to the old base, namely, 1914=100 ...ld give the index for 1944-45 at 266 and ...46 at 267. But, unlike the period after ...ld War I, when prices started steadily ...g down, there has been no such fall ... the Second World War and, in fact, ... has been virtually a continuous rise ...rices snce then. On the basis of 1914= ... the figure for 1946-47 was 300 and for ...48, 336. In other words, when we ...en as an independent country, the rupee ... worth, in terms of its domestic purchas-... power, only one-third of what it was in ..., only eight years previously. To-day, ... index figure is well over 600, in other ...s the rupee is somewhat less than half ...what it was when we began to manage ... own affairs. It would thus be correct ...ay that the value of the rupee is now ...t one-sixth of what it was before World ... I; Probably slightly less; in other ...rds, the Professor, whom I quoted at the ...ning of this....was right provided the ...e year is accepted as 1914. And consi-...ing that the purchasing power of the ...ee was very nearly the same in 1939 as in 1914, the Professor was also very nearly right even if the base year were accepted as 1939. That is to say, in the last twenty five years in the life time of millions and millions of us, the rupee has gone down to slightly less than a sixth of its purchasing power and for half of this debasement we are ourselves responsible, not the British or the war." One may add that the debasement happened fifty per cent during a period of 33 years and the other fifty per cent in the last 17 years. As compared to the foreign government of India, her National Government has debased her currency twice as fast."

This Matter of Milk

The milk supply of Calcutta has never been good. The goalas, as in other places, water the milk as they like and no attempt has been made by the State Government or the Municipality to put a stop to this criminal practice at any time. Dr. B. C. Roy started the Haringhatta Milk Supply organisation and succeeded in giving milk to a small percentage of the people living in Calcutta. Milk cards were often obtained through influence or luck and many who wanted milk never got any. Since the death of Dr. Roy the milk position has gone from bad to worse and no one can now say that milk supply is freely available to all citizens and one can not believe that it will be so at anytime under the present regime. It has been and will remain available to a limited few of Calcutta's citizens, is the considered opinion of most well-informed persons. That being so, can the Government in any justice interfere with the food habits of the general public in order to arrange milk supply for a selected minority of Calcutta's citizens? If the public have to make any sacrifies the advantages arising out of such sacrifices must be enjoyed by all members of the public. Not surely by only a few who have much money, influence or

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a gambler's luck. Freedom has acquired a new meaning in India under the Congress. The whims and fads of amateurs with little training or qualification for managing the affairs of a nation have slowly grown to assume the proportions of a loose type of dictatorship which has the right of arbitrary action and making impositions on the people without subjecting itself to the discipline of shouldering some fundamental obligations. There are rules, regulations, controls, permits, licences, taxes and a thousand other obstructions to public freedom of action in all fields of life without any corresponding advantages in the matter of protection of life and property, supply of essential commodities, employment, education, medical aid, housing etc. etc., which people require for civilised existence. There are endless speeches, announcements, schemes and plans which lead to a state of self-hynotism among those who indulge in them. These people cannot deliver the goods. And everybody knows that except they themselves. India has reached a giddy state of unreality. No one knows what his money will be worth next month. No one knows how far he will be deprived of what he owns or earns. And no one is certain of anything which the average civilised man wishes to be certain of. There are plans and promises which change their shapes and sizes overnight. The definition of terms like socialism, security, fundamental rights and liberty change while circulating between Ministries and what can one do about it ?

Kashmir

We have said over and over again that the partition of India was the greatest blunder the Congress Party led by Pandit Nehru ever committed. They thus played into the hands of Imperial mischief mongers and weakened the political, economic and cultural health of the Indian nation for ever. The new entente that was established [illegible] tween Indian folly and Western perfidy [illegible] this great betrayal grew in strength [illegible] passed and the Congress group found [illegible] tunities for developing their foreign [illegible] by inviting all kinds of foreigners to [illegible] and by sending teams of fairly [illegible] Indians to have a good time in the [illegible] cities of the outside world. Indian [illegible] and Indian outlook upon all spheres [illegible] were determined by what outsiders [illegible] of and agreed to do for India. And, [illegible] ally their Indian policy was formed by [illegible] ference to their own plans and expectation [illegible] of gain. The Indian nation was fed on [illegible] promises and grand unrealities; while [illegible] economy was progressively denuded of [illegible] natural vitality by bleeding out resources [illegible] from the main arteries of economic life [illegible] order to sustain the growth of grafts which [illegible] could not be integrated into the natural [illegible] body. Pakistan, the artificially created [illegible] state, aided by Anglo-American money [illegible] obtained by agreeing to whatever the [illegible] powers said, developed militarily out of all [illegible] proportion to her economic size. She [illegible] naturally began to think like a big power [illegible] though in wealth, ability and culture she [illegible] was like a couple of backward Indian [illegible] States. But she was boosted in her morale [illegible] which was woven solely out of criminal [illegible] design on India, by American military [illegible] and British advice. Instead of consolidating [illegible] the forces of civilisation and progress in her [illegible] national body Pakistan started on a programme of territorial expansion at the cost of India. Attempts on Hyderabad and Junagadh failed due to Sardar Patel's courageous action ; but in Kashmir Pakistan was permitted to keep large areas under forcible occupation. Their actions were also condoned in other places and by Nehru, called an apostle of Peace by the Anglo-American Pakistan, being born in treachery and nourished by banditry, soon turned against her own people as well as against Anglo-America. She formed an alliance with

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mmunist China and tried to blackmail ain and America without much success. had already set up a dictatorship and ished all civil liberties in the country. most recent acts of banditry indulged in Pakistan have been the invasion of h and a repetition of the old comic invasion of Kashmir by Pakistan ers in the garb of tribesmen or local miris. But this time they had no t Nehru to respond to any demands toleration of acts of aggression. Lal dur Shastri did not fancy himself as ing greater than a capable Prime ster of India. He was partially bam- ed by the British after the Kutch affair, he had realised his mistake afterwards was prepared for subsequent develop- ts. If Lal Bahadur Shastri could liqui- the Pakistani menace, he would then remembered as a truly great Prime ster of India.

Crosses Cease Fire Line

During the last few days Indian troops crossed the cease fire line at a number ints and captured Pakistani posts in ral places. The Pakistanis or the alleg- zad Kashmiris have not shown any rkable fighting ability so far. Their utstanding defensive weapon had been 's disinclination to go beyond the . They have now had to do this owing e fact that the Pakistanis have been g it as an impregnable "Maginot" line h was inviolate. But the Indian soldiers now broken through this for reasons h are essentially connected with their defence. If the Pakistanis can cross recross the CFL in order to harass and ndian soldiers, the latter naturally can emulate the Pakistanis in order to d themselves in a sure and certain er. In other words Pakistan has been g for it and it has now got what deserves. In this connection the U.N. have been remarkably useless. They have been disobeyed by Pakistan repeatedly and they have done nothing to enforce the terms of international agreements guaranteed by their participation as mediators. Pakistan's perfidy has no limits. Pakistanis treat all documents dealing with international rights and obligations as scraps of paper. On top of that they lack common decency and any sense of national honour. Such political communities have no right to exist. They are a menace to humanity.

Punjabi Suba

The Congress not only Partitioned India internationally by agreeing to the creation of a Muslim India which the British called Pakistan ; but India was also cut up internally into several pieces by the acceptance of the various provinces the British had set up in India, as States of which India was to be a Federation. These Provinces by and large had no racial, linguistic or historical back-ground and the only justification for their existence was, perhaps, the Pradesh Congress Committes which had to be appeased and induced to toe the line when Pandit Nehru accepted freedom as a conditional grant from India's Imperial overlords. With occasional adjustments the same conditions still prevail and the Provinces as modified by subsequent decisions of the Congress still form India's States. These States are all multilingual, multiracial and historically queer conglomerates built out of bits and pieces representing pre British Indian Kingdoms of which there were many in the Seventeenth-Eighteenth centuries. Thus the State of Bihar was linguistically Maithili, Bhojpuri, Magdhi, Bengali and Tribal. But the Congress said the People of Bihar spoke Hindi. And when the Congress opened its mouth everyone had to observe silence. Maharashtra had Gujerathis, Kachhis and others whose mother language was not Marathi. Gujerat

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

had Marathis and all sorts of other people. Madhya Pradesh had Marathi and Hindi. In short the linguistic divisions were not based on the languages spoken by the people but on the whims of the Congress.

After a few years of Congress Raj there was a feeling among a certain body of Congressmen that Hindi as concocted by the makers of the Rashtrabhasa must be imposed upon all Indians. In order to make this imposition less unfair in appearance persistent propaganda was carried on with the help of crooked facts and figures to prove that Hindi was the mother tongue of 40% of the peoples of India. All the people of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Punjab together with the Hindi speakers in other States were added together to arrive at this highly exaggerated percentage. We are not in a position to judge whether Hindi Positive and Hindi Negative gave us the alleged statistical dimensions of Hindi. All we can say is that Hindi as the mother tongue of some of the people of India has never attained that degree of universality as the Hindi speaking Congress men would like us to believe. The true percentage of true Hindi speakers would be less than 20%. The Punjabi language is a distinctive language belonging to the first-Aryan group of languages of India. It is more like Eastern Rajasthani, Gujerathi etc., than Hindi. We have known numerous Hindu, Muslim and Sikh Punjabis and we have never known Hindi speaking Punjabis in the sense that they spoke Hindi at home. If therefore Punjabi is made the State language of Punjab, it would not be a betrayal of Hindi. Rather the suggestion even from Panjabis that some Punjabis want Hindi as the State language is a betrayal of the racial and linguistic history. The ... of the Punjab would be a great mistake ... the Sikh leaders should be satisfied with ... acceptance of Punjabi as the State language of Punjab. And it is high time everyone put a stop to this Hindi mania. There nothing in Hindi for which we should create disunity in India. The subtle and sinister ways of Hindiphils have become quite noxious. The Congress should avoid giving these clever touches to cut Indian history down to a size which will prove their false contentions. Punjabi is one of the languages recognised by the Indian Constitution and Punjabi cannot be called a dialect of Hindi by the linguistic experts of the Congress. In Pakistan, at the time of partition everyone was told the Muslims were a separate nation and their language was Urdu. But inspite of their dictatorship Bengali has been recognised as a Co-State language in Pakistan. In India, why must accept Hindi as the sole Indian language to be used for state purposes is not clear to us. Hindi is one of the most backward languages of India and the Hindi speaking people are by no means high up in education, technical knowledge, income earning capacity or as contributors to the exchequer. Their average in these fields would be about half of that of the more advanced states. A lot of public money has been wasted for the propagation of Hindi with not much gain. If the amounts had been spent pro-rata for Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam and Gujerathi, India would have gone ... spectacularly in point of education and culture.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ABIDING VALUES OF EASTERN AND WESETRN CULTURE

VIGILANTE

The advancement of knowledge in re- to the universe, society and man, the eral acceptance of the theory of biologi- evolution and the study of comparative gion have implanted the belief that all ues are relative. But we are not quite ar as to whether the relativity of values plies only to the forms in which they are pressed or is meant in an abosolute sense. other words, we are not sure whether we tinguish between an eternal essence and changing form of values or whether we ject the idea that there is difference be- ween essence and form. To take an ob- ous example. Non-violence, **Ahimsa,** was iginally a purely religious belief, probably animistic origin. It was a kind of taboo, duty to avoid anything that would hurt ing creatures, because if we hurt living eatures, they would retaliate in some un- own way, or would initiate a series of ions and reactions that would bring harm ourselves and bind us to a long chain of use and effect. This belief was held by ddhists and even more strongly by Jains. has survived through the centuries. In r own times, Gandhiji gave it a completely w form and moral significance. He asso- ted it with the higest form of virtue, th absolute truth. He made it into a ndard by which everything else was dged. It was a belief which determined conduct throughout his public life. There as also another view, with which andhiji disagreed, that non-violence was e best policy, the wiset course to adopt in ation to given circumstances. Indian reign policy has attempted to introduce the idea of non-violence in dealing with international affairs and maintained that while it was absolutely the best principle to follow, it was also the wisest course at the moment. Here we see a value being interpreted over a very long period. Would it be correct to hold that this point to an abiding value expressed in different forms, or would we say that non-violence represents the influence of the environment on Gandhiji and his followers and has no meaning and significance outside this historical context ?

If we accept the theory that all values are relative we create a kind of uncertainty in the face of the problems created by the manufacture of atomic weapons. We feel that to save ourselves from total destruction we have to mobilise ourselves for the maintenance of those values which we consider essential for the further progress of humanity. But it is a matter for consideration whether such values as truth, freedom, justice, can really be regarded as a means to an end, as gods to whom we appeal at times of danger, intending in our hearts to turn our backs on them when the danger is past and to declare that they are just like other gods whom men have worshipped and about whose existence and power we cannot be absolutely certain.

Beliefs and social practices based on beliefs have so far been the means of giving form and expression to moral and cultural values. But the advancement of knowledge has changed our attitude towards organised

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

belief and worship, towards religion. It appears to us that a fixed belief which prescribes the details of what is right and what is wrong, what is to be done and what is not to be done, is inconsistent with the liberal, scientific spirit. We prefer the negative attitude. We define liberty as absence of restraint, moral freedom as absence of dictation by any church or scripture. Considering the problems that have been created by church and religious orthodoxy, this attitude seems to be the only reasonable one to adopt. But the usefulness of a discussion about abiding values becomes doubtful if we avoid everything that savours of religion and fixed belief. A study of man's spiritual and moral development can, however, enable us to adopt a more positive attitude and convince us that there are abiding values in the East and the West in which men have believed in all sincerity and in whose realisation they have found peace and fulfilment.

One of the oldest human concepts is the concept of a universal order, called Ma'at in ancient Egypt and Rtu in India. It was considered man's duty to live in accordance with the laws deriving from the universal order, and wisdom ; justice and human survival were closely associated with this belief. Corollaries to the belief in the universal order were (a) the unity of God and (b) the unity of mankind. It cannot be stated definitely whether the idea of one God first found expression in Egypt or among the Jews, but even in the tribal religions which had many gods the idea of one God seems to have been present as the background of belief in the Divine. The idea of mankind being one because the universe had one Creator has been considerably obscured by tribes or tribal groups or religious communities claiming to be the chosen people, entitled to all that the Creator had given. But the idea of one God of all mankind provided a moral standard to which enlightened men have appealed throughout history.

A parallel concept, which first found expression in Buddhism, was the unity of mankind, indeed, of all living creatures, the striving for **nirvana**, for release from sorrow. The corollaries to this belief were the obligation on each individual to be rightminded and to bear goodwill towards all.

The concepts of the universal order, of release from sorrow through right-mindedness and goodwill were idealistic. They were assertions of the highest values. At the opposite end we find a realistic concept of the solidarity of the tribe, the caste, the religious community or the political community and the State, and the duty of the individual to serve them. This concept, because it was based essentially on the self-interest of the group, has led to conflicts which are unfortunately regarded as the substance of the political history of mankind. Today all the conflicts we see around us are due to the all-pervasiveness of this concept. But it cannot be altogether rejected. It can only be replaced by the concept of mankind as one community and a world-state. We must also remember that these concepts lead to the cultivation of such moral qualities as loyalty, dedication to prescribed duty, self-sacrifice, etc. Men have not yet at any time been fully satisfied with the idea of the intellectual and moral horizon being limited by the interest of the small or large group to which they belonged. Tolerance, a sense of justice not vitiated by discrimination between one's own people and aliens, and the desire for wider knowledge and experience have been the links between the universal and the group values. These have at all times found expression in Personality.

The concept of Personality is as old as the concept of universal order. We see in the earliest time the belief that certain persons possessed supernatural powers. They were capable of interpreting the laws of nature,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

wishes of the particular tribal god, through their intercession ensured the rity of those whom they favoured in life and the next. Later we have the st-king and the Pharaoh, who are both gious and political figure-heads and be- ed to be possessors of that wisdom and er which was essential for human wel- and survival. Then we have personali- like the Jewish prophets, Buddha, aster, Christ and the Prophet Muham- who are messengers of truth and the ns by which humanity obtains divine dance. We also see at about the same the emergence of empire-builders and esmen who represent the type of per- ality which has gradually assumed the atest importance in political and social

The concepts given above represent the ding values of both the East and the st. We acknowledge them today in the m of the following ideals :

(a) the ideal of mankind as a co-operative community ;

(b) the ideal of states striving to maintain peace and to promote each other's welfare ;

(c) the ideal of the welfare state (found in embryonic form in the reasons for which the ancient priest-king was worshipped and in the duties assigned to the ruler by all religions) ;

(d) the ideals of tolerance, understanding sympathy, philanthropy ;

(e) the ideal of the dignity and freedom of the individual, irrespective of race, religion, sex and economic status, which implies :

(i) the ensuring of equal rights and and opportunities ;

(ii) the right to profess and practise any religion ;

(iii) the right to have a personal religion or no religion at all ;

(iv) the right to freedom of expression.

Democracy is only one of the forms in which these values have found expression, and it must be judged continuously on the basis of these values. World peace, which is so essential for survival, must be founded on these values to enable both the East and the West to attain fulfilment.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

TOWARDS A NATIONAL FOOD POLICY?

A closer look than appears to have been bestowed in most quarters in the country, at what has now been declared as a national food policy, would appear to be no more than a non-descript mass of decisions whose principal aim would seem to be to steer clear of all areas of cleavage at almost every point where it would be inescapable if really a healthy and rational food policy for the country were to be evolved and purposively pursued. In the result, what would appear to have emerged is more in the nature of a temporary adjustment for the current year for the present only, of Government's obligations to feed the nation to what may only be vaguely described as current market forces.

Extension of Rationing

One of the major shifts from the recommendations of the Food Sub-committee which met in New Delhi only a week before under the chairmanship of the Union Food Minister, would appear to be that immediate introduction of statutory rationing in cities with a population of 300,000 and more and its gradual extension to cities with a population of upto 100,000 has been regarded as *a hazardous move* and the *venture was doomed to failure*. All that the Chief Ministers' Conference in New Delhi, held on August 6 last, would agree to for the time being —shelving in the process the earlier recommendation made only five days ago—was to introduce statutory rationing in the eight large cities in the country with a population of one million and more each. This would cover an aggregate population of approximately 17 millions,—bringing all towns with a population of 300,000 and more each would mean providing for a population of 43 millions instead—and would correspondingly reduce Government's procurement obligations to only about 1 million tonnes of rice and 1.2 million tonnes of wheat at the level of a daily ration of 12 oz. per adult per day. It was made clear on the occasion by the Union Food Minister that if the present estimates of national food deficits when revised by the Planning Commission with the collaboration of the Agricultural Price Commission were found to be below the actual incidence of the deficits prevailing in the country, there would be a compensatory increase of imports to cover the additional deficit—the size of the ration will have to be adjusted to the actual availability of home-grown suppiles together with imported foodgrains at their present level of imports.

Procurement Hazards

Even a child could visualize that the feasibility of extending statutory rationing to towns with a population of 300,000 and more and, eventually to those with upto 100,000 would be determined by the success with which the Government could evolve a procurement machinery to cover the basic needs of such a much larger rationed area. In the recommendations of the Food Sub-committee, the methods of procurement as well as its area and incidence was left largely open and indefinite. It was only recommended that the movement of grains from surplus to deficit states in accordance with the previously determined quotas of supplies, would have to be through the Food Corporation of India. Secondly, the method of procurement by the Food Corporation in surplus states for the purpose would have to be determined by agreement, in each case, between the Corporation and the concerned State. For the rest, the methods of procurement within each State for sustaining its machinery of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...atutory rationing would have to be left to the ...cretion of every individual State. If any State ...uld wish to pursue a policy of total procure- ...t it should be left free to do so ; other ...s may adopt whatever policy they may ...der suitable to the conditions obtaining ...their respective borders. This would have ...ffect, it was claimed, of reducing, if not ...y eliminating the Centre's current obligations ...er the deficit States.

...But in case rationing were to be introduced ...effect from the New Year, as earlier re- ...ended, in every town with a population of ...00 and more and eventually within the next ...months to towns with a population of upto ...00, the success of the recommendation would, ...gely, have to depend on the success with ...h procurement of grains could be ensured by ...States concerned,—whatever the particular ...d for the purpose they might wish to pursue. ...The initial question that would arise in this ...ection, naturally, is as regards the proper ...inistrative machinery at the disposal of each ...rmed State Government to cover the purpose. ...is notorious that the existing States adminis- ...tive machinery is none too strong or even ...esome. But it might manifestly be unfair to ...e the present lacks all on the permanent ...inistration only. It is not infrequently that ...ermanent officials in the administration from ...highest to the lowest levels are subjected to ...measures of political and other pressures that ...y are quite unable to function with either ...siveness or even with efficiency. There have ...innumerable occasions when pious and ...dinous directives have been issued from ...y and Governmental political levels advising ...the administration should not be interfered ...in its functions, but for all the good that ...might have done so far, they might not have ...issued at all. It not merely becomes impos- ...for any administration, however honest and ...ent, to properly function under such ...ures, but such a situation opens up oppor- ...ties for possible unreliable pockets in the ...inistration—no one on earth can gurantee ...there will never be cases of individual lapses ...any administration however well-knit, however ...ely regulated and vigilantly supervised—for ...ing a situation none too clear or healthy to their own advantage or to those of their political bosses and their proteges. The success of any procurement machinery that the State Governments may set up—whether a policy of total or only partial procurement is aimed at—will naturally depend on the extent to which the Government concerned are able to eliminate party political pressures on such a machinery from the highest to the lowest village levels. It is not unnatural that the Government may not be quite confident of being able to do so in the present conditions of the party organization, especially with another general elections looming only two years ahead. It is, consequently, not unnatural in turn, that the Government should wish to avoid running the risk of having to set up a massive procurement oragnization in the circumstances and should correspondingly wish to minimize the burden of their obligations in this behalf.

Cleavage with the Trade.

But even more than the burdens of a massive procurement administration, what the State Governments and the Centre alike could not possibly view with any degree of equanimity and confidence was the need to face cleavages with the trade which would be inescpable if any very massive procurement programme were to be launched. And to successfully introduce and implement statutory rationing in cities to cover an aggregate population of 43 millions immediately and to eventually further extend its area in course of the next 15 months, this would be an inescapable obligation. It is notorious that the goodgrains trade in the country accounts for the largest concentration of economic power and commands a very substantial proportion of that large area of credit beyond the disciplines of the organized credit sector which is being euphemistically described as *unaccounted money*. For one thing, in spite of the fairly rapid and massive industrialization of the last fifteen years, agricultural produce still continues to account for well over one half of the gross national product of the country and of this foodgrains production alone is estimated to account for well over 67 per cent. Except for the below-subsistence and subsistence farmers, covering roughyly 61 per cent of the total agricultural population in the country and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

accounting for a gross share of 31 per cent of the national product (according to the recently released findings of the National Council of Applied Economic Research), presumably the more overwhelming proportion of the foodgrains production of the country is handled by the trade, except for the infinitesimal quantities directly handled by the Government and their statutory agencies. It is obvious, therefore, that the trade is in an overwhelmingly commanding position in this respect. Government have tried their level best over the last one decade and longer to induce an awareness in the trade of its social responsibilities and, thereby, curb its profiteering propensities, but absolutely to no effect. And yet the Government do not seem to be in any position to take effective measures to do so and this lack of confidence on their part would now seem to be quite clearly reflected in the final decisions that appear to have been arrived at the last Chief Ministers' Conference in New Delhi.

This weakness on the part of Government would seem to be primarily dictated by political rather than basic economic considerations. As a matter of fact, however, some show of plausibility is being offered in the argument that the principal brunt of continuing pressures on food grains prices is calculated to flow from the large urban areas with their heavy concentration of increasing economic power and the consequent explosion in demand. By introducing statutory rationing in these selected pockets of accelerating demand, these areas would be effectively cordoned off and the pressure on the general food price level in the country would be relieved. This may be the Government's hope, but that it is largely wishful thinking of a particularly naive kind would he all too obvious even to the most casual observor of the present price situation in the country. It is obvious that for understandable political reasons, into the details of which it is not necessary to enter in the present discussion, the Government do not wish to enter into an open cleavage with the economically and politically strong food grains trade in the country. The decisions arrived at in consequence to deal with the continuing food crises would appear to be obviously of a ramshackle and particularly clumsy character and even the most optimistic person could not hope for any improvement to flow from it. Not to speak of reducing the present [illegible] high general food grains price levels [illegible] would even be impossible to hope for [illegible] the price level even at its very high [illegible] altitude. Truly, all this ostentatious labour of [illegible] Government mountain, so far as the food [illegible] concerned would only appear to have yielded [illegible] more than the proverbial mouse.

Cause and Effect

What, after all, is the food crisis like in [illegible] barest bones? It has been repeatedly averred [illegible] accredited Government agencies and their [illegible] economic expertise that increase in food [illegible] production in the country has failed to [illegible] corresponding pace, since the end of the [illegible] Plan period, with the incidence of rise in [illegible] country's population. It is true that the tempo [illegible] food grains production appears to have suffered a considerable measure of attenuation [illegible] after the end of the First Plan. While cereals production was estimated to have [illegible] by as much as 26 per cent over the period between 1950-51 and 1955-56, the gross increase in national cereal output throughout the Second Plan during the first two years of the Third Plan period is estimated to have been of the order of 18 per cent over that of the 1955-56 level. But even then, is there any basic deficit in our food grains production computed at the rate of a 16 oz. daily cereal ration which the Government considered a basic need for the people (vide *Towards A Self-Reliant Economy* issued by the Planning Commission, Government of India, December, 1961, p. 76)? We have endeavoured to demonstrate in these columns some time ago that, even at the rather low level of harvest of the year 1962-63 and assuming a 2.4 per cent annual rise in the population since the 1961 census enumerations, after providing a daily 16 oz. of the cereal output to all adults (age group 14 to 65 years) and at half that quantity for the rest (age groups 0 to 13 years and 65 years and above), a good 10 per cent of the gross produce would be left over to cover the needs of seed-grains and unavoidable wastage. This, by all standards is not at all a comfortable food situation for any country, but supplies would only appear to have been

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ctical leaving no surplus at all. But then, ...e had been fairly substantial wheat and ...e rice imports to supplement the home ...duction and the position should have been ...espondingly easy if not quite comfortable. ...t yet, we had a raging food crisis in the ...try during the 1963-64 season and which ...ot, despite all endeavours of the Govern... both at the Centre and in the States ...ld it, ease until late in 1964 the rice ...st, computed to have been the largest in ...r memory, began to flow into the market ...which was sought to have been reinforced ...e promulgation of statutory price controls ...e introduction of fresh legislations to deal ...ssly with profiteers who would violate the ...r's provisions. At the turn of the New Year ...for the two following months the situation ...ned fairly easy. The reason for this would ...ar to have been two-fold. Firstly, it appeared ...the initial stages that the Government ...sly intended the new emergency laws to be ...d upon the violaters with a measure of ...sefulness and rigour. Secondly, the Govern... launched a fresh programme of massive ...grains imports which, together with the ...n taken last year-end that the Central ...rnment would set up the necessary procure... machinery for creating a central buffer ...in rice and wheat, appeared to indicate that ...Government were endeavouring to gradually ...e a dominating position over the food ...supplies in the country. Such an assumption ...further reinforced by talks of eventual and ...scale introduction of statutory rationing in ...jor cities of the country and the removal of ...od zones as soon as the position with the ...ing of the impending wheat harvest became ...e clearer.

But even before the onset of the normal lean ...n of the year, it became all too clear that ...Government had no intention, firstly, to ...ously enforce their price control measures. ...C. Subramanium, the Union Food Minister, ...y admitted that price control measures, ...ing the application of the provisions of the ...ce of India Rules with a view to disciplin... ...the food grains trade in the country, had ...y failed of their purpose. This statement ...d appear to have been a deliberate prevarication on the Union Food Minister's part for the simple reason that he should know—none better —that there was really never any serious attempt to enforce these laws inspite of the threat of dire consequences issued to the food grains trade by the Prime Minister himself.

Recurrence of the Price Crisis

As an inevitable result, even before the onset of the current lean season, food prices both at the wholesale and more so at the retail levels began to rapidly rise until in the free market today retail prices have gone up by very nearly 60 per cent over the level at which they stood at the end of January last and they continue to rise still further. This, on the face of it, would appear to be inexplicable in the background of the largest ever rice harvest of recent years ; the wheat harvest has also been proportionately large and imports, after several intervening years, are reported to have been of the order of very nearly 6 million tonnes. The resultant crisis is not merely very widespread, but its depths appear to be almost bottomless. This overt pressure would appear to be flowing mainly from the known weaknesses of the Government to deal with its principal symptoms. This weakness was further exposed when, a little while ago, the Government announced an increase in the prices of rationed commodities with a view, as they said, "to more realistically relate them to open market prices." Some awareness of the recurring dangers ahead seemed to have been manifest when the Congress party discussed the food situation in Bengalore recently and when Government constituted the Food Sub-committee with the Union Food Minister at its head. Although the Sub-committee were, apparently, reluctant to go the whole logical hog in their recommendatios to Government on the problem, they were nevertheless sound enough as they went, although there were minor lacks here and there in the structure conceived by them. But when the States' Chief Ministers assebled finally to ratify these recommendations, it was the Prime Minister himself, who presided over the Confer!ence and who was reported to have pursuaded the Chief Ministers to considerably water down the earlier recommendations of the Food Sub-committee and adopt a decision which, by

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

any method of logical reasoning, could not be expected to achieve any purpose at all except to offer protection to a favoured few urban dwellers in the country and, at the same time, leaving the most vulnerable sections of the community to the tender mercies of the profiteer with whom the Government, it appears, are wholly reluctant or unable to cope.

Realistic Assessment of Problem

Indeed, the Government's latest decisions would seem to demonstrate that they have either no realistic assessment of the problem with which they had been pretending to deal or that they were determined to deliberately evade the issues facing them and the country. Let us, for instance, take stock of the present economic classifications in the community. According to a very recently redeased results of a study by the National Council of Applied Economic Research, the burden of population in the rural sector of the country comprise 354 million persons. The average daily income of this sector of the population appears to work out at 68 paise per day; the lowest 10 million of them earn no more than 27 paise a day, the next 50 millions earn 32 paise and the next higher 100 millions only 42 paise per diem. The "size and distribution of income was marked by a high degree of inequality." While the lower 61 per cent of the households had only about a 31 per cent share of the aggregate rural income the top 39 per cent shared 69 per cent; the highest 1 per cent of the households appropriated 9 per cent of the total income. Of the rural househods 77 per cent were engaged in farming work only, while another 10 per cent engaged in crafts, business and professions from which they derived a major share of their total income. In 1962, the gross income of rural households aggregated Rs. 8,726 crores which works out at the per capita average of Rs. 247 per annum. According to another recently published estimate, among agricultural households in the country, 10 per cent own no land at all and have to work as hired labour; 30 per cent own less than 1 acre per household and are able to produce only enough to cover their own consumption requirements for about 3 months in the year; 26 per cent own less than 2.5 acres per household and produce enough to cover their own consumption needs for periods ranging between 3 and 9 months in the year. It is only the balance 34 per cent of agricultural households that produce enough for their own subsistence needs and a proportion produces surplus.

These findings, if correctly estimated, would reveal a situation with which the known agricultural policies of our Government would seem to be completely at variance. The policy for instance of determining a floor *incentive* price for food produce, would seem to be substantially unrelated to the realities of agricultural occupations in the country. It would appear that at least 66 per cent of the rural agricultural households have to buy substantial proportions of their own consumption needs, over and above what they produce, and any floor incentive price level cannot benefit them in any way; on the contrary, such an incentive price would be bound to add to the load their cost of subsistence to at least a corresponding extent. Even among the agricultural producers, there will be a proportion who depend merely on the subsistence level of production and have no marketable surplus; for them an incentive floor price can have no meaning nor any beneficial content. At 354 millions, the rural sector of the total population of the country comprise 80 per cent. Of these 77 per cent or 61.6 per cent of the total national population are wholetime farmers; of these 66 per cent of the agricultural sector or, roughly about 52 per cent of the national population are below subsistence farmers (including 10 per cent of agricultural or 8 per cent of the national population who are wholly landless agricultural workers); and only 34 per cent of agricultural households or, roughly 20.74 per cent of the national population are subsistence-cum-surplus agricultural producers. The agricultural incentive devised by way of a floor price for the farmers, therefore, can only benefit a proportion of about 20.74 per cent of the national population to the detriment of the rest of the country's population comprising 79.24 per cent, among whom at least 66 per cent of the agricultural population or, roughly, 52.8 per cent of the total national popu-

(Contd. on page 249)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

T. S. ELIOT—A GREAT CRITIC

Prof. DEBIPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA

(1)

"By some accident (it must have been—
ad not come on Mr. Eliot's name before)
ought "The Sacred Wood" just after it
e out, in 1920. For the next few years
ead it through several times a year, pencil
hand. I got from it, of course, orienta-
ns, particular illuminations and critical
as of general instrumental value. But if
ad to characterise the nature of the debt
efly I should say that it was a matter of
ving had incisively demonstrated, for
ttern and incitement, what the disinte-
sted and effective application of intelli-
ce to literature looks like, what is the
ture of purity of interest, and what is
ant by the principle (as Mr. Eliot himself
tes it) that "When you judge poetry it is
poetry you must judge it, and not as
other thing."

This is from Dr. F. R. Leavis's
pproaches to T. S. Eliot",* a brilliant
itical essay on Eliot (mainly) as a critic.
e passage just quoted has a special
nificance in view of the fact that Dr.
avis, apart from being one of the finest
itics of our age, has been, on several
casions, a very severe critic of Eliot as
itic, for whose critical genius he has,
ertheless, as the quotation above shows,
peatedly expressed the warmest and the
st grateful admiration. It would be
ficult to conceive of a better way of sum-
ng up in one sentence—the last sentence
the passage—and with such marvellous
arity and precision, the real achievement
Eliot as a critic.

There are several things to be noted
re. First, his emphasis on what I consi-
der one of the outstanding merits of the critical writings of T. S. Eliot: his "purity of interest". This is a virtue that has got to be emphasised; for our modern intellectuals who are thrilled so often by the omnipotence of socio-economic factors not only in our material environment, but also in the realm of spiritual values, in art and religion, need to be told that "purity of interest" is a virtue; that it is an indispensable condition of the creation of a great work of art.

Now what Dr. Leavis means by "purity of interest", is, if I understand him aright, a directness, an immediacy of interest in poetry as poetry and literature as literature and "not as another thing". For a literary critic, as Eliot himself has pointed out in his distinction between the "perfect" and the imperfect critic in one of his earliest essays in "The Sacred Wood" this is one of the most difficult virtues to achieve. This is proved by the fact that some very good critics are to be regarded as "imperfect" because with all their unquestionable excellences in other directions they were deficient in this "purity of interest". Even a great critic like Sainte-Beuve would, if we apply this test, be found falling short of perfection. In English literature the classical example in our age of a very fine critic who yet could not be regarded as "perfect" in Eliot's sense, is A. C. Bradley. What is wrong with Bradley as a critic is his inability to judge a literary work as, first and foremost, a work of art; his analytical intellect delights too much in philosophical subtleties and thus is in danger, frequently, of losing sight of the poem or the play as a concrete object. We are only to compare

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bradley's study of **Hamlet** with Eliot's little provoking essay on Hamlet. As a penetrating psychological analysis of Hamlet the man Bradley's study of **Hamlet** is admirable; what is wrong with him is that like two of his more illustrious predecessors, Goethe and Coleridge, he forgot that "his first business was to study a work of art." The phrase quoted is from Eliot's essay on **Hamlet**; the phrase has a special relevance in this context because Eliot himself has always in mind, in his essay, **Hamlet** the play; he never for a moment, in all his critical writings, forgot that his "first business", as a critic, "was to study a work of art."

It is this determination to look a work of art full in the face as an **object** outside of ourselves, this absolute disinterestedness in the contemplation of art, this "purity of interest" in short, that distinguishes his first attempts at criticism in **The Sacred Wood.** In the history of English literary criticism it was something almost unknown before; it was certainly very un-English, this immediacy and purity of interest in literature as literature.

These first critical essays are distinguished by another quality, equally rare in English criticism before him, with the possible exception of Dr. Johnson; it is what Dr. Leavis has called in the passage quoted above, "particular illuminations", by which he means, I think, appreciation in detail as opposed to broad critical appraisal based on general principles. We find this technique already employed in the essays on particular authors, especially Elizabethan dramatists. Even in the little essay on **Hamlet**—which is not, however, one of his best among his earlier essays—we discover this concrete particularity of approach in the form of a keen technical interest in the versification; he compares two passages from **Hamlet** to point out the singularly unequal character of its versification. Technical preoccupation of this kind is, I believe, one of the distinguishing characteristics of a critic who is also a practitioner; it is also a characteristic of a good critic. It is to be found everywhere in the earlier critical writings of Eliot; in his brilliant essays on Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists this technical interest manifests itself in the form of, among other things, a poet's intense concern with versification. One of the most illuminating exhibitions of the latter is seen in his comparing parallel passages from different dramatists, a device which becomes in his great essay on Massinger—a model of literary criticism in all literature—a critical instrument of incomparable power. He compares parallel passages—the selection of these, is however, not always his own—from Massinger and Shakespeare and then points out both Massinger's talent as a dramatist and poet and the immense superiority of Shakespeare. And he traces this superiority down to the use of a particular phrase or a word; how, for example, the language in the famous passage in **Othello** beginning with "Not poppy, nor mandragora", has particular significance in contrast to the colourless, rhetorical character of Massinger's language in a parallel passage; how the adjective "drowsy" and the word "medicine" in Shakespeare "infuse a precise vigour". It is essentially the poet's, and a highly gifted young poet's unerring feeling for words, a sharpened, highly developed sensitiveness to language.

This tendency towards concrete precision, this power to communicate "particular illuminations", characterises one of his earliest critical essays, "Christopher Marlowe" published in 1918. The intense technical interest in versification is to be seen in a sentence like this:

"Marlowe gets into blank verse the melody of Spenser, and he gets a new driving power by reinforcing the sentence period against the line period."

I quote this sentence not only because it is a characteristic utterance, both in its

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...e and content, of T. S. Eliot in his thirti-
...year, but also because I wish to point
...what is so extraordinary about this
...remark: that such a sentence in 1918
...d be written only by a poet who at the
...e time was a critic of genius. An in-
...ent and sensitive reader of Marlowe
...d rather have one such sudden illumi-
...n than whole volumes on Marlowe.
...that Eliot ever deprecated learning;
...ritic of our time has expressed such pro-
...d respect for genuine scholarship.) A
...ence like this shows not merely techni-
...competence—although even this is by no
...ns as common as it is supposed to be
...ng literary critics; it shows also a truly
...sophic gift of seizing upon the essence
...thing and then expressing it clearly
...precisely, extracting the last drop of
...ning out of every word. The economy
...words is astonishing.

This remark on Marlowe's versification
...followed—to come back to my point,
...ely, Eliot's "particular illuminations"—
...a series of quotations from Marlowe with
...f but illuminating comments. He
...es, for example, a passage from
...lowe to show that "it is something
...h Shakespeare could not do", then a
...ber of others (from **Dido**) to show that
...y are "pure Marlowe", and then sudden-
...quotes from Shakespeare's **Richard III**:
..."What scourge for perjury can this dark
...narchy afford false Clarence?" and re-
...ks: "There on the other hand, is what
...lowe's style could not do; the phrase
...a concision which is almost classical,
...ainly Dantesque". Finally, he quotes
...ther passage (If thou wilt stay, Leap in
...e arms....) that might have been writ-
..., he says, by either.

(2)

..."Comparison and analysis, I have said
...re, and Remy de Gourmont has said be-
...e me," wrote Eliot in his "The Function of Criticism" (published in 1923) undoubtedly the most outstanding contribution to the subject since Arnold's famous essay with the same title, "are the chief tools of the critic." To be able to compare is certainly one of the best tests of critical ability; and in this art of comparison, an extremely delicate and difficult art, T. S. Eliot is unsurpassed in critical literature. To a reader of intelligence and sensibility, how illuminating, how thrilling are Eliot's comparisons!

Now, in Eliot's criticism, this comparison may be either in the form of particular appreciation or general evaluation. One of the things that distinguish, I think, his earlier from his later essays is that in the former his comparisons are confined mainly to particulars, to technical details of style and versification, of language and imagery. In his essays on Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists, for example, one of the most instructive ways of making particular comparisons of this kind, is the pointing out of subtle differences in the rhythms and tones of blank verse. I do not know of any other critic, old or modern, who has studied the development of blank verse in English poetry as Eliot has done; his sensitiveness to the musical subtleties of blank verse is astonishing. In his little essay on Marlowe—I return to this essay because it is widely known and also because it is one of his earliest successes in literary criticism—the blank verse of Marlowe is compared with the blank verse of Spenser, of Shakespeare, of Kyd and also, by implication, of—an unexpected name in such a context— Tennyson.

Eliot frequently confronts two poets who are not only widely distant from one another in time but have apparently nothing in common. This brings me to a very remarkable feature of his comparisons: their range. "The good critic", he says, in one of the most profound studies of the maladies of the modern literary world, his essay on **Religion and Literature,** "is the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

man who, to a keen and abiding sensibility, joins wide and increasingly discriminating reading." What we are to notice in Eliot's literary comparisons, is not merely wide erudition but also the extreme fineness of perception and sharpness of critical discrimination.

In his essay on Ben Jonson, for example, we suddenly come upon a very unexpected visitor, an author who, we should have thought, had no business to be there: the author of **L'education Sentimental.** And yet the passage in which he compares Jonson with Flaubert to show how Flaubert's method of "critical fiction" was "antithetical to Johnson's" is one of the most illuminating in the essay. Who would have thought that in an essay on The Metaphysical Poets he would find quotations from Jules Laforgue and Racine and have the greatest masters of diction in the English language, Milton and Dryden, compared with the greatest masters of diction in France, Racine and Baudelaire, and yet without the slightest feeling of irrelevance? One of the most striking illustrations of such seemingly incongruous juxtaposition of authors, widely different not only in time but also in language, is afforded by Eliot's essay on **Andrew Marvell**—a marvel of its kind in literary criticism. He quotes the famous lines from Marvell's **"Coy Mistress"** where the poem takes a sudden, surprising turn:

> But at my back I always hear
> Time's winged chariot hurrying near,
> And yonder all before us lie
> Deserts of vast eternity

and then as suddenly and as surprisingly springs upon us two quotations in the Latin original, the first from Horace, the second from Catullus, commenting that "the verse of Marvell has not the ground reverberation ("Nox est perpetua una dormienda"—Night is one eternal sleep) of Catullus's Latin; but the image of Marvell is certainly more comprehensive and penetrates [illegible] depths than Horace's ("Pallida Mors [illegible] pulsat. . . .")." He then goes on to [illegible] two superb lines from Gautier to illustrate "this alliance of levity and seriousness" a characteristic of "wit" and tells us that present in Baudelaire and Laforgue, Catullus, Propertius and Ovid. He [illegible] out the "element of surprise"—which rightly remarks, "one of the most important means of poetic effect since Homer"—Marvell's verse at its best and then shows quoting, how it is present in Villon ("Je faim saillir le loup des boys"). Even this not all, because I have left out from this of foreign authors the name of a Fre novelist, the author of **Bouvard and Pe chet,** putting in, as always, a dramatic unexpected appearance. (Eliot, by the appears to have had the profoundest ad ration for Flaubert. He was as sensitive good prose, to a highly distinguished individual prose style, as to good verse an artistic medium. He is himself, as often are, a master, as I shall try to later on, of English prose).

T. S. Eliot has enjoyed the reputation being a man of wide erudition; he is tainly one of the most learned poets of time. But to be able to perceive a qua that is common to Andrew Marvell Catullus requires something more learning; perception of this kind is possi only when wide knowledge is combi with a wide range of sensibility. We remember, in other words, that Eliot not merely a learned critic; he was a ed **poet**; and that makes all the differen in the world.

(3)

Commenting on a difficult, but celebrated passage in Coleridge's **Biographia Lite raria,** quoted in his longest and most com prehensive single critical work, "The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism" (incl my opinion, as sustained in its critical ac

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

dience as his great essay on Dante, for
mple, but often brilliant and stimulating
always delightful) Eliot confessed that
ound it utterly incomprehensible and
r on to complain, not against Coleridge,
against the fact that his mind was in-
gibly "heavy and concrete". Oddly
gh, the mental deficiency which Eliot
ers—with his inimitable mild and good-
oured irony—to deplore in himself is
sely what makes his critical works far
interesting, certainly far more **read-**
than those of Coleridge, his most dis-
ished critical predecessor in English
ature. This concreteness, in his attitude
work of art and also in his style, is, so
from being regrettable, Eliot's supreme
ribution to English literary criticism;
for this concreteness we would not have
nd in his critical writings the "particular
minations" that Dr. Leavis so justly
ires.

But this is not all. Later on in the same
k he says that he is "acutely aware" of
"incapacity for abstruse thought". (This
ne example, among many, of Eliot's self-
cism. His critical detachment toward
own achievement as a poet and a prose
er is amazing. The classical example
this detachment, this calm, impersonal
look, is his famous essay on "Poetry and
ama". No critic, not even the most im-
cably hostile, has criticised his verse
ys so severely, so unsparingly, so merci-
ly as the author himself; indeed the
y purpose of the essay is to point out his
rial successes and his failures in solving
problem of using verse as the medium in
dern drama.)

Now, unlike his good-humoured, half-
ical, half-indulgent complaint against
mental deficiency alluded to above, this
f-criticism must be taken seriously, be-
use he means it; and his regret is sincere.
e question, then, is: is it true? Does he
ly suffer from this mental incapacity? To be more explicit: is Eliot really incapable of "abstruse thinking"?

Before attempting to investigate this serious allegation against himself I must ask another question of a more general nature. It is this: for a literary critic, is a certain capacity for "abstruse thinking" an indispensable requirement? Does the absence of this capacity disqualify him as a critic? The answer is: certainly, it does. If it does, Eliot's damaging admission, **if true,** must prove fatal to his position as a critic.

We must remember that Eliot himself has emphasised the necessity of "philosophical training" for a literary critic; and it is the want of "philosophical training" that he regrets so much in Matthew Arnold. Eliot himself had had a sound "philosophical training." He studied philosophy at Harvard; he even prepared a Doctorate thesis on Bradley whose philosophy and whose prose style he so profoundly admired. (His thesis has been published recently). It is impossible to believe that a man who had chosen philosophy as his special subject of study, who delighted in so difficult a philosopher as F. H. Bradley, who could warmly appreciate as a "work of art" Bertrand Russell's famous essay, "On Denoting", was incapable of "abstruse thinking". We can only conclude that with his usual modesty, Eliot had exaggerated his failing in this respect; here as elsewhere, it was his passion for perfection that led to dissatisfaction with himself.

For his own critical writings patently contradict his verdict upon himself; and these are distinguished by virtues that we should expect to find only in a philosophical intellect of a very high order: clarity and almost mathematical precision, power of grasping the essence of a thing, of distinguishing the essential from the accidental; a gift for analysis; respect for words and the utmost caution in the use of them. Some of these virtues, notably the last, I propose to discuss when we come to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

consider Eliot's prose style. I shall now discuss and illustrate from his critical writings, (1) his power of grasping the essence of something, of distinguishing the essential from what is accidental, (2) his gift of analysis and (3) his precision.

(4)

As for the first, I have already called the reader's attention to it in connection with Eliot's remark on Marlowe's metrical accomplishment. I shall give here only one more example. In his essay, "The Function of Criticism", Eliot raises the question : "If so large a part of creation is really criticism (this, by the way, is what Eliot himself believes to be true), is not a large part of what is called 'critical writing' really creative"? In answering this important question Eliot gives us what is to my knowledge the most satisfactory explanation of the difference between "creation" and "criticism". "A creation, a work of art, is autotelic ; and that criticism, by definition, is **about** something other than itself. Hence you cannot fuse creation with criticism as you can fuse criticism with creation." The first sentence, hard and clear, comes to us with the force of a sudden revelation, illuminating for us whole regions in the realm of aesthetics that had remained in darkness ; and the explanation is clear and final. Only a great critic can do this, a critic, besides, who possesses the true philosopher's quick eye for the essence of a thing, for the fundamental and the really significant.

This ability to perceive the essence of a thing, the real point at issue, demands not only intelligence, but what we vaguely term intuition, the kind of sudden illumination that makes possible great discoveries in science. The next quality which I have singled out as an essentially philosophical virtue is more purely intellectual : power of analysis. And analysis, as we have seen, is, along with comparison, one of the two chief critical tools in the hands of a critic. Now a gift for analysis ... be demonstrated in two ways : in ... with a fact, and in dealing with an ... In literary criticism the former takes ... form of what Dr. Leavis has called ... cular appreciation", which in ... criticism (as also in Dr. Leavis's) ... mainly in pointing out, as I have tried ... show, the peculiar quality of a particular 'work of art, a poem, a passage, a ... even a phrase or a word ; the ... manifests itself in the elucidation of, ... words of Dr. Leavis again, "critical ... of general instrumental value". It is ... aspect of critical analysis that I propose now to discuss.

An admirable example of analysis ... this kind is the discussion of the "... of Belief" in his famous essay on ... His brief thesis does not pretend to be ... and exhaustive ; it is tentative, as ... himself admits ; but what he has to say ... this difficult subject, he says clearly, ... —as is so often the case with him—suggests ... more than he says ; and I consider ... remarks on the relation between belief ... understanding in poetic appreciation, a ... brief note appended to his essay, a valuable ... contribution to the subject.

This is only one example. A still more ... remarkable example of Eliot's analytical ... ability is to be found in a later essay, "... Music of Poetry". The way in which ... marshals his facts and arguments, so that ... all converge to his central point "that the ... sound of a poem is as much an abstraction ... from the poem as is the sense", is masterly ... it makes us see what "disinterested ... effective application of intelligence ... literature", in the striking sentence of ... Leavis which I have quoted at the beginning ... as my text, "looks like". It is amazing ... how much he has said, what a wide range ... of subjects he has touched upon, in so ... small a space ; and yet everything is so ... clear, so luminous ; the essay has itself the ... musical pattern of a beautiful poem.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

But this essay, has, for me, another ...e of considerable interest: it affords us ...pical example of the way in which ...e **approaches** his subject. He begins ...essay as if he is caught in the midst of ...nversation; he is pointing out the ...ations and the dangers, of a poet talk- ...bout poetry. Then suddenly we are ...bout his poor knowledge of "rules of ...ion". After this personal note we ... to know some very interesting points ...rning the metrical structure of classi- ...d English poetry. And then when ...are beginning to wonder—although ...dy held by a keen interest in the ...ker—what all this has to do with his ...ect, "the music of poetry", we find that ...re approaching the very heart of it: ...vital relation between the "music" of ...ry and contemporary colloquial speech. ...immediately find ourselves confronted ...his central thesis that "the music of ...ry is not something which exists apart ...the meaning".

But we are not told as yet what he ...s by "the music of poetry"; instead, ...lls us what it is not; he tells us, for ...nce, that it is not the same thing as ...melody of sound, that melody is no ...e than "one of the components of the ...e of words"; further, that there is no ... thing as a beautiful word; that ...m the point of view of **sound** alone", ... word, within its own language, is as ...tiful (or as ugly) as any other. His ..., in short, is that from the point of ... of "the music of poetry", what mat- ...is the **whole** poem and not melodi- ...words or even lines and passages. This ...s to his conclusion that "a musical ..." is a poem "which has a musical ...rn of sound and a musical pattern of ...econdary meanings of the words which ...pose it, and that these two patterns are ...soluble and one".

To pursue this essay further is un- ...essary to my purpose. My point is that Eliot has not yet given us a **definition** of "the music of poetry"; and he will not do so either in the pages that follow. I have dwelt so long on this point because this is very characteristic of the author. Eliot never gives us a definition in the usual sense of the term. I say "in the usual sense of the term", because I want to distinguish this usual sense of the word from its original sense in Latin. I hope I am not being pedantic in making this distinction, for Eliot himself has done this on the title-page of his "Notes towards the Definition of Culture", where he gives us a quotation and the quotation is from The Oxford English Dictionary. "DEFINITION: The setting of bounds; limitation (rare)—1483".

When I said that Eliot never defines, what I meant was that he never gives us a formulation **in one sentence**; and the reason is simple: his **whole** essay is an attempt at definition; it is a continual attempt at "the setting of bounds", at "settling the limits", (C.O.D.) of a concept. It is thus always an **approximation,** because the end is, like the mathematical concept of a limit, an ideal, and therefore, in the final analysis, unattainable. Consequently, **elimination** plays a large part in his analysis of a concept. In other words, as I have tried to illustrate from the essay I have been discussing, before attempting to tell us, what it (the concept) is, he tells us what it is **not,** what he does **not** mean by the term. His analytical method consists essentially in a closer and closer approximation, a fencing in, so to speak.

This brings me to my third quality, namely, precision, and to something that will, I suspect, sound like a paradox. The point I want to make is that—and this is the paradox—T.S. Eliot's precision and clarity of thought are due, to a very large extent, to the fact that he never defines anything. I might put the matter in another form: Eliot is so chary of definitions precisely because he has a precise mind.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

His analysis of "wit" in his essay on Andrew Marvell furnishes another interesting example of what I have in mind. It is true that he gives us something like a definition of "wit" when he describes it briefly as "a tough reasonableness beneath the slight lyric grace". But this is, as he himself calls it, a "tentative designation"; he does not offer it as a definition. After warning us against employing so "fluid" a term uncritically, "with too wide a comprehension", he goes on, characteristically, to tell us where we do **not** find this quality; we do **not** find it, for example, in any of the romantic or Victorian poets. Two pages farther on he tells us that he is still "trying to identify" the "sort of wit" he has in mind. All that he has been able to do so far is to elicit one important characteristic of "wit": the "alliance of levity and seriousness", and this characteristic, he affirms, is present in Gautier, Baudelaire and Laforgue; in Catullus, Propertius and Ovid. He mentions certain other characteristics of wit like "internal equilibrium" with, as always, appropriate illustrations; and then after he has told us so many things about the nature of wit and with such brilliance, he suddenly, just before ending his essay, declares that he has "patently failed to define" this quality in Marvell, the quality we call "wit". And yet this "patent failure" is unquestionably one of the best analysis in English literary criticism of one of the most baffling concepts in literature.

A remarkable example of Eliot's characteristic manner of approaching a particularly elusive literary concept is afforded by one of the most comprehensive critical essays of his later period which is itself one of the classics on the subject, "What is a Classic"? This essay has a peculiar relevance to my point because the very purpose here, as the title itself indicates, is to define a term. Every passage, every sentence in this long essay contributes to this aim but we cannot put our finger on any one sentence as containing a [illegible] tion of a classic; we are to look for definition in the essay as a whole. What he does in effect is first to make it clear what he does **not** mean by a classic, then to try to define not what he does mean by the term, but its constituent elements one by one, with the utmost vigilance choosing his expressions, always taking care to make his point as clear as possible illustrative references.

This last point is important, because without it—it is impossible to appreciate very important fact about the nature Eliot's precision: it is **concrete** precision It is this concrete precision that characterises his best poetry; it is also what distinguishes his best criticism. It is the precision of the great specialist philosophers who delight in the subtleties of thought for their own sake; it is essentially the precision of a true poet. This point needs to be emphasised because Eliot, with all his indubitably philosophical qualities as a critic—and one of my chief purpose in this essay has been to bring them out—is not a philosopher. He is first and foremost a **literary** critic. All I mean was that he is a literary critic with a strong philosophical training and that this rigorous discipline has been all to the good.

That Eliot was not a philosopher but above all an artist whose primary concern as a critic was not ideas but works of art is proved by the fact that his important critical pronouncements involving "radical and comprehensive value-judgments" (the phrase is Dr. Leavis's) are always suggested by reflections on a particular author, a particular book, a poem, or even a particular passage. His celebrated remarks on the nature of poetic belief to which I have drawn the attention of the reader above were provoked by "a specifically philosophical passage" in the **Purgatorio**". His generalisations are never **a priori**, they are invariably either preceded or followed by criticism of a line, a pas-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...e, a book or an author; they are always ...ported by the concrete and the particu-

It is, I think, significant that in his only ...y on a philosopher, "Francis Herbert ...dley" he devotes several pages to a close ...lysis of Bradley's prose style, and ...e pages form certainly the most in-...sting part of this admirable study. It ...quite natural that Eliot should have ...mly—and with perfect justice—admir-...the prose style of this great philoso-...r; his own prose style is distinguished ...the same virtues that distinguish Brad-...'s philosophical writings. And these ...tues, as we shall presently see, are emi-...ntly Latin virtue; they are more French ...an English.

(5)

The prose of T. S. Eliot is, as an instru-...ent of literary criticism, perfect. It may ...noted here that Herbert Read in his ...English Prose Style", which is perhaps ...e best book on the subject so far written, ...otes a passage from "The Sacred Wood" ...s a model of English expository prose. ...though it is the prose written by a poet ...is the very antithesis of what is called ...poetic" prose; its virtues are more scien-...c than poetic. To read Eliot's critical ...se is to realise, for the first time per-...ps—in English literature, certainly—that ...erary criticism is an intellectual dis-...pline, and a very difficult one. A distin-...shed critic of our time, F. L. Lucas, ...ds him unduly "severe and austere". ...e epithets were patently meant to be ...ndemnatory, yet Eliot himself, I am sure, ...ould have been only too glad to have ...en attributed to his style, verse or prose. ...d F. L. Lucas is right; for Eliot's criti-...l prose is severe, it is austere; but it is ...e austerity of the classical mind, a mind ...nsumed by a passion for perfection of ...rm in art, as in life.

And yet this classical austerity of style is very far from being a cold perfection. I do not know of any other English critic whose critical writings are so immensely, so splendidly readable; any other English critic who is so utterly incapable of being, even for a moment, dull, who is so continually interesting in every sentence. Eliot knew the secret, a secret known to very few critics (and these few are all French, except Walter Pater) of making perfection, a severely disciplined perfection of form, delightful; of combining hard, ruthless precision with the excitement of tense drama.

I shall take as illustrations of Eliot's style three essays on closely related themes written at different periods of his life: **Tradition and the Individual Talent (1917), The Function of Criticism (1923),** and **The Frontiers of Criticism** (1956). For a young man of twenty-nine the first essay was a remarkable achievement: the maturity of mind is astonishing; the prose style is already fully developed and exhibits almost all its peculiar virtues. What is most remarkable about the style is its economy of words, its compression; every word he uses is charged with meaning and not one is superfluous. One can describe this essay as what he himself had said once about Russell's famous essay, "On Denoting": "clear and beautifully formed thought".

But with all its great merits it does not, I think, represent Eliot's criticism at its best. For this we must turn to the next essay, "The Function of Criticism", which he wrote six years later. In the first essay Eliot simply states; he does not argue his point, or try to establish it against possible objections.

In this essay, the "pontifical solemnity", which Eliot himself had condemned and ridiculed in his earlier essays, has disappeared. The compression is there, but also something else: Eliot's irony. It is the polemical irony of Matthew Arnold: in-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cisive and sharp as razor's edge, yet good-humoured and amused, with plenty of fun. It is this irony, intelligent and smiling like Arnold's, enlivened by a keen, highly refined sense of humour that makes this very serious essay such great **fun** to read.

The contrast between the first essay in my list with the third, **The Frontiers of Criticism,** which he wrote about forty years later, is still more striking. ("The Frontiers of Criticim" is, I think, Eliot's last great contribution to literary criticism.) The style, the tone, the temperament, the very atmosphere has changed ; they have so little in common, (except the writer's characteristic disinterested and impersonal attitude to art), that they hardly appear to have been written by the same man. This last essay has it is true, much more in common with "The Function of Criticism", but there is more humour and pure fun than polemical irony. But the most important difference is that a new element has entered into it : the personality of the writer, and a personality of immense charm and inexhaustible interest. A large part of this essay is concerned with the author himself, his personal experiences both as a poet and as a reader of poetry. Eliot, of course, had the rare advantage of being a major poet of his time (though he always referred to himself as a minor poet of England); and when a major poet of one's own time speaks about himself he cannot fail to be interesting. But that alone, I am sure, cannot account wholly for the peculiar charm of the **man** himself whom we meet so often, in the later critical essays (written, that is, during or after the War). And when I speak of the man himself I do not mean merely his intelligence and sensibility, which are certainly of a rare order ; what I have in mind is an essential **moral** quality. T. S. Eliot is among those very few writers of distinction of our time who can speak about themselves as much as they like—he does it frequently in his later essays—without being, even for a moment, egotistic. I would go so far as to say that in these later critical essays, [illegible] only the most ineresting but the most [illegible] **able** passages are those in which he is engaged in the most difficult of all critical activities : self-criticism ; and the self is examined, analysed and criticised [illegible] supreme **intrinsic** interest.

I have dwelt at some length on Eliot's later essays because they seem to me to be underestimated and considered inferior to his earlier ones by some people ; the most distinguished among them being Dr. Leavis himself. Dr. Leavis obviously thinks that Eliot is at his best when his "approach" is "restricted", when the technical interest, that is, is dominant ; and this is what he find in his earlier criticism. When, on the other hand, this technical preoccupation, inevitable and natural for a critic like Eliot who is also a practitioner, tends to be displaced more and more by "comprehensive and radical value-judgments", the result is much less satisfactory ; and this is precisely what happens (so Dr. Leavis tells us) in Eliot's "later criticism".

Dr. Leavis (a dangerous critic to disagree with) seems here to be unduly severe on Eliot's later critical essays ; they are not, it appears, as incisive and challenging as the best essays of his earlier period (or, I might add, as those of Dr. Leavis himself); they are also not **committed** enough. But there is, I think, a more fundamental reason for his mistakable preference for Eliot's earlier criticism. Dr. Leavis has pointed out, emphatically, the central importance of "particular appreciation" in literary criticism ; Eliot is himself, I must record here, the most distinguished successor of Eliot in this very difficult art of "minute criticism", and minute criticism of this kind is what we often miss in Eliot's later criticism.

And yet it must be admitted that even in his later criticism, the best essays are those in which the technical preoccupation of the practitioner is most in evidence; no one [illegible]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...would deny, for instance, that his two ...says on Milton (or his essay on Johnson), ...as **literary criticism**, on a higher level ...an his essay on Kipling. At the same time ...must also be admitted that in some of the ...ter essays of his later period—in **What is a ...assic**, for instance,—this technical element ...not dominant. "The essential function of ...rary criticism", Eliot declared in his **"The ...ction of Criticism"**, is "the elucidation ...works of art and the correction of taste". ...his earlier essays, I believe, he is pri...arily concerned with the first of these two ...ctions of a critic ; it is the second function ...at assumes greater importance in his later ...says in which in place of "elucidation of ...ks of art" we find more often elucidation ...some fundamental literary concepts. The ...nchancy and compression of his best ...rlier essays may be missed ; what we find ...stead is greater analytical elaboration and ... intense, ever-increasing concern for ...rity and precision.

In his essay on **Arnold and Pater** Eliot ...d said, "Arnold taught English expository ...d critical prose a restraint and urbanity ...needed". It is natural that Eliot should ...ve greatly admired these two virtues, ...rtues which are so conspicuous in his own ...ritings. However much his own critical ...ethod might have differed from that of ...rnold, it is Arnold, among all English cri...s, whom he resembles most in his style, ...his serene, even voice, in his catholicity ...taste and his broad European outlook. It ...here that we notice the difference between ...Eliot and another brilliant poet-critic of his ...neration, a man to whom he owed so much ...th as a poet and a critic : Ezra Pound. ...Ezra Pound's mind is, I believe, as distin...ished as Eliot's and his critical genius as ...riginal ; yet with all his outstanding merits ...as a critic, he appears, when we compare his ...tyle and tone with those of his younger ...fellow-critic-poet, uncultured, almost ill...ered ; because "restraint" and "urbanity" are certainly not among Pound's virtues as a critic.

I would like, before closing this discussion on Eliot's style, to call the reader's attention to a quality in Eliot's critical prose that I consider of the utmost importance, because it is rarely to be found in a great deal of modern literary criticism. It is this : T. S. Eliot's prose, although highly individual as all good prose, is essentially the perfection of what he has called the "common style"; it is in other words, in its vocabulary and grammatical construction, identical with the standard English of his generation. It is, according to his own definition, a "classical" style. No reader of Eliot's critical, prose writings can fail to notice a remarkable fact : how singularly free his language is from critical jargon. It is worth-noticing how rarely he uses terms like "romantic" and "classic", "objective" and "subjective"; when he does use one, he is very careful to make clear what exactly he means by it, and in what context. He is, although one of the most learned, the least pedantic of critics ; on those rare occasions when he uses a learned term like "autotelic" it is simply because there is no familiar equivalent in the language. It is because of this essential simplicity of his language that Eliot seems (his criticism, I mean, of course,) to unintelligent and superficial reader, easier to understand than in fact he is ; his profundity is too real to need the pseudo-profundity of literary, sociological or psychological gibberish that fills the learned column of critical journalism.

(6)

In the end, after re-reading the critical essays of Eliot—and his essays, whatever the author himself, who could never bear to reread his earlier prose writings, might say to the contrary, bear reperusal wonderfully—I find myself exclaiming, repeating what Remy de Gourmont, the only modern critic whom even Eliot could call a great critic,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

said about Edmond de Goncourt: "Et surtout quel memorable desinteressement"! (And above all, what memorable disinterestedness). And this "desinteressement" is essentially the same thing as what Dr. Leavis has called "purity of interest", and "purity of interest" in the case of a literary critic means, in the words of Eliot himself, the determination to judge literature "simply and naturally as literature and not another thing". "A critic accordingly is a **literary** critic" he affirms in "The Frontiers of Criticism", "if his primary interest, in writing criticism, is to help his readers to **understand and enjoy**". And this is exactly what Eliot has done for us: he is a true **literary** critic if ever there was one. In the essay I have just mentioned his central contention is that the modern tendency to concentrate on the biographical, psychological and, above all, sociological origins of a work of art is, from the point of view of literary criticism, a disturbing, even dangerous phenomenon; for "explanation by origins", interesting and valuable as it unquestionably is, is totally irrelevant to our understanding and enjoyment —these two are, according to Eliot, inseparable—of a work of art. "The influence of psychology and of sociology upon literary criticism", he says in his essay on **Johnson as Critic and Poet**, has been both an "enrichment" and an "impoverishment". It has enriched literary criticism by enlarging the field of the critic, by emphasising "the relations of literature and life". It has also been an impoverishment, "for the purely literary values, the appreciation of good writing for its own sake, have become submerged when literature is judged in the light of other considerations".

We must remember, however, that [illegible] "purity of interest" is a very different [illegible] from "aestheticism". His attitude towards the doctrine "Art for Art's sake" is characteristic. "Art for Art's sake", he says, is a sound doctrine if "it can be taken as an exhortation to the artist to stick to his job"; if it means, for instance, "the devotion" Flaubert or Henry James". But if the [illegible] means that Art is all that matters in [illegible] it is unacceptable; it is even pernicious. One of the fundamental convictions of T.S. Eliot's philosophy of life is that nothing on earth or in heaven can be a substitute for anything else. Poetry, the great poet is never tired of repeating, can never be a substitute for religion. But if we read literature merely for pleasure, for pure "aesthetic enjoyment", our reading "never affects simply a sort of special sense: it affects us as entire human beings; it affects our moral and religious existence". When Eliot says that artistic creation is "autotelic" he has in mind, I have no doubt, not the **function** of art, but the nature of artistic creation.

The function of art, we must remember, cannot be expressed in terms of art itself. "For it is ultimately the function of art", Eliot declares, in the magnificent sentence with which he concludes his great essay on **"Poetry and Drama"**, "in imposing a credible order upon ordinary reality, and thereby eliciting some perception of the order **in** reality, to bring us to a condition of serenity, stillness, and reconciliation, and then leave us, as Virgil left Dante, to proceed toward a region where that guide can avail us no further".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WHITHER INDONESIA ?

Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

largest Muslim country in the world—the largest in point of area in the world—nesia has become in recent weeks a major che to all peace loving nations. She ked on her career as a full-fledged fifteen years ago as a stout champion n-alignment and parliamentary demo-. She bade good-bye to the latter a s ago when she shelved her parliamentary ocratic constitution and replaced it with ded Democracy, which is democracy only in e. To all intents and purposes it is a thinly ised military dictatorship with Dr. Soekarno e President. (He has since been made the President of the Republic of Indonesia.) tever its merits and demerits, Guided Demo- has helped President Soekarno in maintain- the integrity of his country by playing off rival forces of opposition one against another.

Non-alignment now goes the way of parlia- tary democracy. Non-alignment of Indonesian ception, it must be remembered, was never d on any noble idealism. It was rather a y of expediency designed to obtain aid from East as well as from the West. The gradual t in Indonesian policy of non-alignment has n noticed for a long time by observing dents of current international affairs. The el of history now goes full circle with the nesian withdrawal from the United Nations d by Sino-Indonesian entente.

President Soekarno declared on January 7 that Indonesia had resigned her membership the United Nations. She has gained thereby dubious distinction of being the first member- e to resign from that world body. Soekarno not satisfied with resignation from the United ions. He goes farther and threatens to set up parallel world-organisation outside the United ions. He has obtained the blessings of Peoples' ina. None else, so far as we know, favours the ve. The U.S.S.R., among others, tried in in to dissuade Indonesia from quitting the United Nations. Soekarno perhaps banks on the support of the Afro-Asian countries. But they have got in the past—they get at present and expect to get in future—substanial aid from the United Nations. They are not, therefore, happy with Indonesia's decision. Nor are they likely to respond to President Soekarno's call. His bid for the leadership of Asia had its Waterloo at Bandung in 1955. He may renew the bid. But the odds are against him and a rude disappointment seems to be in store for him. Red China may, however, use him to build up an anti-Soviet, anti-U.S.A. third power.

What has led to the withdrawal of Indonesia from the United Nations ? Indonesian spokesmen say that it is in protest against Malayasia's election to the Security Council of the United Nations. The Federation of Malayasia composed of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and former British, North Borneo came into existence in September 1963. With a 1,300-mile common frontier with Indonesia, Malayasia has a total population of about ten million made up of Chinese, Malayas, Dayaks and various other indigenous tribes as against Indonesia's one hundred million. Indonesia is determined to crush Malayasia and in pursuance of her policy of 'konfrontasi' (confrontation) has been waging an undeclared war against the latter since its inception less than one and a half years ago. Not that Indonesia really fears any aggression from Malayasia. The four hundred thousand-strong Indonesian army with its up-to-date Russian arms and ammunition is one of the largest and strongest in Asia. Malayasia's fifteen thousand-strong army is no match for its Indonesian counterpart. What Soekarno objects to and dislikes is Great Britain's presence in Malayasia. He contends that Great Britain will use Malayasia as a base for dominating South-East Asia and for obstructing the development of Indonesia. He pretends to see the bogey of neo-colonialism in the British base at Singapore—the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

largest in the Far East and the British promise of help to Malayasia in case of external aggression.

But who is guilty of neo-colonialism—Great Britain or Indonesia? The boot seems to be on the Indonesian foot. The Associated Press reports from Washington under date line February 7, 1965 that by a secret military pact with Red China, Indonesia has agreed to the division of Malayasia between herself and China. The Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr. Soebandrio is reported to have told this to a closed door meeting in the office of the Indonesian mission at the United Nations on December 9, 1964. The meeting was attended by Indonesian Ambassadors in Canada, Mexico, Belgium, Holland and the U.S.A., among others. The *New York Herald Tribune*, which gave out the news, says that Dr. Soebandrio hinted that before the end of 1965 Red China and Indonesia would mount simultaneous assaults on Malayasia from two different directions. He is reported to have told the meeting that according to a pact between China and Indonesia, the immense man power of the former would come to the aid of the latter in case of an all-out attack from any quarter. Dr. Soebandrio is reported to have said further that while Singapore and North Borneo would be incorporated in Indonesia the whole of Malayasia north of Singapore would be annexed to China. He believes that a major push against Singapore and North Borneo will lead to their easy annexation by Indonesia. According to the blueprint of the offensive, 10,000 Indonesian guerillas from across the Strait of Malacca are to advance on Southern and Central Malayasia while Chinese guerillas from the Thai border are to converge on the same area simultaneously. Dr. Soebandrio believes that the U.S.A. Seventh Fleet will not interfere and that the Commonwealth troops in Malayasia cannot resist a joint Sino-Indonesian onslaught.

The joint communique at the end of Dr. Soebandrio's subsequent visit to Peking in January-February (1965) and the grand reception accorded to him at the Chinese capital are straws in the wind. They indirectly corroborate the A.P. news. Five thousand Pekingese—Chou En-lai and other top Chinese leaders among them—were present at the airport to see the Soebandrio mission off on the conclusion of their tour. This alone shows how much seriousness and ... tance are attached to the mission by the ... authorities. The joint communique at the ... the tour leaves no room for doubt that ... has walked into the Chinese parlour. ... promised a hundred million-dollar ... Indonesia. There is, however, nothing ... or unnatural in economic collaboration ... communist and non-communist countries. ... are unusual are the size of the Soebandrio ... mission—forty-one members including four ... Ministers—the way in which it was received ... its Chinese hosts and its composition. The ... Sino-Indonesian statement at the end of the ... gives out why such a large mission including ... many imporant members of the Indonesian ... Government was sent out to China and why ... gave it a right royal reception. The statement ... question declares, among others, that Malaysia ... an imperialist base, is a handy weapon to ... the revolutionary movement of the peoples ... Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and former British ... North Borneo. Indonesia's withdrawal from ... United Nations has been hailed lending weight ... thereby to the suspicion that Indonesia acted ... the matter under Chinese influence. The statement further asserts that the United Nations, dominated and controlled by the ... Powers that it is, need be changed lock, stock ... barrel and cast in a new mould. Indonesia ... assured by the Big Brother that if a war is thrust ... upon her by the British and American imperialists, he will not remain a passive spectator. ... threat, a serious one, may be the hint of ... military pact between China and Indonesia. ... not unreasonable to infer that Indonesia ... obtained the guarantee of Chinese help in return ... for an Indonesian promise to side with China ... the latter is involved in a war over the Formosa ... issue. The communique further declares that ... Sino-Indonesian military collaboration will grow ... in future. If the statement means what it says ... there is no reason to think that it does not—a new ... era in South-East Asia is about to dawn.

Red China is no believer in co-existence. ... Peking is committed to a policy of fight to the ... finish against its rivals. Dr. Soekarno now stakes ... the fate of his country and people to the churning ... wheels of Chinese intransigence. His action is ... fraught with ominous possibilities not for ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...try and people alone but for the whole of ...th-East Asia and perhaps for the world at ...er. Great Britain will side with Malayasia in ...e of a full-scale attack on her. Australia and ...Zealand cannot remain neutral in such a ...gency. The former is the United Nations ...ve for Eastern New Guinea, which bord... ...n Western New Guinea (Irian Barat) in ...esia. The U.S.A., pre-occupied with ...am as it is, cannot remain a passive specta... ...n case of a major show-down between Indo... ...on the one hand and Malayasia, Great ...in, Australia and New Zealand on the other. ...esia will surely find Red China on her side ...such a war. With all the powers named ...e involved, South-East Asia will be the ...re of a major shooting war with four major powers ranged on opposite sides. What the outcome will be is anybody's guess.

The Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia), the strongest communist party in the non-communist world, is fanatically pro-Peking. Though the officers in the army are anti-communist, there are reports of communist infiltration into the other ranks. Dr. Soekarno, an adept in the game of balance and counterpoise, has so far maintained the balance between his communist and non-communist supporters. But how far and how long can he maintain it after he has agreed to play the second fiddle to China ? His decision will either finish Indonesia as an independent political entity or his political career or both.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS OF THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT

PROF. SATYABRATA RAI CHOWDHURI

THE Constitution of India, a formidable document of 395 original Articles and 9 Schedules, embodies the parliamentary system of government. The structure of this system has been reared on the foundation of British constitutional law. But a careful perusal of our constitution will lead one to the conclusion that though the Parliament represents the kernel of democratic government, unlike the British Parliament our Parliament is not a sovereign body free "to do everything that is not naturally impossible" (Blackstone). But this point has often been missed by political leaders who seem to believe that the constitution had armed our Parliament which such powers as are enjoyed by its British counterpart. It may be recalled that a few months ago, Prime Minister Shastri, obviously exacerbated by the Supreme Court's opinion on the question of jurisdictional conflict between Allahabad High Court and the U.P. Legislative Assembly, opined at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting that "Supreme Court functions under certain limitations whereas Parliament has no limitations". A similar idea was expressed by late Prime Minister Nehru in course of his Presidential Address at the Third Annual Meeting of the General Body of the Indian Institute of Public Administration held at New Delhi on' April 6, 1957, when he remarked: "We have a sovereign Parliament which is elected every five years, normally speaking"[1]. In the light of these statements the students now need to take stock afresh of the constitutional status of the Indian Parliament in general and the relation between the Legislature and the Judiciary in particular.

Though we have adopted the parliamentary form of government of the British model, the well-known dictum of De Lolme that "the Parliament can do everything but make a woman man and a man woman" does not hold good regard to the powers of the Indian Parliament. As the most important principle of English constitutional practice is that "the judges do comment on the policy of Parliament in administer the law good or bad as they find the British Parliament is a perfectly sovereign body. In the words of Dicey, "the principle Parliamentary Sovereignty means neither nor less than this, namely, that Parliament under the English Constitution, the right to or unmake any law whatever; and further, no person or body is recognised by the law of England as having the right to override or set aside legislation of Parliament".[3] But in this the sovereignty of the Indian Parliament nowhere near its British counterpart. According to Justice Kania of the Supreme Court "the principal point of distinction between the British Parliament and the Indian Parliament rests and that is that the Indian Parliament is a creature of the constitution of India and its powers, rights, privileges and obligations are to be found in the relevent Articles of the Constitution of India. It is not a sovereign body uncontrolled with unlimited powers. The Constitution of India has conferred on the Indian Parliament powers to make laws in respect of matters specified in the appropriate place in schedules, and curtailed its rights and powers under certain other Articles and in particular the Articles found in Chapter III dealing with Fundamental Rights".[4]

In regard to the question of the supremacy of the British Parliament it is sometimes argued that its sovereignty is limited by the will of the

1. See Report of the Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the General Body, Indian Institute of Public Administration, p. 8.
2. *Hansard*, May 3, 1950.
3. Dicey, *The Law of the Constitution*
4. Supreme Court Reports, 747 (1955).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

people. But as Finer has pointed out, the British constitution knows nothing about the people because once a person is elected to the House of Commons, he is virtually free to act as his own and dictates and is entitled to reject the demands ade by the people.[5] Again, in 1910 Justice ke in the celebrated Bonham's case, pro- ded the doctrine that the Common Law is e the Parliament. When the Parliament ts a law in unmistakable and indubitable es, the judges have nothing to do but to apply o the case before them. But if the terms of statute are ambiguous, how will the judges erpret it? The basic principles of common law ding the British judiciary in regard to this stion have been indicated by Keir and wson[6] as follows :

(i) The state is not liable to suit unless by express legislative provisions.

(ii) Fundamental Rights are not to be withdrawn by other than direct legislation ; thus there is to be no deprivation of the common law rights of individual freedom or property without compensation, unless expressly stated, and penal and taxing legislation is to be strictly construed.

(iii) Any change in the process of government which is the unintentional result of legislation on other matters will not be permitted.

(iv) Wide latitude will be granted to the executive in questions on the extent of its power during periods of national emergency.

this connection the observation of Justice les in the case of Lee vs. Bude & Torrington ction Railway Company deserves mention : was once said, I think in Hobart, that if an of Parliament were to create a man judge in own case, the Court might disregard it. That rum, however, stands as a warning rather than authority to be followed. We sit here as servants of the Queen and the legislature. Are we to act as regents over what is done by the Parliament with the consent of the Queen, Lords and Commons ? I deny that any such authority exists. If an Act of Parliament has been obtained improperly, it is for the legislature to correct it by repealing it ; but so long as it exists as law, the courts are bound to obey it".[7] In Britain, therefore, nobody has any legal authority to declare an Act of Parliament ultra vires, whereas in India, as in the United States, any act passed by the legislature, upon challenge by an interested party, is compared with the constitution and if in conflict therewith, is declared unconstitutional.[8] In the Gopalan vs. the state of Madras (1950) Justice Mukherjee has rightly observed that "the Constitution of India is a written constitution and though it has adopted many of the principles of the English Parliamentary system, it has not accepted the English doctrine of the absolute supremacy of the Parliament in matters of legislation. In India a statute to be valid must in all cases be in conformity with the constitutional requirements, and it is for the judiciary to decide whether any enactment is constitutional or not".

In India, the powers of the Parliament is limited by the written constitution on the one hand and the judiciary on the other. Like the American Congress the Indian Parliament must respect the limits set by the constitution ; the relevent articles giving it power and prescribing the limitations thereof. It is, therefore, not what the Parliament desires, but "what the Courts regard as judicially permissible that in the end becomes law".[9] In England, the constitutional struggle for many centuries resulted in the establishment of Parliamentary Sovereignty. But in India, as in the United States, the constitution has been created by the people in whom ultimate sovereignty inheres. The Parliament being a creature of this sovereignty must be subject to the terms of the supreme instrument which created

5. Herman Finer, *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*. p. 371.

6. Keir and Lawson, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, Chap. 1.

7. Law Reports 6, "Common Pleas" 1871, p. 582.

8. See Oliver Field, *The Effects of an Unconstitutional Statute*.

9. Dean Roscoe Pound, *Law in Books and Law in Practice*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

it. It seems logical, therefore, that in a state where there is a written constitution, its sanctity and binding force must be safeguarded by some institution—the judiciary ; and "if there is to be a binding force at all in a constitution, it ought to bind the legislature as well as other organs".[10] But it should be pointed out here that no written constitution, however comprehensive in scope, can perpetually meet the requirements of the complexities that arise in a dynamic society. In the United States it is the Supreme Court's power of judicial review that has provided the most effective way of making the rigid and written constitution flexible enough to work. In the words of Finer, "the rigid constitution has lived only by judicial respiration".

Although the Fundamental Rights as enumerated in Part III of our constitution are in some way subject to parliamentary regulations, the Supreme Court of India, like that of the United States, enjoys exclusive power of judicial review in regard to those under Article 19. In this connection the Supreme Court observed that "the determination by the Legislature of what constitutes a reasonable restriction is not final or conclusive ; it is subject to the supervision of the Court".[11]

Another issue in the controversy over the Supreme Court's power of judicial review is whether the Court should be permitted to review 'political questions' concerning which the decision of the political branches of government is often claimed to be final. This question was first posed by Thomas Jefferson who wrote in 1819 that "each department is truly independent of the others, and has an equal right to decide for itself what is the meaning of the constitution in the case submitted to its action ; and especially where it is to act ultimately and without appeal". In the United States it has been resolved that the Court has the power to decide what subjects are 'political questions'. "The doctrine of political questions does not, therefore, infringe the basic doctrine of judicial supremacy".[12] But in India although the constitution endows the judiciary with the power of judicial review almost in the same way as in the United States, the Courts have no power to question the validity of any proclamation of Emergency made by the President. Such proclamations may also remain valid without the sanction of the Parliament for a period of two months and the constitution makes special provision by which proclamation may be made during dissolution of the House of the People.

It is sometimes argued that our Parliament is supreme in so far as the power of amending the constitution is concerned. But even on this score the powers of the Parliament are not unlimited. There are some provisions in the constitution which may be amended not only by a special majority in Parliament but also by ratification by at least half of the state legislatures. As the Supreme Court has observed, "That power (of amendment) though it has been entrusted to Parliament, has been hedged about with such restrictions that its exercise must be difficult and rare".[13] In fact, it is impossible to envisage a sovereign Parliament in a federal state because, in the words of Acton, "the federal system limits and restrains the sovereign power by dividing it and assigning to Government only certain defined rights".[14]

In view of the above arguments, Prof. N. Banerjee's observation that "our Parliament is both a sovereign and a non-sovereign law making body—sovereign in some respects and non-sovereign in some others" does not seem to be tenable because as Lieber aptly puts it, "Sovereignty can no more be alienated than a tree can alienate its right to sprout or a man can transfer his life and personality without self-destruction".[15]

10. Herman Finer, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*. p. 140.
11. Chintamon Rao vs. State of M.P.
12. Allen Potter, *American Government and Politics*, p. 259.
13. Sankari Prasad vs. Union of India.
14. Acton, *Essays on Freedom and Power*.
15. D. N. Banerjee, *Our Fundamental Rights*, p. 413.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MAKHANLAL AND KEDARNATH—A TRIBUTE

SUNIT KUMAR MUKHERJEE

HANLAL Sen and Kedarnath Chatterjee ! Two ering luminaries in the firmament of the an press. Both lived long enough to observe many vicissitudes through which the Indian s had had to pass. To both, newspaper publi- n was a mission and not just a craft which used with remarkable ability. Idealism e everything, mattered most to both and e was no possible scope to sacrifice it or room compromise. Alike in many ways, it is in- sting to note that they passed away in the e week too.

Makhan Sen was a born rebel. For a gradu- of the Presidency College in the early part of century, a secured job with the government well within his grip. But the bug that went e the heads of many young revolutionaries hat age did not allow him to go for an easy, fortable life. Instead, he went to his native ge to teach history at the local school, trying erase from the minds of his young pupils, wrong impressions and misgivings gained by ring the distorted facts and versions of ian history written by English historians. by side went the inspired lectures dealing the colourful and exciting stories of the olutionary movement of our country since the s of the mutiny as well as how revolution swept the freedom movement of other tries. This crusading spirit to expose the and dispel the myth of falsehood remained assion with him all his life and, however -dosed the dope of temptation, threat or vocation might be, Makhanlal refused to wilt er any circumstance.

His 'finest hour' was however, when he be- e a part, an indispensable part of *Ananda ar Patrika*. It was there that his creative us blossomed in all its beauty. His dedication energy along with honesty and integrity ed with high journalistic skill soon placed *nda Bazar Patrika* in a position that caused headache to the rulers, opposed to nationalistic aspirations and those familiar with the romantic history and fascinating struggle of the vernacular press in Bengal against the pernicious and repressive measures of the authorities to smash it once for all, will recall that Makhan Sen's determined and bold attempts to uphold the dignity and maintain the purity of the press had made him almost an institution. Later, his difference with others in *Ananda Bazar Patrika* led him to leave the paper—an organ for which he had given his blood, sweat and toil. Restless and undaunted, he soon founded "*Bharat*", a Bengali daily amidst great difficulties and odds and here he got sound support from Kedarnath. It once more offered him the forum from whence he could launch his uncompromising campaign for the independence movement along with his other important mission in life—moulding, shaping and guiding public opinion with the spirit of service at the core of everything. It did not take long for him to realise that he was up against an uphill task and that "*Bharat*" could only continue if the ideals and principles that had been his life-long associates were forsaken which naturally he refused to do. No wonder, "*Bharat*" had to die its inevitable death despite the gallant efforts made by Makhan Sen and Kedarnath who contemptuously threw away the several baits that came pouring in to lure them to deviate from the paper's ideal and freedom. But even within its brief period of publication, it had gained a reputation as being one of the more fearless, independent and conscientious papers of the day without ever succumbing to the wiles and pressures of the interested advertisers.

That was practically the end of his eventful career although he was associated with the Calcutta University's department of Journalism ever since its inception and continued till he was stricken with bad health forcing him to bed

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and retire. As a teacher he had won the love and esteem of his numerous students and understood their problems and sympathised with their lot. He often advised his students not to rush for metropolitan dailies but to go to small towns and villages and start small community papers as were to be found in the West. Big dailies, even if they willed, could hardly absorb the growing number of journalism graduates every year and Makhanlal advised them to avoid big papers and thus be saved from frustration and disillusionment. Why shouldn't, he reasoned with his students, the new and young generation face and accept the challenge of going into small towns and start small papers reflecting thus the hopes, dreams, aspirations and problems of the dumb millions of this country ? Utopian ! Possibly, yes ; but should not, he argued, there be even a few who could lead the way and inspire others ? After all, what better service, Makhanlal used to say, was there than public service and was there a better tool to do it than through the medium of the press ? Post-independence India does badly need the service of dedicated youth to educate, guide and channelise the unlimited potentialities of our neglected masses and, being a life-long fighter, he knew that the problems of the newly-freed countries became much more pronounced and complex after independence was gained by them.

Kedarnath, though a long-associate of Makhanlal and a strong idealist like him was, however, different in certain ways. While Makhan Sen was bed-ridden for the last four years, Kedarnath was a picture of sound health and none even among those who were close to him knew that the end was so near. Remarkably fit, agile and strong for his age, well-built and handsome, Kedarnath was a misfit amongst the dyspeptic, hunchbacked and weak-kneed members of his community, the Bengalees. While Makhan Sen had to start from scratch, Kedarnath had the unique advantage of being the son of a prince amongst journalists whose reputation and sagacity had reached legendary heights even during his life time. Rarely has a journalist won so much of acclaim and esteem during his life time as Ramananda Chatterjee did. To many who are today India's established journalists, Ramananda Babu's forceful writings coupled with hard, cold logic and indisputable facts without any bitterness or rancour, served as the beacon light. Kedarnath was not only born to such an atmosphere and enviornment but he had the added advantage to learn, grasp and imbibe the teachings and style of his illustrious father who was to play so significant a part in his life.

A science graduate, he went to U.K. for further studies and saw and experienced the horrors of the First World War. He noticed the changes and devastations that war brought in the social and economic planes of England and how the basic, fundamental values of life were in the process of being changed gripped his imagination. Both as a student of London Imperial College of Science as well as the Manager of a munitions factory in Kent, he was forced to see life in all its aspects. May be this variegated panorama helped him to assess and judge matters coolly and objectively in later years and his apparent detachment placed him in an enviable position to study men and matters dispassionately.

Those who had seen him knew how faithfully he represented his age. His mannerism, his dignity, sobriety and even his gait betrayed an aura that is fast becoming a subject of history. A lot took him to be too serious and grave to be dragged from his own shell and some even thought he was too indifferent, proud and discriminating. But those who succeeded to look over the crust or layer that otherwise hid his exterior where pride never raised its ugly head but a strong personality, yes, will testify how amiable and friendly he could be. A journalist, it is said, must know something of everything but Kedarnath knew not only something but a lot of everything. One had only to know how to tap him at the right moment and in came the flow of Niagara unceremoniously satisfying the queries and doubts of many. Whether it was politics or gold smuggling or the new scientific discoveries or the latest trend in art or cinema movement, Kedarnath was well at home in every thing. How about sports or music, if one wanted to catch him off-guard ? Well, he could surprise one with the names of sporting personalities in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

rent arenas of games along with the statis- and records established in all fields of s while a long and animated discussion with on music helped one to understand what ifferent 'gharanas' or schools of music were in India and why despite having the same or 'pardas', *Goud Sarang* and *Behag* ed so different. But there was no bragging all these; he would rather sit and listen by to others but once the ice started g it was such a pleasure to be near him. ely travelled person, it was worth listenting s experiences. A fine conversationalist, he keep his audience spell-bound with serious ight talks. He was equally at home with s of wrestling or how he took cold showers rough his stay in England or how influenza a heavy toll of lives in Europe, particularly nd. Side by side in the same delightful he would tell of his trip to Persia with re and many such interesting high-lights. bove meanness, he never spoke ill of others neither allowed nor relished others indulg- in this.

Politics, he never did in the accepted sense how many of us know that he maintained timate liaison with the revolutionaries in helping them whenever they needed any. ouse was the meeting place of not only ars and intellectuals but social workers and those connected actively with the extremist s. True, he was not seen making fiery es on the maidan or leading a procession e streets. What he did was sound, cons- ve work without any fanfare of cheap city. Neither temptation nor threat could him down. Like his compatriot, Makhan e too, refused to be bought, no matter how the price was. It was no fun to keep ni and *Modern Review* going in these days of mounting costs of production and fluctuating tastes. Yet he refused to surrender to pressures threatening his bold and independent approach to run the papers. He realised that to maintain such an attitude spelt a difficult proposition but initiated as he was under his father's guidance and strong moral sense, he never gave up the chase and decided to fight to the end. His position in society and his access to its higher strata, placed him in a position from where he could, if he willed, manipulate a lot of things and exploiting the situation could have easily indulged in group politics or form some sort of an alliance, so much in vogue these days. But he was above all this and never allowed his sublimity and broadness to be tarnished. Adaptability he had though as a worthy representative of the Victorian era it must have been distressing for him to accept anything and everything that goes in the name of culture and progress today. The gradual decline and fall of the essential values of life bothered him much and he sincerely believed that restoration of basic decency in the daily conduct of man could go a long way in curing some of the ills of the present day.

After Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, Makhanlal and Kedarnath were possibly some of the few surviving sentinels of the vanishing age who too would be fast receding into oblivion unless the history of the Press of our country is written in its proper perspective. It is rather unfortunate though, that neither of these two great Titans wrote much about the period which they saw, lived and epitomized with so much of gusto, zeal and conviction. Persons fortunate enough to have come across these two all-time greats will echo the feelings of the Bard of Avon: "Here was a Caesar, when comes such another?"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CONQUERING CONFEDERACY
The Maratha Confederacy

FR. MICHAEL R. VAZ, S.J.

Perhaps the most pertinent and succinctly expressive feature of the rich annals of Maratha Sovereignty is the ironic division of its State Politics and Administration into two schools, which incidentally happened to be two distinct periods: the school of the *Ashtapradhan* or eight-member administrative cabinet which we owe directly to the genius of Shivaji and the school of the Maratha *Confederacy* which was the brain-child of the originator of a Brahman dynasty, Balaji Vishwanath Bhat.

Only the administrative insight of a Shivaji could have given birth to the *Ashtapradhan* Cabinet and it would be no less true to say that only a man of his calibre could keep it in an effective state, for this Cabinet presupposed a well-ordered and strongly centralized Government. However, during the Great Mughal Offensive of Aurangzeb during Rajaram's regime the central authority was dissolved in Maharashtra. Nevertheless in order to maintain his sovereignty Rajaram distributed from Jinji, the different segments of Maharashtra, now under Mughal occupation among his lieutenants who consequently had to reconquer every mile of land and retain it in the face of overwhelming odds; thus a legitimate pride was born in these seasoned warriors and every kind of controlling authority was galling to them. Thus the grandson of Shivaji inherited a war-torn Maharashtra distributed evenly among seasoned war-lords. Shahu lacked the military and administrative qualities of Shivaji[1] and so he began his "laissez-faire" policy by which he not only allowed the war-lords to retain their Jagirs but also distributed new Jagirs. In this respect his behaviour was formulated on a conservative principle: "Don't destroy anything old nor create anything new". This policy of the Chhatrapati received the heartiest backing from Balaji Vishwanath Bhat his Peshwa, since as a powerful feudal himself he "was the worst defaulter, for he not only huge Jagirs but nearly all the power the state".[2] Thus almost imperceptibly the incompetency of Shahu and the connivance of Balaji, Shivaji's watchwords Jagirs and no hereditary office—which were pillars of the Ashtapradhan system were relegated and though the Ashtapradhan members retained their nominal positions at Shahu's Darbar lacked even the very vestiges of power.

Balaji Vishwanath Bhat who had risen the ranks to the supreme office witnessed turn of affairs and concluded that the safety the Maratha nation lay in "the formation confederacy of the great leaders, held together by the traditions of Shivaji for purposes common action against foreign powers, in other respects, a confederacy of co-ordinate equal authorities in respect of internal management and control. In this way and this only, was it possible to hold together the leaders who had established themselves by own resources in the different parts of country beyond their natural and territorial limits".[3] When Balaji gave concrete form these aspirations after his diplomatic triumph over *Kanhoji Angre*, the *Ashtapradhan* was given an honourable burial and with establishment of the Maratha Confederacy a period of Maratha Imperialism commenced which would dominate the politics of India an eventful century.[4]

In spite of the innately flexible character of the Maratha confederacy some of its salient features were quite evident. As far back as 1 Sir Richard Temple had not failed to observe a chief feature of the Maratha Confederacy

1. Cfr. Kincaid and Parasnis: *A History of the Maratha people*, p. 222.

2. H. N. Sinha: *The Rise of the Peshwas*, p. 46.

3. M. G. Ranade: *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 93.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

wrote: "these (Shinde, Holkar, Gaikwad etc.) cipalities, though really independent respect- internal administration, and making war or with their neighbours according to tunity, yet owed allegiance to the Peshwa oona as Head of the Maratha body. On occasions, heads of principalities would Poona by way of acknowledging the superior on of the Peshwa. On the other hand the wa was careful to obtain the sanction of ominal sovereign at Satara to every impor- act of state".[5] However, ultimately most compelling reason for unscrupulous and endent war-lords to come together would be ing else than self-interest: the Maratha deracy was thus effectively ordained with psychological insight by Balaji to make ir material interests centre in the common harge of their duties.....and the division of er was so arranged as to make the interests all a common concern".[6] Like true Marathas, war-chiefs who held their fiefs far away in dustan, almost without exception held here- ary patilships or lands in Maharashtra; this was, therefore, a not too insignificant erial bond of unity. Moreover most of the ratha Confederates held Shivaji and his essors in profound esteem and reverence: so was almost taken for granted that "a balance power (would be) kept up among the different bers of the Confederacy by a judicious ercise of Shahu's intermediation".[7] In the run this striking of a balance of power by central authority between the various federates was a leading factor which main- ed the solidarity of the Maratha Confederacy a long time. Besides all this, the Central hority appointed its own representatives fer advice and correction in internal adminis- ion and also to assure the regular submit- tance of Administrative accounts into the State Treasury. It is needless to add that often hardly more than one or two of these features were expressly delineated in the mutual relationship fabric of the Maratha Confederacy.

All in all, it is a matter of historical fact that the Maratha Confederacy succeeded remarkably well where "the old *Ashtapradhan* arrangement would never have succeeded in securing this remarkable development".[8] Before the century was out the soldiers of the Maratha Confederacy had invaded Malwa, Bundelkhand, Rajputana, Gujerat, Bengal, Orissa, Punjab, and almost all the Mughal subhas in the triumphant corteges of their chieftains; it was the glory of a Maratha Confederate, the indomitable Shinde[9] to earn the name of Emperor-maker when he seated Shah Alam II on the throne of Delhi; most legitimately "they could truly boast of having watered their horses in every Indian river from the Kaveri to the Indus".[10] Ten generations of Maratha generals, schooled in the tradition of the Maratha Confederacy and eager to surpass each other in the quest for greatness and empire succeeded each other and through the passage of the violent years "the Confederacy not only outlived opposition but derived greater strength from the reverses it sustained from time to time, rising Phoenix-like in greater splendour from the very ashes of its apparent ruin".[11]

Nevertheless the Maratha Confederacy bore within itself the seeds of its own dissolution and in the words of Ranade it "was a rope of sand, if it was not held together by a common tradition and a common patriotism". As with new conquests wealth and prestige accumulated at the courts of the Confederated leaders; egoism and self-aggrandizement got the better of their common sense. Naturally this self-interest

4. Kincaid & Parasnis: *A History of the ratha People*, p. 207.
"Thereafter Angre released Bahiro Pingle and ame an allied confererate of the king. In way the Maratha confederacy was born".
5. Sir Richard Temple: *Oriental Ex- rience*, p. 347-8.
6. M. G. Ranade: *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 95.
7. *Ibid*, p. 94.
8. M. G. Ranade: *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 94.
9. Sir Richard Temple: *Oriental Experience*, p. 348.
10. M. G. Ranade: *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 2.
11. Shinde is the original form of a Marathi surname, corrupted by the English to Scindia.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

played them into the hands of the British colonists and then it was too late for them to see their blunder, as the Maratha Confederacy had already dissolved into a phantom. Due to the ups and downs of the Maratha polity another weakness of the Maratha Confederacy became evident; especially "since the rights, duties and responsibilities of the feudatories had never been clearly defined or rigidly enforced.....(and thus) the Jagirdars either openly defied the central authority or joined the enemies of the state". Without a strong central and controlling authority the Maratha Confederacy had the potentiality of degenerating into a faction of envious, jealous and covetous war-lords for ever fighting among themselves and even against the Central Government: this was proved by the later distressing history of this truly unique organization.

In the ultimate analysis of the Maratha Confederacy it will have to be admitted, that it was an apt instrument for carving an Empire... the hands of the Maratha master-guerrillas whose leaders were fanatically touchy ... their own autonomy. The creation of ... acceptable organization—the Maratha Confed... —has emblazoned the name of the 1st P... Balaji Vishwanath Bhat across the pa... Maratha history as the Statesman of C... mise. It was this uncommon talent for g... the tempo of the times and accommodating ... to it accordingly by a suppleness of disp... which found its expression in a mature po... compromise, that was responsible for the ... fillip, the nascent power of the Mar... Not long after Balaji had closed his ey... death, the fabulous Maratha cavalry of ... shrewd creation—the Maratha Confeder... swept across the Indian continent bri... nations and people into subjugation and ... equently assuring for another hundred ye... stability and permanence of the Chi... House.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE 'HINDU PATRIOT' AND THE REVOLT OF 1857-58

SUDHIR CHANDRA

In view of the plethora of European accounts of the events of 1857-58, it is relatively easy to arse the reactions of the ruling race to this vement. It is, however, equally difficult to get an approximate idea of how Indians reacted an event which continued to influence British ian political development more or less through- the British rule over this country. This is for obvious reasons. The English having erged victorious, Indians could not give vent their innermost thoughts and sentiments. Even hen the fate of the rebellion was hanging in the lance, Canning's Press Act had imposed certain itations beyond which expression of opinion as not possible. It is this paucity of material d the unreliability of that scanty testimony hich seem to be available that enhances the portance of the writings in the *Hindu Patriot* different aspects of the movement of 1857-58.

These writings are characterised by a deep ight into human psychology and a boldness of pression. Others, too, at this time, might have ossessed similar, even greater, insight. But what distinguishes the *Hindu Patriot* is the editor's ourage in expressing views and establishing facts hich were bound to enrage the majority of sident Europeans. This readiness to write what e thought was right, appears all the more arvellous when we recollect the frenzied mosphere in which Europeans were living in lcutta and the suburbs. These were the days hen impossible stories of massacres of Europeans, violation of their women and mutilation of eir children were assiduously exaggerated or vented, industriously circulated and avidly allowed; when, reason having been bidden den, cries of indiscriminate retribution sup- essed the voices of sanity; when respect for e authorities was at such a low ebb as to make ssible a petition by resident Europeans for the ecall of the Governor-General.

It was in such a dangerously disturbed mosphere that the *Hindu Patriot* undertook the task of putting before the public the real facts of the situation. While doing this the editor did not hesitate to indict Europeans of the gravest crimes and the most sordid motives.

The editor, Harish Chandra Mukherjee, began by pointing out that it was not without cause that the sepoys had mutinied and the civil population in many places had joined them. There were, he wrote, two sides of the case, and it was not only just but also politic that the case of the rebels be studied. He referred to the widespread sympathy felt by the Indians for the rebels. He pointed out the misapprehension entertained by many Indians, especially the sepoys, that their religion was in danger. He agreed that this was a delusion, but emphasised that founded or unfounded, it was there and had to be removed. In this connection he welcomed the declaration of the Governor-General-in-Council disclaiming any intention of proselytising the natives.

The next and the most important thing that attracted his attention was the cry raised by Europeans for indiscriminate retribution against Indians. He began by showing that the crimes alleged to have been perpetrated by the rebels were either exaggerated out of all proportion to their actual extent, or mere figments of the fertile imagination of Europeans. Displaying a flair for sarcasm, he wrote that the Orientals were known for their fertile imagination. But the performance of a large section of atrocity-mongers among Europeans had deprived the Asiatics of their only consolation of being superior to the Europeans in the art of story-telling. He quoted reliable authorities to prove that "while the 'atrocities' were in most instances unreal creations of morbid imaginations, the retributive excesses were sad realities."

Describing the pattern on which the army of retribution worked, the *Hindu Patriot* wrote that villages were first burned, the males trying to escape were either shot down or sabred and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the women were then ravished. The following account may be quoted as a revelation of the boldness with which the *Patriot* broadcast the bloody acts of the Army of Retribution: "For some time every law of nature and man was set aside by the army of retribution. Indiscriminate slaughter, violation of women, the burning of whole tracts of inhabited country, the hanging and blowing away of men by hundreds, the infliction of skilfully wrought bodily and mental torture, were *the daily acts of civilized administrators and commanders. More than this was done by men in lower grades of life.*" (emphasis mine.) It lamented the fact that some of the most important organs of European opinion in India, though at this stage disclaiming any hand in this retribution, had been lauding these atrocities. Any man who had the patience and inclination to wade through the Anglo-Indian journals for the preceding thirteen months could see "a mass of profligacy and brutality the sight of which would sicken the sturdiest nature."

The writer drew special attention to the fact that European women took a leading role in demanding retributive atrocities. Among others, he referred to a lady "being certain that yonder nigger with the shawl turban was an emissary of Kooer Sing the gentleman that would shoot him on the spot shall have her hand." And he was "not imagining romances but relating genuine facts." What he lamented still more was the approval lent to these cruel demands by the missionaries and clergymen. His only consolation was that a minority consisting of men like the new Bishop of Cotton (sic) and Rev. R. Bland, Chaplain of Gauhati, was opposed to such an unchristian act.

The editor did not fail to observe that the struggle had taken the form of a war of races. Though doing his utmost to remove the misconception, he saw how Europeans had begun, as a result of the events of 1857, to attribute to the entire Indian race the characteristics they noticed among the rebels. The hatred against Indian colour, he was pained to find on Rev. Lal Behari De's testimony, had permeated even the ministers of the Gospel.

The *Hindu Patriot* alleged that all this was the outcome of the machinations of a "cabal" of resident Europeans. Comprising some of the most intelligent and distinguished members of their community, these men possessed considerable social influence and perverted it to selfish ends. Prepossessed with their own interests, they sacrificed public duties for the advancement of private ends. These persons wanted to secure for themselves a position they were by no means entitled to." As such they took advantage of the situation offered by the rebellion to advance their own claims, not by exhibiting their alleged worth, but by "finding fault with the authorities and abusing the natives of the soil." But the triumph of the sinner being shortlived, these tactics succeeded only for a while in inducing the British mob to raise the cry of "vengeance." The voice of justice coupled with mercy soon became dominant. Canning and his colleagues were exculpated and the *Hindu Patriot* hoped that the natives would also be soon viewed in their true colour by Englishmen.

The campaign thus conducted by the *Hindu Patriot* was not altogether in vain. Fortunately Canning had from the outset resolved on a policy to which the description of 'clemency' was derogatorily applied at that time, and which soon came to be recognised as a well-deserved compliment. To this extent the *Hindu Patriot* had the blessing of the highest British functionary in the country. This, however, does not detract from the great achievement of the editor which lay in his persistent exposition of the charges levelled by Europeans against Indians as a whole, and his successful vindication of the Indian character. At a time when Indians were being unreservedly reviled, and when they seemed to submit to the obloquy without even the semblance of a defence, the *Hindu Patriot* protested in a sober, dignified and yet telling manner. This protest, apart from providing a corrective to many Europeans, could not but have sustained the drooping spirits of Indians then and thereafter. Apart from this he turned the tables upon that cabal of ambitious residents of Europeans by censuring in unmistakable terms those traducers of Indian character.

The editor had the good fortune of seeing his ideas vindicated by the authorities in India and Europe. He could report that after initial

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

prise and horror occasioned by the reports of the mutinies, moderation and coolness did not fail long to appear in Europe. Apart from the steering influence of British successes in India, especially the fall of Delhi and the relief of Lucknow, this attitude was generated by the actions of the Tories, the only thinking men in England at that time. He wrote how while Mr. John Bright and his Peace Society had rejected the cry of revenge and had been joined by Lord Shaftesbury, it was these Tories who declared against popular prejudices and made it possible for people to judge. And for this Indians ought to be grateful to them. The debate in the English Parliament further showed how this calm attitude had prevailed in Europe; for speakers, irrespective of party affiliations, vied with each other in demanding justice and mercy for India. This confirmed the editor's conviction that whatever a 'cabal' might do and say for furthering its sordid private ends, the majority of Europeans were just and truth-loving. The despatches of Russel, the correspondent of the 'Times' in India also had a similar effect.

THE MODERN REVIEW FOR JANUARY—1923.

Page—115

THE HOPE OF MANKIND

Note, by Ramananda Chatterjee

But, however gloomy the prospect, hope is indestructible. There is a still small voice which tells us all to resist the lust of power and pelf.

There is struggle for existence, no doubt, but there is also the higher law of Mutual Aid, which is to be found even among some lower animals. If struggle for existence alone has its way, the human race cannot but be extinct. But if all peoples and nations be convinced that the way for all mankind to survive in the struggle lies along the path of world-wide mutual aid, then a despairing world will see light in the encircling gloom and the future will appear bright with hope.

Truly did Stopford A. Brooke observe:

"Divine and dreadful is the great story of humanity, which, beginning in remotest antiquity and in struggle out of the animal, has continued to this day, and may continue yet a million years. But always it has been a progress: and morality, of imagination and art, of reverence and worship, of the idea of God and the idea of perfection: of strife towards a lofty destiny, in which none have perished utterly, none have sinned beyond forgiveness, none have forfeited immortality.

"A Drama so immense that only He in whom it is all contained can read its pages from end to end, and see its last scene unroll itself—its characters all harmonized to that completed conclusion which shall be before the perfected Humanity begins its Sinless, great and sacred Scripture of the race; we can read but little of it yet."

—o—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A CASE FOR REGIONAL PLANNING

A. G. PRASAD

INDIA is a country with vast natural resources scattered unevenly throughout. Any plan for economic development of such a country like India must consider these regional imbalances in resources; otherwise the aim of planning to utilise resources to the maximum will be thwarted. In fact the aim of economic development is to correct imbalances between regions, countries and between regions in any one country. These are anachronisms due to the long period of working of market forces. This co-existence of affluence and poverty is the basic cause of local misunderstandings.[1] In this paper an attempt is made to point out the disparities in the economic development among the different states, the causes for and suggested remedies to them.

I

Standard of living as indicated by income payments, consumption patterns and employment opportunities is the best index to assess a country's or a region's economic well-being. The following table gives the incomes of the different states of the Indian Union according to the available 1960-'61 year figures at 1955-'56 prices.[2]

States	Gross Income (in Rs. crores)	Per capita income (in rupees)
Andhra	862.81	241.82
Assam	296.57	254.57
Bihar	767.16	166.96
Gujerat	681.07	334.35
Kerala	487.07	292.36
M.P.	751.53	234.41
Mysore	477.40	203.84
Maharashtra	1296.70	332.57
Orissa	324.46	186.90
Rajashtan	450.62	224.90
Punjab	709.92	354.61
U.P.	1650.85	226.67
West Bengal	1322.45	383.21
All India (average)	11319.18	264.20

Of all the states West Bengal, Punjab, Gujerat, Maharastra, Kerala and Madras appear to be well developed as their per capita income is above the Indian average. Uttarpradesh though it has the highest gross income occupies the 10th position in terms of per capita income. Andhra Pradesh which is double the size of Madras has a lesser total income than that of Madras.

The distribution pattern of income between the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors among the different states is not even. While Bengal, Gujerat and Maharastra have equal distribution between the three sectors whereas the other states draw their income heavily from the agricultural sector. But even the agricultural incomes, with due allowances, is not the same in all the states. The regional per capita income is highest in Punjab (Rs. 182.74) followed by Assam (Rs. 169.49), Kerala (Rs. 151.[illegible]), West Bengal (Rs. 132.87), Madras (Rs. 12[illegible]) and Madya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh (Rs. 118.50). The other states are well below the National average per capita income which is Rs. 113.39.[3]

West Bengal had the highest gross industrial income (Rs. 443.81 crores) in the year 1960-'61 at that year's prices. Assam (Rs. 11[illegible] crores), Orissa (Rs. 74.94 crores), Andhra Pradesh (Rs. 86.05 crores) if compared with Gujerat (Rs. 257.33 crores) and Maharastra (Rs. 346.63 crores) present disturbing industrial disparities.

The per capita consumption of electricity can also be taken as an indicator of the well-being of the people. Here also the disparities deserve consideration. West Bengal with its 68.7 units, Maharastra 57.2 units and Madras 43.2 units stand above the average per capita consumption of the Indian Union which is 28.94 units. The states of Andhra Pradesh (14.4 units), U.P. (12.8 units), Assam (2.2 units) are very much below the average.[4]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The number of persons employed in industries throw some light on the opportunities available in the states. Bombay snatches the first place by taking 28.9 per cent of the total workforce engaged in factories while 27.1 per cent is the share of West Bengal. U.P. has only 9.4 per cent, Bihar 9.4 per cent, Madras 9.4 per cent, Mysore 4.2 per cent. Andhra Pradesh's share is only 3.2 per cent of the factory labour.[5]

Thus on all counts, as is evident from the above statistics, there are wide and disturbing differences in the development of the various states which deserve more than ordinary consideration.

II

The causes for these disparities in the standards of living of the various states can be traced to their degree of industrialisation. Before Independence there was nothing like any systematic economic planning for the whole country. Production and industrialisation were in the hands of private enterprisers who were guided by the profit motive. Industrialisation, left in the hands of capital and entrepreneurs went to those areas where both were concentrated. Thus Bengal and Bombay states were benefited. Moreover, industrialisation creates external economies and social and economic overheads, which encourage further concentration of industries to the disadvantage of other areas. Added to this, British policy motivated by the considerations of strategy did not permit industrialists to tap and develop the natural resources of the country.

Another reason for lopsided development was the lack of social overheads like transport systems, power projects and health facilities.

Even after Independence no sufficient thought has been devoted to the disparities as national and regional goals are mutually contradictory. The national goal requires concentration of scarce resources at certain places for speed and quick development whereas the other favours the dispersal of resources for an even but slow development. Caught in this dilemma the First and Second Five Year Plans gave a passing glance while the Third Plan devoted a special chapter to regional problems without giving constructive suggestions. Thus the degree of intra-regional disparities remained as they were before planning even though there is an overall rise in development.

India is largely an agricultural country with nearly 78 per cent of the population depending on it. But the facilities offered to agriculture also point to these regional disparities as indicated by the agricultural incomes and by the wide gaps between availability of cultivable land and irrigation facilities.

The per capita availability of land is highest in Rajasthan (3.4 acres) but the per capita net irrigated area is only 0.166 acres. M. P. and Bombay with their per capita cultivable lands of 1.93 and 1.42 acres have irrigation facilities to the extent of 0.063 acres and 0.060 acres respectively. These figures show how much land is under-utilised.[6] But a point of much greater importance is that nearly 30 per cent of the total agricultural labor force is concentrated in those areas where there is a shortage either in the availability of land or irrigation facilities: Bihar, Orissa, Andhra and Madras.

The balance aspect of development has been completely neglected in the industrial policies of the Government. One can reasonably say that "the location theory has seldom been seriously practised in its true perspective in our country. As a result undue and heavy concentration of industries both by private industrialists and by the Government still continues unabatedly". The Biblical saying, "for unto every-one that hath shall be given and he shall have abundance, but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he has" illustrates the paradox of our economic policies which tend to intensify rather than alleviate the backwardness of certain areas.

III

Just as the proper development of all limbs is necessary for a healthy body so also the proper development of all parts of the country is essential for a smooth and sustained well-being of the people. Welfare of the people means welfare of all people. This point is implicit in the directive principles of the Constitution. Though the overall development is beneficial to the country the individual states "need(s) to be watched

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

carefully so that the people of India do not seriously get out of line with each other".[7]

How to achieve an even development in all the States? A uniform increase of purchasing power requires the utilisation of all resources in every region to the maximum extent without giving scope to rival claims of different areas to achieve their own aims and ambitions. The Central plan by its nature and scope takes into consideration the overall picture of the country and accepts wider goals of an increase in national wealth and expansion of employment opportunities. The regional plans are concerned with "transmitting the forces impelling economic tral plan by its nature and scope takes into concretizing for the individual units the fruits of development".[8] Thus the two are complementary to each other in their means of development and objectives.

At present there is no clear cut demarcation between the central and states' plans. The states must plan their resources within the limits set by the central plan. But the development and initiation must come from below, i.e., the state and local levels. The central plan in addition to its wider goals must be such as to embrace all these states' plans and then only all the resources can be given their due share in economic development.

Industrialisation is accepted by all as a necessary prerequisite for raising the purchasing power of the people. Industrialisation depends, among other things, on the spending policy of the government. So far, as already indicated, central policy appears to be geared towards the 'polarisation' of economic forces by "creating more infra-structure where bottlenecks are more obvious by distributing scarce resources like foreign exchange where demand for this is higher". What is now needed is a sound basis for allocation of investment between regions. There are various suggestions. Anisur Rahman suggested that investment must be channelled to those regions where the internal ratio of growth is higher.[9] Considering from this point of view, almost all the states, except U.P. and Assam showed an increase in per capita incomes in the Second Five Year Plan. This shows that all the states have potentialities to rise above the average level but for their lack of capital.

Dr. Lokanathan is of the opinion that certain portion of total planned investment should be allocated on purely economic considerations and the remainder with the aim of reducing regional inequalities. He suggested 75% of economic considerations and 25 per cent of total investment for regional considerations.

An initial investment in a large scale industry in an underdeveloped area attracts further investments and "external economies interdependence promote locational concentration". The increased incomes of the people offer effective demand as well as savings potential which furthers industrial activity in regions.

The division of responsibility for large scale industries to the Central Government and small scale and medium industries to the State Governments is to some extent hindering the development of proper locational matrices. In a country like India a Central expenditure programme may not fully develop the industrial complexes as it has to satisfy various regions. So it is necessary to encourage private industrialists to come forward to reap the advantages of the basic industries. This requires the rationalisation of the industrial policy and an offer of proper facilities to them.

Lastly, but not least in importance, is the provision of social overheads, priority on supply of raw materials and fiscal incentives which would prove a helping hand in eliminating regional disparities.

References :

A. P. S. Lokanathan : Regional Economic Development, A.I.C.C. Economic Review, Sept. 22, 1961 for 1, 7 and 10.

B. Quarterly Economic Report of the Indian Institute of Public Opinion Vol. 8, No. 2, Oct. 1961 for 2.

C. K. E. Vaidyanathan : Regional Economic Development since 1951. Andhra Economic Review, Feb. 1962 for 3 and 6.

D. Statistical Abstract of A.P. in comparison with other States for 4 and 5.

E. D. R. Gadgil : 'The Basic Requirements of Planning in Maharastra'—Planning and Economic Policy in India for 8.

F. Anisur Rahman : 'Regional Allocation of Resources' in Quarterly Journal of Economics, Feb. 1963 for 9.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

OODUNT MARTUND

The First Hindi Newspaper of India

B. M. SANKHDHER

The birth and development of the Press
ndia is a curious phenomenon. It is an
unt **ab origine** of an intermittent tug
war between the forces of imperialism
liberty; coercion and relaxation;
nomy and direction. The autocratic
itish Government showed apathy and
pathy, **ad nauseum,** towards this
e and frank mode of expression of
s. Guided as these 'white bureaucrats'
re, by the expediency and exigencies of
onial rule they were hardly interested in
evolution of liberal democratic ideas
ough the vehicle of the Press in this alien
d. They had no consistent, coherent and
mpact policy for the development of the
ss on right lines. But at the same time,
annot be overlooked, there were indivi-
als both in and outside the service of the
st India Company, such as John Malcolm,
omas Munro, Mountstuart Elphinstone,
harles Metcalfe and Lord Ripon who at
ast to use T. H. Green's expression in a
fferent context, **'hindered hindrances'** in
e establishment of the **Fourth Estate** on
s sub-continent, as vast as Europe minus
ussia.

It is a strange fact that before 1826 A.D.
ere was no Hindi Press in India. On
bruary 9, 1826, Jugul Kishore Shukla
iled to the Chief Secretary to Govern-
nt, Charles Lushington, for permission to
rt a weekly newspaper in Devanagri Hindi
tled the **'Oodunt Martund'** which tran-
ted into English means **'the Sun of Intelli-
nce'**. Among the unpublished records of
e Government of India in the custody of
e National Archives, New Delhi, can be
und an interesting declaration,[1] assuring the Government to abide by the rules and regulations laid down for the conduct of the Journalists, signed jointly in the presence of J. B. Birch, the Calcutta Magistrate, by Jugul Kishore Shukla and Munnoo Thakur, the publisher and the printer of the **'Oodunt Martund'** respectively. The newspaper was to be published at 37 Amratullah Lane in Calcutta.

By a letter of the 16th February 1826, the Chief Secretary authorised Jugul Kishore and Munoo Thakur to start their Hindi paper.[2] A copy of the licence granted to them was also forwarded to the Calcutta Magistrate for his information. Although permission to publish this paper was granted, the attitude of the Government towards the vernacular press may be clearly visualised through the Chief Secretary's reply to some assistant who in utter innocence wrote about the futility of informing the Magistrate about the licence and got a retort that the same was essential for the exercise of "supervision over the Native Press".[3] The chimerical apprehension about the journals owned and conducted by Indians is clearly reflected through this brief rebuke of the Chief Secretary.

Although the sight of the vernacular press to the British Government was as unbearable as a "skeleton in a closet" and as dreadful as a 'mad bull in a China shop', nevertheless under the camouflage of Briton's love for liberal democratic institutions,[4] the Company granted certain facilities to newspapers with Government predilection. **The Samachar Durpan,** a Bengali newspaper was allowed to circulate free of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

postal charges among the Government officials. The editor of the **Oodunt Martund** desirous of getting his weekly circulated "as widely as possible and to the utmost extent in the British Dominions in the East", "for the purpose of conveying valuable and useful knowledge" wrote to the Secretary in the Judicial Department, H. Shakespeare, that the first eight issues of the periodical be allowed to pass from the General Post Office free of charge into the mofussil towns.[5] He so desired, in order to make known to his countrymen, who in his opinion resided mostly outside the Presidencies, the existence of his paper. It would be unjust to accuse the editor of the **'Oodunt Martund'** as anti-national, selfish or opportunist on the ground that he started his journal with the declared object of 'instilling into the minds of the readers a reverence for the reigning power in India!' On the contrary, it demonstrates the dreadfully suspicious climate in which the journalists had to work during the East India Company's rule. The Press, specially owned by the Indians, was considered as 'mischievous', 'scandalous' and 'irresponsible' by the administrators.[6] Naturally, therefore, even for ordinary acts of favour, the journalists had to make it explicit that they would not indulge in any sort of propaganda against the Government. Jugul Kishore Shukla did the same, when he declared :

"I will scrupulously attend to the regulations of Government regarding the better conduct of the papers in Calcutta and it will be my prime object to instill into the minds of my readers a reverence for the reigning power in India".[7]

In spite of all assurances, Jugul Kishore Shukla's appeals for favour melted into thin air and his request proved to be a mere wild goose chase, when he received the following discouraging letter from the Chief Secretary.

To
Joogul Kishore Sookul

Your letter addressed to the Secre... to Government in the Judicial Depart... having been laid before the Vice Presi... in Council, I am directed to inform ... that you cannot be permitted to circula... many as eight numbers of your newsp... to the several stations in the interior th... postage, but the Post Master General ... be authorized to permit the first or ... single number of the publication to ... free of charge to the stations in ques...

Council Chamber
29th of June 1826.[8] (Signature)
Chief Secre...

It is not known whether Jugul Ki... Shukla availed of this opportunity ... circulating a single number of his pu... tion free of charge. A most benev... favour !

Jugul Kishore Shukla, it seems ... too brave a man to lose his heart and ... greater hopes of receiving Govern... assistance for the preservation of ... publication. With enthusiasm redou... in spite of acute financial crisis face... account of limited circulation of the O... **Martund,** he sent anoher petition to Cha... Lushington on 27th February 1827. It ... be stated that although his paper rece... a warm reception at the hands of the pu... nevertheless, the editor could not e... cover the expenses of its establishm... which in the words of Jugul Kishore Sh... himself, was on the most "economical sca... There were three main factors responsi... for the poor financial condition of th... journal. Firstly, the number of its sub... scribers in Calcutta was painfully small ... account of the language barrier. The ... employees of the East India Company were ... interested in newspapers and periodicals ... published in English and the people of ... Calcutta, Bengali being their mother-tongue ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

like Marshman's papers
Samachar **Durpan,** and Tara Chandra
it's **Sungbad Kaumudi.**
Another significant factor was its poor
ulation outside the Calcutta Presidency.
s doubtful if many people were aware of
existence outside. And finally the
thetic attitude of the British Adminis-
ion which did not concede even ordinary
ours such as the circulation of the
dunt **Martund** free of charge for about
months.

Jugul Kishore Shukla, at last, pleaded
the Chief Secretary, for the facilities
ich were being provided to the Bengali
nterpart, the **Samachar Durpan.** The
concession which he wanted to get
m the Government was that his publica-
n be allowed to be "distributed through-
the country free of postage excepting to
ivate subscribers to whom he trusted the
overnment would allow the papers to be
t at quarter postage as was the case with
e other paper". In return he promised
publish government regulations and
er similar orders. He assured :

".....I am ready to publish in the
wspaper in question the translations of
e Regulations that may in future from
e to time be enacted by Government as
so of the requisite General Orders, and
ekly forward copies of them to the seve-
Adawluts, Government Officers and the
litary stations in the Western Provinces
ted in the annexed list as also any other
them in addition thereto which may be
dered by Government on its being paid
the same at the subscribed rate, viz.,
pees Two per month for each of these
tions, offices and Adawluts and allowed
forward them free of postage.[9] A long
t of two hundred and three government
pers to whom, Jugul Kishore Shukla,
sired the paper to be forwarded is avail-
e among the original consultations of the
reign Department.[10]

Again a brief reply from C. Lushington was received. It proved to be the last straw on the camel's back. The letter runs as follows :—

Joogul Kishore Sookool,
Editor of the **Oodunt Martund,**

Your letter of the 27th ultimo having been laid before the Rt. Hon'ble the Vice President in Council, I am directed to inform you that the request perferred by you therein cannot be complied with.

By command of the Rt. Hon'ble
the Vice President in Council.
C. LUSHINGTON
Chief Secretary to the Government.

Council Chamber,
the 8th March, 1827.[11]

It is not known why Jugul Kishore could not be given those facilities which other journalists enjoyed. Why a discriminatory policy was followd when it did not serve either the interests of the Company, or of the newspapermen or of the people ? Why the Europeans in India with the so-called passion for liberal, democratic ideas did not raise their voice against the callousness of the Company as they did for similar acts of injustice in England and other parts of Europe ?

The British Administration in India under the Company and later on, to an extent, under the Crown, followed a wicked, double-arrowed policy of supression towards the Indian Press. Mischievously, its **desideratum** was to nip all patriotic, liberal and democratic ideas, in the bud. It ruthlessly suppressed the journals owned and conducted by the Europeans, on the pretext that the same were libellous 'mischievous', 'scandalous' and 'irresponsible'. The newspapermen were humiliated, arrested and tortured and were deported to Europe at the earliest opportunity.[12]

In regard to the newspapers owned by the Indians, with the exception of those with a government bias, the Government, it is obvious, deliberately created such irksome conditions in regard to publication and cir-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

culation that it became virtually impossible for these journalists to preserve not only their papers and periodicals but also their poor souls.

The unimaginative policy and wooden indifference of the British Government, thus compelled the editor of the first Hindi newspaper to stop its publication. And before it could complete two years[13] of its existence the **Oodunt Martund** collapsed leaving its editor in the throes of tremendous financial strain and mental frustration. This was, it may be made clear, not a solitary instance of such criminal indifference. Many more English and vernacular newspapers breathed their last because of such policy of the British regime.

References :

1. Government of India, Home (Public) Department Original Consultations, February 16, 1826, Nos. 57-58.

2. Government of India, Home (Public) Department Original Consultation, February 16. 1826, No. 60.

3. G.O.I. Home (Public) Department Original Consultations, February 16, 1826, No. 61.

4. See : The Letters of Junius : [illegible] to the English Nation : The liberty of the [illegible] *is the palladium of all the civil, [illegible] religious rights of an Englishman!*

5. G.O.I. Home (Public) [illegible] Original Consultation, June 29, 1826, No. [illegible]

6. To quote only one example : [illegible] of Mornington writes in a private [illegible] Sir Alfred Clarke, the Commander-in-Chief, 1799, on reaching Fort. St. George, Calcutta :

"I shall take an early opportunity of [illegible] mitting rules for the conduct of the whole of editors ; in the meantime if you can tranquilise this or other mischievous publication be so good as to suppress their papers by [illegible] and send their persons to Europe."

7. G.O.I. Home (Public) [illegible] Original Consultation, June 29, 1826, No. [illegible]

8. G.O.I. Home (Public) [illegible] Original Consultation, June 29, 1826, No. [illegible]

9. G.O.I. Home (Public) [illegible] Original Consultation, March 8, 1827, No. [illegible]

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. For example : James Augustus [illegible] William Duane, Dr. Charles Maclean, Silk Buckingham and others.

13. To believe Dr. R. R. Bhatnagar [illegible] of the Rise and Growth of Hindi Journalism 1826-1945, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1945, the *Oodunt Martund* was started on May 1826 and it had to be stopped in December.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE ART OF THE TEACHER

G. VENKATESAN

...rs of Mankind

...s not mere rhetoric but a reality when we ...that teaching is an art and the teacher an ...t. However, the term "Teacher" instead of ...ting distinction, honour and prestige ...denotes insignificance, ridicule and dependence ... the present day teacher instead of using ...mind in valuable subjects has to be resigned ... life of genteel poverty !

...Even History has been prejudiced ...d cruelly partial against teachers for History ...chosen to honour and eulogise Kings and ...cerors, Caliphs and Sultans, Dictators and ...nd Viziers but not teachers who really "care ... and instruct us when we are young ; they ...ghten our ignorance ; help to form our ...racters and give us the rudiments of manners ; ...w turn us, in fact, from little animals into ...an beings".[1] This is indeed deplorable.

The teacher occupies a pivotal position in ...society. It is he who mends the minds, moulds ...manners, makes the morals and shapes the ...es of the student community at their most ...pressionable age. He is the key-stone of the ...nificent educational arch. The teacher is a ...e guide, able interpreter and the sublime ...itual maker of citizens. Indeed he is the ...e who makes up the discipline and tone of the ...stitution. In short, "the quality of any educa...nal system depends to a large measure on ...uring well-educated and well-equipped teachers ...eped in learning, strong in character, with high ...als, and devoted to the spread of knowledge".[2] ...nest, humble and hardworking teachers and not ...e generals, admirals, commanders, strategists and ...tesmen are, therefore, "the builders and makers ... mankind".

...me Basic Qualities

To be the Maker of Mankind and designer ...the destinies of the students, every teacher, worth the name, should be a leader of acknowledged excellence, whom the students could respect, revere and venerate. To inculcate, instruct and inspire the young student generation with the sublime thoughts and thought-provoking ideas the teacher should live up to and radiate some of the noble qualities in his day-to-day life for the simple reason that the teachers' movements, methods and even mannerisms are exposed to the observant and critical eyes of their students. The following are some such qualities that a good teacher must possess : (1) Self-Confidence ; (2) Ability to inspire Confidence ; (3) Commonsense and good judgment ; (4) Ability to communicate ; (5) Tact ; (6) Flexibility of mind ; (7) Social Sensitivity ; (8) Enduring Toughness ; (9) Decisiveness ; (10) Patience ; and (11) Humility.[3] Besides these, "a good teacher must have good memory, personality, determination, will power, persuasive ability . . . . and understanding of the ways of the young".[4]

Personality of the Teacher

Swami Vivekananda attached greatest importance to the personality and personal example of the teacher. In the words of Swamiji ". . . . the personality of the man is two thirds, and his intellect, his words, are but one third".[5] In another place Swamiji says that "the man who influences, who throws his magic, as it were, upon his fellow-beings, is a dynamo of power, and when that man is ready, he can do anything and everything he likes ; that personality put upon anything will make it work".[6] Swamiji enjoins, therefore, that the student should live from his very boyhood with one whose character is a blazing fire and should have before him a living example of the highest teaching. In the words of Gandhiji "A cowardly teacher can never succeed in making his boys valiant and a stranger to self-restraint can never

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

teach his pupils the value of restraint".[7] Light alone can light life.

The pupils' confidence, faith and trust in his teacher are to be earned and won. They are not taught but caught. It largely depends on the personality and personal example set by the teacher himself. To earn the respect and obedience of the taught, the teacher should be a master of the subject to be taught. He must know what he teaches and know how to teach it. For, students resorting to cheap notes and short-cuts to pass examinations is a sad commentary on the ability and quality of the teacher. The teacher should, therefore, be a student of his subject so that he can be learning continuously and keep himself abreast in his field of knowledge. Every good teacher must, therefore, be a good learner. He will learn more about his subject every year—every month, every week, every day, if possible. A teacher must believe in the value and interest of his subject as a doctor believes in health.

But his acquisition of knowledge should not make him arrogant and conceited. The teacher must be unassuming, yet forceful. He must be patient, yet cheerful. Above all he must lead a life of purity, simplicity and nobility. For, "the function of the teacher is indeed an affair of the transference of something and not one of mere stimulation of intellectual or other faculties in the taught. Something real and appreciable as an influence comes from the teacher and goes to the taught".[8] In short, the teacher must be able to inspire his students towards the higher and nobler ideals of human life.

The teacher should scrupulously avoid taking advantage of his position. He must be a model of disciplined life. If, on the other hand, he permits himself laxness of conduct, shirking of responsibility, and avoiding issues which he condemns in his pupils he is not only not respected but becomes a laughing stock among his own students. A good teacher must have a sense of humour and at times he must be able to laugh at himself and a teacher by a timely laughter at his own expense may save a disconcerted student's outburst of anger or tears. Humour invariably keeps the pupils alive and attentive.

As we said in the beginning, the teacher is an artist and as an artist the educator must be able to bring his whole personality to bear and through his teaching express himself. The tone and tenor of a successful teacher can be seen by living with him and studying his work. His sincerity, his singleness of purpose, his patience, his cheerfulness, his devotion, love and affection create the climate where pupils with confidence, freedom and ease catch his interest, emulate his example and follow his foot-steps. From him, therefore, the student is worthy of his profession, the student learn in a thousand and one subtle ways attitudes and tendencies that distinguish human from the brutal, the civilised from the barbaric way of life. Imperceptibly but surely his values become their values, his standards their standards and from him come the influences that direct the pupil's social and cultural impulses into definite forms of kindly actions.

Man of Many Parts

The teacher, if he is to function as an effective leader, must be a man of many parts. First and foremost, he must possess foresight and vision to anticipate and prevent difficulties. He must be firm, courageous and unperturbed in crisis and patient when others are slow and hesitant. He must be capable of quickly translating hand and mind to a great variety of problems. As Swami Vivekananda puts it "the only true teacher is he who can convert himself, as it were, into a thousand persons at a moments notice. The true teacher is he who can immediately come down to the level of the student, and transmit his soul to the students' soul and see through and understand through his mind. Such a teacher can really teach and none else".[9]

Teacher as Trainer

A real teacher is a good trainer of the pupil's intellect, senses and emotions. In the words of Gandhiji ". . . . the true text book for the pupil is his teacher".[10] The improving intellect and the growing will-power of the young students should be systematically trained, disciplined and fertilised. The students' interest and will must be properly and carefully cultivated to learn the technique of mastering what is

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...dull and boring and engage in such ...as in disinterested inquiry and specula... the perception of relevance and forming of ...pectives, the satisfaction of curiosity and the ...of mental adventure, the seeing of connec... and the achieving of results, etc.

The training of the senses is necessary to ...le and ennoble the students to understand, ...ciate and steep themselves in the myriad ...es of Truth, Beauty, Goodness and Justice. ...pupils should be so trained as to make and ...d them as beauty-lovers and beauty-creators. ...senses are properly trained along with ...ect the students can be expected to guard ...selves undistracted by trivialities, un-influenced ...cheap politics and vulgar movies and un...cupted by the artificialities of the present ...erialistic society. Unless the students are ...trained, their bad tastes will ever remain ...d. Hence the need to train the senses of the ...g and "make them familiar with the things ...are beautiful, in the hope that what begins ...m experiment will end as experience".[11]

Training of emotions is as important as ...ing of the intellect and the senses. Poten... raw material of brilliant character lies dor...d in the students and it needs to be kindled, ...ulated and shaped. Since human desire, ...se and emotion shape according to the ...s to which they are directed, the pupils must ...trained to learn right things and perform ...t acts. The effect of such an emotion train... will be to convert impulsive action into pur...ful pursuits. When the habit of so acting ...been formed, the intellect will distinguish ...ween essentials and non-essentials and between ...rightness and wrongness of the way of life.

To teach a student, therefore, "the difference ...ween truth and lies in print, to start him ...king about the measuring of poetry or pat...ism, to hear him hammering back at you ...the facts and arguments you have helped ...to find, sharpened by himself and fitted to ...own powers, gives the sort of satisfaction that ...artist has when he makes a picture out of ...k canvas and chemical colourings. ...."[12]

...ch the Learner

It is aptly said that that teacher is the ...successful who trains his pupils so that they can ultimately do wihout him. That is to say, under the right teacher a student will make tremendous efforts to acquire knowledge and work by himself. If properly guided and encouraged, the pupil will go in quest of information and knowledge on his own efforts. The secret of successful teaching lies, therefore, in teaching the learner how to learn, an art by itself. If the learner is taught how to learn "he can both pursue his present interests when he will and can also develop for himself new interests as they are born. He is independent and capable of occupying his leisure hours in a satisfying and beneficial way".[13]

A man who tries to impart encyclopaedic knowledge as though his pupils must learn everything under the sun before leaving the institution not only teaches in vain but makes the life of the student dull, dreary and drab. One of the significant ways in which a teacher can help his students is, therefore, to give them self-reliance and self-confidence which will stimulate their intellectual development, encourage social relationship and promote balanced emotional growth.

Teach the Art of Living

The job of the teacher is obviously teaching. The function of the teacher, at best, is awakening and kindling what is already in man. He is the greatest aid to learning and the duty of the teacher is to assist the learner in every possible way. But surprisingly many a teacher does not teach but instruct. They are nothing more than instructors with regard to some particular skill, technique or knowledge without in any way helping the students to become self-reliant, independent, inquiring adults.

As Swami Vivekananda said "education is not the amount of information that is put into your brain and runs riot there, undigested all your life. We must have life-building, man-making, character-making assimilation of ideas,"[14] It is not like injecting 500 c.c. of serum, or administering a years-dose of vitamins. You deal with the living mind and mould it. And so, if the teacher remains an instructor, as most of the present day teachers are, he could not help in developing all the sides of an integrated personality: physical, intellectual, social, moral and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

spiritual. A purposeful teacher, therefore, not only instructs his students mundane matters but helps them to develop right outlook, clear perspective and desirable attitude towards the community at large. He should not merely develop the inborn capacities of the pupils for learning but also bring out their inborn potentialities for living a full and purposeful life. In short, a good teacher endeavours to be not merely a guide to learning but a guide to 'the art of living'

Lead the Group

The amount of orderly information given to the class is not the measure of teacher's success. That teacher is the most effective whose help, guidance and counselling are continuously sought by the taught. The true teacher will build class relationships in such a way that his pupils will ask for his advice when progress is hampered or they feel the need of help. Care should be taken, however, to avoid unnecessary guidance and unwanted advice. The purpose of counselling and sharing of responsibility is to encourage the student to contribute according to his or her abilities and aptitudes. This way of leading the group by following it besides securing friendly cooperation and commitment ensures that the individuals learn to accept and share more and more responsibility.

Educating the Educator

Knowing oneself and assessing one's own abilities and capacities should be the hall-mark of a good teacher. Since what the teacher is that only he imparts, the educator must be properly educated. The right kind of education, therefore, begins with the educator. If the teacher could not understand his relationship [illegible] students but merely stuff them with [illegible] and make them pass the examinations, how [illegible] can he influence the life of his pupils and [illegible] courage and confidence in them and [illegible] highest ideals and noblest values in them? If [illegible] teacher himself is confused, confounded [illegible] clogged by theories and textbooks then [illegible] and inevitably his pupils too will be [illegible] teacher is. The teacher should, therefore, [illegible] ways ask himself why and to what purpose he [illegible] educating the students. If the goal is [illegible] and the path is clear the result is sure to be [illegible] and grand.

References.

1. C. E. M. Joad: About Educ[illegible] P. 77.
2. T. S. Avinashilingam: Educ[illegible] Philosophy of Swami Vivekananda, 1964, P.
3. A. G. Huges & E. H. Huges: E[illegible] tion. P. 130.
4. T. S. Avinashilingam: Educ[illegible] Philosophy of Swami Vivekananda, P. 51.
5. Education: Swami Vivekananda. T. S. Avinashilingam. P. 22 (1961).
6. *Ibid*: 23.
7. N. B. Sen: Wit and Wisdom of [illegible] 1961. P. 366.
8. Swami Vivekananda Quoted: T. Avinashilingam: Educational Philosophy, P.
9. *Ibid*: P. 366.
10. N. B. Sen: Wit and Wisdom of [illegible] P. 336.
11. C. E. M. Joad: About Educ[illegible] P. 50.
12. Gilbert Highet: The Art of Teach[illegible] 1956. P. 10.
13. L. Wilkies: Teach Yourself to Te[illegible] P. 177.
14. Education: Swami Vivekananda: [illegible] T. S. Avinashilingam. P. 6.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE PROPERTY RIGHTS OF WOMEN IN THE SÚTRA PERIOD

Mrs. RUBY DUTT

e Sutra fills the three centuries that span period from about the 6th centuries B.C. the rise and spread of Buddhism under ka in the third century B.C. We are imate that much can be learnt of the -Aryan domestic and social life in this -Vedic period from the Grihya Sutras. one author has quoted, "The Hindu texts harmasutras) cover far more than law do not cover the whole of law. They are uals of conduct, but they leave large s to custom. These circumstances ex- their failure to create a real science law. They embody no real system of sprudence. They expressly recognize force of family, caste and local usage,"[1] from this recognition we can learn a deal of the social life of the people of period and the manner in which their al orders were based.

Before we discuss the property rights women of different categories it would be er to make a few general observations. , almost every sutra writer realized it was both difficult and cruel to deny oman the chance to have a family life in if she became a widow. Second, the e of an offspring for religious, social and tal purposes was so well recognized the strict moralistic views were given a y to enable a childless widow, and even hildless wife, a means to get a son through method that certainly seems not very reet to us. Third, while the attitude to- ds the social position of woman became re sympathetic, the views regarding the nomic rights to be enjoyed by women hardened to their disadvantage, and this hardening was sought to be re-inforced by developing a detailed ritualistic set-up, thus clamping a sort of religions sanction to their opinions. The results of all these led to the women improving in many respects as a woman per se, but loosing substantially the means to lead an independent life on her own economic resources. Paradoxical though it may seem, it is a well established truth that the position of women in Hindu Society right through the ages has been like rubber band—if it has stretched itself at one point, it has simultaneously sagged at another. They have at times gained a secure social position accompanied by the right to lead a full family life as long as the desire to do so is there, but at the cost of their economic rights. At some other point they have won economic independence to a greater degree only at the expense of receding social status. This continuous uneven consolidation by women of their rights, won virtually at the expense of the other, is probably one of the reasons, and one of the main reasons at that, which has resulted in a society which has produced individual women of outstanding abilities but not one where this sex as a whole has had much to say or impress upon outside their respective domestic spheres, and perhaps not even fully and effectively in that sphere too.

Unmarried Women

Down to about the 4th century B.C. Vedic and philosophical studies attracted the main attention of society and, therefore, women also studied these subjects with great devotion and enthusiasm. Many of

[1] Prof. Beni Prasad in "*Theory of Govt. in Ancient India.* (Part Vedic).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

them used to even specialize in the 'Purva mimansa' which discuss the divers problems connected with Vedic sacrifices.[2] However the majority of girls used to merely go through the formality of 'Upanayana' just before their marriages and it is doubtful whether they were in a position to recite their morning and evening prayers. All unmarried daughters inherited their mothers' seperate property (स्त्रीधन) and on there being no such unmarried daughters it went to the mother's poor unprovided married daughters :—

"स्त्री धनं दुहित्राणाममपुत्रानामप्रतिष्ठितानाञ्च"[3]

Apostambha[4] mentions the daughter as an heir and he is the first Sutrakara to give women property rights on an equal footing with Sapindas and he places the daughter along with the inheritors mentioned after the Sapindas. However, in view of the prevailing conditions and the fact that the place assigned by him to the daughter makes the recognition more or less theoretical only, it was hardly possible for the daughter to actually inherit.

According to Baudhayana the daughters inherited the ornaments of their mother presented according to the custom of the caste :—

"मातुरलङ्कारं दुहितरः साम्प्रदायिकं लभेरन्नन्यद्वा"

Vasistha[6] also says that the daughters divide the nuptial presents of their mother, but does not suggest any other property rights for the married or unmarried daughters.

Thus, all the four sutrakaras are agreed upon the fact that daughters inherited [illegible] mothers' separate property or 'stri[illegible]' though Gautama gives the first rights [illegible] unmarried daughter and the [illegible] right to the married and indigent [illegible] Apart from this right of daughters [illegible] mother's 'stridhana', if the daughter [illegible] not a brotherless maiden, there is [illegible] ence of any other property rights [illegible] ed by them in their ancestral (Pat[illegible] property.

The brotherless maiden, however, [illegible] nued to enjoy the same rights as enjoy[illegible] this class in the Vedic period. S[illegible] daughter was usually appointed by [illegible] father to be a 'putrika' and perform [illegible] religious and other functions that [illegible] normally be performed by a son only [illegible] as such the putrika inherited the est[illegible] her father. Not only that, her father [illegible] claim his putrika's first male son to [illegible] line and then this male son continued [illegible] maternal grand father's line of succes[illegible] For fear that a brotherless maiden's [illegible] male son would go to his mother's pa[illegible] line it was not always easy to get a p[illegible] married. To get over this difficulty a f[illegible] often gave an assurance that he would [illegible] consider his brotherless daughter [illegible] putrika and would not claim her son [illegible] prospective bridegrooms still feared [illegible] their might be a mental reservation [illegible] such an assurance :—

'अभिसंधि मात्रात्पुत्रिकेत्येके'[7]

Gautama[8] cautions men not to marry [illegible] putrika, as he says that, "Some declare [illegible] daughter becomes an appointed daugh[illegible] solely by the intention of the fath[illegible] Through fear of that a man should [illegible] marry a girl who has no brothers". Gautam[illegible] felt justified to give this caution as [illegible] realized that it would be fatal for [illegible]

(2) Altekar—*Position of women in Hindu Civ.*

(3) G.D.S. XXIII. 25

(4) *Apastambha* (II.14.4. in the sacred Books of the East Part I Vol. II Page 134).

(5) बौधायन् धर्म सूत्र II.2,3.-43.

प २ । अइ । सू ३ । ४३

6. मातुः पारिणेयं स्त्रियां विभजेरन् । वसिष्ठः १७ । ४६

(7) G.D.S. XXIX taken from Altekar *Position Of Women In Hindu Civ.* P. 256.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

husband's family if his male children were
en over by his father-in-law.
The conclusion to be drawn from an
mination of the text, in the light of
ic background therefore, is that the
ther and the daughter's son entered
the legal scheme of kinship in the
n law first by the adoption or some
Aryan practice in the modified form of
ika karma' and gradually by the
cation of the formalities until the
ter per se became entitled to inherit.
d and beyond the earliest stage of the
ation in the various texts of Aryan
it seems to have had a root in
archal non-Aryan societies which
sy guess. An appointed daughter has
characterized by Vasistha as the third
of son. He declared on the authority
e Vedas that the only daughter belongs
er father's family and becomes the son
er parents. Such a putrika putra
ghter considered as putra) is charged
r father to perform the customary
ies to him after his death and conse-
y to become his heir herself.
us, all unmarried daughters inherit-
ir mothers' property, and the putrika
or the brotherless maiden received,
dition to this, her father's property as

Married Daughters

From a study of the rights of the un-
ied daughters to their parents property,
h has been discussed above, we may
ude that married daughters, too, have
ing degrees of right in their parental
erty—and, it must be borne in mind,
the married women's right to her

parental property is clear and distinct from the rights secured to her by virtue of her being a wife. The first of the two rights enjoyed by a married daughter is the right to inherit her mother's separate property provided two conditions were satisfied—one, that the mother had no unmarried daughter, and, two, the married daughter was poor and unprovided for.[9]

However, not all sutrakaras are as clear as Gautama, though even Gautama does not define Stridhana and uses the word in two different senses in his works.[10] According to Baudhayana, for instance, the daughters inherit the ornaments of their mother according to custom or anything else.[11] According to Vasistha also the daughters divide the nuptial presents of their mother.

Again the married daughter could also inherit her father's property through her son if she was the brotherless daughter of her father, that is a putrika-putra. It was for this reason that brotherless maidens could be married with difficulty, a fact which we have discussed in some detail before.

Wife (with husband living)

As we have stated before, the rights of a wife were different form the rights enjoyed by her in her parental property and which has been discussed above. Prior to discussing the rights of wives—here we will only describe the status of women whose husbands were alive, leaving the study of widows to the following chapter—it would be better to first summarize three topics, as this would help us greatly to understand better the position of such women. These three topics are :—(a) The institutions of marriage (b) Stridhana and (c) Niyoga.

---

9. G.D.S. see ref (7) on Page. 5
(9a) "स्त्री धनंदुहित्राणामपुत्रानासप्रतिष्ठितानञ्च" B.D.S. XXVIII. 25)

(10) For detailed discussion of Stridhan see infra.

(11) B.D.S.—II 2,3-43.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(a) The Institutions of Marriage

The marriage ideals and the mutual relations and rights of the parties to a marriage continued to be more or less the same as they were in the earlier age, but sacramental notions were fast effacing the individuality of women and reducing them to the status of a mere appendage to men. Asvalyana prohibited the performance of rituals by married women. The marriage age, however, continued to be about sixteen, and, thus, in practice, at least, if not in theory, brides had some voice in the selection of their partners and 'Swayamvara' was fairly common in Kshatriya circles. Even divorce was permitted to the wife though it was not extensively practised. But despite the fact that some forms of marriage, for example, marriage by capture, sale, etc., were influencing this period—wives being treated more or less as chattels under these perverse forms of marriages—Apastambha does not permit parents to gift away or sell their children, though this chattel-idea certainly gave husbands varying degrees of domination over the wife.

It might be mentioned here in passing that brotherless maidens were difficult to get married as noticed above.

Marriage constituted the husband and wife into an indivisible unit. As Apastambha says—"No division takes place between husband and wife, for since the time of marriage they stand united in respect of religious ceremonies and similarly in regard to the rewards. Such deeds as produce spiritual merit, and also with regard to the acquisition of property".[12]

In this age of the Sutras all the domestic ceremonies described in the Grihya Sutras proceed on the assumption that the [illegible] holder has only one wife who [illegible] him in the performance of the rites, [illegible] the right of 'Samasana' the husband [illegible] wife eat together, pointing to the [illegible] status of the wife along with her [illegible] Monogamy, then, was the rule, and [illegible] gamy the exception to it. Even where [illegible] were more than one wife, the first wife [illegible] given the place of pride in the [illegible] and was known as the 'Dharmastri', [illegible] the others were neglected, the [illegible] 'palagani' being the most so.

(b) Stridhana

In the early law we find that [illegible] rights to their husband's property is [illegible] less denied, but a new category of [illegible] "Stridhana" is created over which [illegible] control. It includes gifts given to the [illegible] before the nuptial fire as well as [illegible] token of love by her parents and [illegible] and those received during the course [illegible] bridal procession. Stridhana further [illegible] ed the gifts given to a wife by her [illegible]

Gautama, however, does not [illegible] Stridhana. He uses the word in two [illegible] ent senses—first in the general sense, [illegible] includes the above, and second in the [illegible] cular sense of bride-price.[13]

Apastamba says, "Ornaments and [illegible] cording to some, presents received from [illegible] relations, constitute the separate property [illegible] of the wife", i.e., "Stridhana."[14]

According to Baudhayana the [illegible] ments of the wife constitute her Stridhana, [illegible] while according to Vasistha all nuptial [illegible] sents constitute Stridhana. We thus [illegible] that the scope of women's estate has been [illegible] enlarged in this period. In the Vedic [illegible] even the bride's brothers were enjoined

12 नायापत्योर्न विभागे विद्यते । षाणिग्रहणाद्धि सहत्वं कर्मसु। तथा पुण्यफलेषु । द्रव्यपरिग्रहेषु च ॥ आप० ध० सू० (II. 6.14.16-19)

13 (Gautama XXVIII 24-28)

14 अलङ्कारो मार्य्यायां ज्ञातिधनंञ्चेत्येके। (आप० ध० सू० २।६।१४।१)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to give away riches as his dowry to brother-in-law and even when no bride-was paid she received some wedding These property, consisting of mov-things such as ornaments, dresses and ds were known as the 'Parinahaya' the wife was their owner, even her being denied the right to divide this rty after their father's death.[15]

rom this limited meaning and scope of haya' the concept of Stridhana gives ter range of property to women. Un-the Vedic age the women's estate consisted of not only the things receiv-her at the time of her marriage but the gifts received by her during her l procession and from her husband g his life time. Though it is true this enlargement of the contents of n's estate does not in any way signify responding increase, or rather any in-e at all, of the power to acquire wealth men, it, at least, clearly demonstrated crease of a married woman's right to property. Whatever she receives at ne of her marriage and takes from her nd do not constitute holdings of a ctuary nature, but these are now pro-which she can hold and control her-In the Vedic ages we have seen that oman's estate could not be divided by sons after their father's death and in age, too, we find that succession to hana is by the female line, the first erence going to unmarried daughters, econd to such married daughters as poor and were otherwise unprovided and the third to other married ters.

Thus the developments of the idea and ept of Stridhana not only gives women pecified property to her, it further ves a corpus and a source which only her succeeding daughters could inherit. Thus, Stridhana becomes fully entrenched as a doctrine which gives property to women and also governs its devolution in favour of women only.

(c) Niyoga

Apastamba and Baudhayana opposed and vehemently condemned the practice of Niyoga, while Vasistha and Gautama permitted Niyoga with minor reservations. In practice, Niyoga was fairly common in this period and the Dharmasutras laid down that a son begotten by Niyoga usually occupied the second position, that is, after the son begotten on a woman by her husband. Even Apastamba and Baudhayana, despite their opposition to this, laid down detailed rules about Niyoga procedure. Vasistha and Gautama permitted Niyoga provided, (1) the widow so desired it and, (2) a stranger was not chosen by the widow in preference to her brother-in-law.

As will be noticed in detail below widows were allowed to remarry also.

We might now co-relate all that has been said above to determine the actual status of wives regarding their property rights. From the perusal of Dharmasutras it appears that wives have no other property or rights to property save their Stridhana, and Baudhayana and Vasistha quote the famous verse to support this :—

"The father protects her in adolescence, the husband in youth and the son in old age ; a woman does not deserve absolute independence". On the other hand, the rite of Samasana at which the husband and wife eat together and Apastamba's declaration that marriage unites the husband and wife in respect of both religious ceremonies as well as the acquisition of property,[16] is evidence of the fact that the theory of the

पे पत्नी वं पारिणह्यस्य ईशे । (T.S. VI.2,1,1)

(16) *Apastambha Dharma Sutra*—II14.16-19.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

joint ownership of the couple was accepted, though the important corollaries to this theory, which would have fortified the position of the wife against an unreasonable or vicious husband does not seem to have developed. Joint ownership, however, invested the wife with an absolute right of maintenance and the husband could not deny this liability even if the wife had the misfortune of being assaulted. Apastamba allows the wife to incur the normal household expenditure during her husband's absence.

Thus, the wife during the life-time of her husband had only the right of maintenance against him and further the right of holding such property as formed part of her Stridhana, which latter also included the property inherited, if any, from her mother's Stridhana.

Widow

Gautama makes a significant change in the rules of succession by introducing the widow as an heir, but this text is so clumsy as not to be definitive, and, in any case, he is the only advocate of this right. Though the only certain right of widows is the right of maintenance out of her husband's estate, it would be better to first examine Niyoga and remarriage of widows also at this stage.

Niyoga

As said before, though opposed by Apastamba and Baudhayana, Niyoga was a prevalent custom and Vasistha and Gautama sanctioned it.[17] Though Niyoga, whether performed by the widow or during the life-time of her sonless husband with the mutual desire to beget a male heir, evidently [illegible] to a certain laxity in prevalent [illegible] was nevertheless the beginning of [illegible] lution of the husband's property [illegible] issueless widow. At first, as G[illegible] evidently contemplates, that if the [illegible] succeeds in bearing a son by Niyo[illegible] the inheritance goes to the Kshetra[illegible] and while the issue was in the wom[illegible] widow retained her husband's prope[illegible] a sort of 'Hereditas Jacius'. To take [illegible] tage of this right to retain her [illegible] husband's property, the widow submit[illegible] Niyoga and thus prevented her hus[illegible] agnates to inherit the same. This evi[illegible] led to an abuse of the privilege—the [illegible] retaining control over the property [illegible] pretext of trying to raise a Kshetraja [illegible] so much so, that Vasistha prescribed [illegible] there could be no Niyoga for receiv[illegible] heritage. Though Vasistha did this [illegible] anxiety to guard against the property [illegible] ing into the hands of the widow, it is [illegible] from his opposition that the right [illegible] widow as a representative of her hu[illegible] through the via media of being a 'Hi[illegible] Jacius' to preserve the property [illegible] benefit of her husband's 'Kshetraja' [illegible] was a prevalent practice. From this [illegible] ing stone to the next, when the w[illegible] inherited herself if Niyoga failed to pro[illegible] her deceased husband with a 'Kshetr[illegible] son, was ultimately achieved, despite [illegible] fact that this transformation was consi[illegible] beset with many a formidable hurdle [illegible] obstacle.

Vasistha, as pointed out earlier, de[illegible] Niyoga for the purpose of changing the [illegible] of succession, and to prevent the prope[illegible] passing to the widows hands :—

i.e, Niyoga is not permitted for gr[illegible] or desire for the inheritance.[18]

17 See "Niyoga in wives" Supra.

(18) V.D.S.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Aryans apparently took over the stom of Niyoga from the contemporanious -Aryan societies and used it as a means, r be, not very consciously of the end- sult, to enhance the property rights of men and to put into practice in the poral sphere as well the equality and y of the husband and wife.

Remarriage

Apastamba puts widow marriages in same category as inter-caste marriages, s admitting its existence, as does autama[19] Vasistha lays down: "If a sel has been abducted by force and wedded with sacred texts, she may fully be given to another man; she is n like a maiden; if a damsel at the death her husband had been merely wedded by recitation of sacred texts and if the riage had not been consummated, she be married again",[20] thus allowing specified classes of unwidowed wives ke a second husband after dissolving ties of the first marriage. Vasistha ws remarriage even when the death her husband is only presumed and proved, and the early writers of the rmasutras adopted a sympathetic atti- towards the minor widow.

Remarriage of widows, whereby the man entered the house of another man, s one of the factors that led to the denial the widows' rights to inherit her band's property, for fear that she would e it to her new home on remarriage.

In general, widows did not inherit their husband's property, though they had an absolute right of maintenance out of their husband's property. Baudhayana on the authority of a Vedic text[21] has explicitly denied the rights of the widows to inherit.[22]

Apastamba lays down a graded list of successors:—First the son, in his absence the nearest male Sapindas. If none such Sapindas within seven degrees, then it should devolve upon the preceptor, and in his absence a disciple of the deceased should spend it all for charitable purposes.[23] Similarly, Kautilya does not recognise the widow as an heir.

Only Gautama introduces the widow as an heir after the male son, but, as said before, his views are neither clear nor unambiguous.

Even if Gautama's advocacy for the rights of widows did not find favour as such, it could not have caused much difficulties. The widow could have remarried, and if she was childless she could beget a 'Kshetraja' son and in the meanwhile keep control over her deceased husband's property. And, in any case, she had the right of maintenance out of her husband's property.

From a perusal of the above we may summarize the following facts regarding the property rights of women in the Sutra period and, inter alia, their position generally in society:—

(1) The Sutrakaras divided property into two distinct categories, each category having its own mode of devolution—The property belonging to the father, the husband and other males, which was inherited by the male line; another, which belonged to the mother, wife and other females and devolv-

---

19 Gautama XXIX,8, by admitting the t of the son of a widow by her second band to inherit one fourth of his father's perty in the absence of ordinary legitimate ns.

20) पाणिग्राहे मृते बाला केवलं मन्त्रसंस्कृता।
क्षेत्रजयोनिः स्यात्पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥ XVII. 66.

21 T.S. VI 5.8.2.

22 II 3.46 B.D.S.

23 A.D.S. (II.14.4.) S.B.E. Vol II Part I. Page 134

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ed upon their female progeny. This second type of property was the 'Stridhana', a much wider concept than the 'Parinahaya' of the Vedic period, and, as shown above was inherited by the daughters from their mothers, and the daughters in turn, passed it down to their daughters. This 'Stridhana' was property for the women in its strictest sense as its owner had every right to hold, control, and use it. Not only that, its inheritance was also strictly confined to females, thus assuring a girl of property even unto her womanhood and death.

(II) The Sutrakaras believed, following a Vedic text, that a woman, from her girlhood to her last days, was subject to the supervision and control of a male,—father, husband and son—and they also believed in the corollary that a person so under control was also entitled to be provided for by her male protector. Thus, we find that a woman has an absolute right to maintenance, as a maiden in her father's house and as a wife in her husband's.

(III) The desire for a male successor was so great—partly for the performance of the rites and partly with the intention that property should not pass out of the family —that by a legal fiction even a son by Niyoga was accepted as the successor to his mother's husband. And, the widow was given a right to at least hold her deceased husband's property in favour of a [illegible] Kshetraja son as against the male agn[illegible] and Sapindas of her late husband, the[illegible] helping in the ultimate development of [illegible] widow's rights over her husband's prop[illegible] in her own person rather than as a tru[illegible] and mother of a would-be 'Kshatraja' [illegible]

(IV) By providing women with [illegible] a right to maintenance and a right to a [illegible] cified type of property the Sutrakaras [illegible] sure economic stability to them.

(V) Women also enjoyed many soc[illegible] privileges, including the right to be treat[illegible] as equal with the husband in most spher[illegible] during his life time and immolation [illegible] widows was not practised.

Thus, on the whole, women had enjo[illegible] a secure status. However, at least one [illegible] of this period led to a cruel practice of [illegible] future—The opposition to the idea o[illegible] widow succeeding to her husband's est[illegible] and thereafter passing it to a differ[illegible] family—to her daughters—was one of [illegible] direct causes that led to the 'satipratha' [illegible] later ages. Nevertheless, it is the thinki[illegible] of the later ages who are to be blamed [illegible] this development and not the Sutrakar[illegible] The liberality of the Sutrakaras may well [illegible] guessed from the fact that one of them [illegible] least, Gautama, mentions the widow as [illegible] successor to her husband's estate after the [illegible] son.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE DAY'S GLUTTONY AND INDIAN POLITICS

DEEPANKAR GHOSE

There is a scramble on today. Mr. ...sri owns up to unaccounted money ...g in the region of Rs. 15,000 crores as ...did at a Calcutta Press conference in ...ary.

The man at the post office counter will ...pt Rs. 2 ungrudgingly to push through ...ble after closing time. The clerk at the ...rt Controller's will expect a fiiver to ...a file propelled.

While the delicate balancing in deficit ...cing has not taken place, tax evasion ... smuggling add to the pressure in the ...g direction. There is irritation all ...d and antipathy grows between ruler ... ruled. It is in circumstances like these ...t authority subconsciously tightens its ... and wants uniform masses. There have ...n disturbing signs of this trend during ...last two or three years.

It is in circumstances like these that ...ority tends to usurp the prerogative of ...ic opinion to balance individual liberty ... collective security. It seems to be but ...mary to claim that it is the Govern...t which knows best.

Monstrosities of brick and mortar go ...in Calcutta and Bombay defying height ...gulations and yet armed with the ...ction in special circumstances" of the ...icipal building committees. Big dona...s from food merchants to the Congress ...y fund are never published and autho...y is only too eager to point out the futility ...procurement in the face of inadequate ...rehouses. There is no ceiling to land and ...t holdings and unaccounted money has ...refuge. Every year in Calcutta about ...00 buildings are sold. They invariably ...s from fixed income group Bengalis ...o cannot maintain their property. India's ...dless tillers have reached a new peak. ...t the Indian consumer industry has never been so prosperous as now. Then does it mean that the honeymoon will be soon over ?

Professor Galbraith thinks that by and large Indian trade and commerce are today where American trade and commerce were in the 1920's. In other words it is the day's gluttony stage in the Indian economy. All the world's big powers have passed through this stage before accepting limited planning. But can India afford the luxury ? If not, is there anything to be done to arrest the trend of things ? There seems to be hardly any immediate solution. The prospect is not bleak in the long-term context.

To understand the malady it is necessary to analyze the character of Indian democracy. Like all other democracies Indian democracy has a ruling elite which is open and not closed to the man from the ranks. This was the principal lesson for rulers after 1789. But unlike the leading democracies, India does not have a sub-strata which would guide, suggest and reform, irrespective of pressure groups. In the absence of this sub-strata Indian democracy has been reduced to the chafing of pressure groups. The man from the ranks may cross the threshold, join the establishment and become Chief Minister but he has to toe the line of the establishment or he gets thrown out. Of this Dr. P. C. Ghosh's exit after a very short term as Chief Minister is an outstandingly unfortunate example. In Kerala's Communist Government Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad also toed the line of his own Party, hastened the Education Bill and brought his own doom.

Only Mr. Nehru did not have to compromise. But he did to India's chagrin. He arbitrated where he should have resolved. A romantic, his vision of alternatives slowed down his action. Had the Indian sub-strata

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

existed as in Britain, that wonderland of political shades or even as in censorious America, Mr. Nehru would be spurred to act. The liberal progressive public opinion would also come out more in the open. In the absence of the sub-strata Mr. Nehru just ignored that fact that he had rare fortune among politicans—the support and love of the teeming millions.

It may be worth one's while to reason why the sub-strata has never existed and to speculate if it could be brought into being.

It will be useful to reflect that the sub-strata of the thinking elite is born only after many many years of a dialogue on rights, duties and will of the people. This long dialogue has taken place in Britain for centuries since the days of Thomas More or even before. This dialogue has been there in the Continent and was carried later to America by the immigrants. But India has not known the dialogue although the Mauryas and the Guptas did some considerable thinking on statecraft and economics but the concept of the individual **vis-a-vis** society became a talking point after 1789 by when the colonization of India had started.

India has been engaged subsequently in fighting her colonizers. Every one rallied under the umbrella of Gandhi but the intelligentsia never had occasion to think of the individual and society. Only the profound of the thinking elite gauged the issues of self-rule when and if achieved. As in the first half of this century the dialogue has a very limited participation thanks to the nationalized radio and private-sector owned national Press. Only the elite knows what it is all about.

Polarization of some sort has always been on between the Government and businessmen resulting in some glaring anomalies. This is an Emergency and the Government has not controlled prices. The British, certainly much more successful democrats than we, placed less trust during World War II on the businessmen's capacity for self-denial and introduced controls. The Government has only appealed.

It is about time we realized that a dialogue could not have a wide participation commensurate with a mature democracy in the present circumstances. What is in the way is traditional Hindu authoritarianism handed down from one generation of rulers to the next. Gandhi was very authoritarian; so was Nehru.

Gandhi became authoritarian because he understood the people more than any other Indian leader in modern times and the people understood that he understood them. And when he succeeded after all in getting the millions moving it was only expected that his word would be law. It was India's good fortune that it had as its guide a man of Gandhi's self-control and self-realization. A lesser man would have failed.

But even Gandhi committed a disastrous lapse. He always refused to inquire into any complaint which concerned the integrity of a Congress leader or worker. An episode often recounted in Delhi these days. Some businessmen used to meet every evening and the following morning the Stock Exchange would echo their decisions. The businessmen were close to the Congress leadership of the day. Nehru and a few other prominent men went and saw Gandhi about this. Gandhi on hearing this stormed at them. He said that it must have been a coincidence. It is also recounted in Delhi that Gandhi genuinely believed it was a coincidence.

Gandhi's authoritarianism passed to Nehru. But Nehru did not have Gandhi's shrewd hold over the people's pulse or his self-control. Nehru was a visionary and saw too many visions. He was impulsive and an idealist. He had Gandhi's authority but did not know the controlled use of authority. He never knew how to be stern. In sec-

(Continued to foot of next page)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CURRENT AFFAIRS

(Contd. from p. 200)

belong to the most vulnerable section of the
munity of whose gross consumption expendi-
the cost of food grains alone comprised, at
961-62 price levels, well over 75 per cent
Towards A Self-Reliant Economy, issued
Planning Commission, Government of
December, 1961, p. 76).

ultural Incentives

The problem of incentives to increased
ltural production is not a simple one.
are a variety of causes that would seem
tribute to its complexities. In the first
ce, there is the system of land tenure to be
ded with. There has been some attempt,
holly implemented yet, to liquidate the old
of zemindary rights on land and to
itute it by State ownership. The change
be said to have been an improvement on
old system. If the old system was a little
ded and smacked of a mideaval feudalism
were compensations in the widely prevalent
alistic relationships between tenant and
rd which has now been largely replaced
abstract, wholly impersonal and usually
ly mechanized system of state ownership
ble land. With the limitations placed on the
's prerogatives and discretion by the terms
e newly introduced tenure system (which
in some measure from State to State), the
ts of a whole-hogger peasant proprietorship have not been passed on to them. In consequence, the tenant generally feels that he has much less of a stake in the land he cultivates than he used to have under his old zemindar. Then, there are the amenities of farming; even after fairly massive investment in irrigational and flood control measures during the last three Plan periods (more massive in the First than in the succeeding two Plans), only about 12 million acres can be effectively irrigated to-day in the whole country and floods continue to devastate annually large tracts of the country's agricultural areas. Availability of the appropriate quantities of nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilizers is still only infinitesimal to requirements and marketing facilities for the farmer are practically nil. Thus the occupation of agricultural farming is left largely to the discretion of the Government revenue farmers, the mercy of the seasons, the caprices of the rivers, the natural but steadily dwindling fertility of the soil and, above all, to the pressures of the speculative activities of the trade which remains always at a commanding position to dictate its own price levels, at both the procurement and the selling ends. There are also other ancillory factors which continue to create disincentives against agricultural occupations. No attempt worth the name appears so far to have been made by the Government and their related agencies (and I especially refer to the National Extension Service in this connection) to assist the farmer to rationalise his holdings with a view to creating the necessary condition-precedent for fruitful intensive farming. If

THE DAY'S GLUTTONY

(Contd. from prev. page)

ence it was a final break—he got some
e strong men out of the Cabinet under
Kamaraj Plan.

This authoritarianism has become a
onal attitude and percolated to schools
l homes. The intelligentsia falls short of
responsibilities; more often than not its
ends in either accepting or rejecting
at it reads or hears. There is no initiative
thinking, because our schools and homes
not encourage the impressionable young
ds to think. They only encourage them to obey. The balancing is not quite done between respect for others and self-confidence.

Thus the issue is one of making a start in ensuring a wide participation in the dialogue on individual liberty and collective security. This some day will lead to the birth of the sub-strata of a thinking elite which will give its views independently without fear of being hounded and harried by the establishment.

What is needed is a change in attitude and it has to come from the top. The rest will follow.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

farmers with contiguous holdings could be taught the benefits of a system of rationalization by which they could avail of the benefits of laying their furrows with the help of motor tractors (and the Government could hire out tractor services to them at a reasonable fee) which it can never be possible for individual farmers with their small holdings, farming productivity would be bound, both in terms of per-acre yield as well as per-capita production, to increase. This could be almost an overwhelming incentive. Besides, Government's industrial policies have been following courses of urban concentration in such a manner that there appears to have been no thought being bestowed upon the urgent need for providing supplementary sources of occupation for the farm worker at his place of principal activity. We have already seen the miserable level of earnings of the average agricultural worker in the country, compared to which the income levels in the industrial sector would be regarded as veritable affluence beyond the reach of avarice. This has been investing agricultural occupations with an incomparably inferior social rating compared to employment in industry, with the result that an increasing process of alienation from land has been going on. This does not connote a healthy system of incentive for agricultural production. All these, apparently, our Government have neither the imagination nor the intelligence to be able to clearly see and to a assess their ultimate effect on the socio-economic structure of the country.

The Crux of the Problem

In the context of the crisis immediately facing the country on the food front, the crux of the problem would, therefore, appear to be to induce a shift, by whatever means it may be possible to do so, in the present system of command over the aggregate food grains trade in the country. It is essential, that to be able to effectively eliminate the continuing and progressively increasing speculative pressure on the supply and prices of food grains in the country, the present stranglehold of the trade must be loosened. Experience has more than amply proved that no measure of pursuasion would be able to reawaken into life the utterly dead and callously immune social conscience of the trade. [illegible] measures must, therefore, be sought to be [illegible] should be compulsive in nature and [illegible] This, unfortunately, the Government are [illegible] not strong enough or, possibley, even not [illegible] enough to be ready to do. The answer, [illegible] ly, is: total precurement; statutory rationing [illegible] all urban and easy to cordon-off areas [illegible] institution of fair price shops preferably [illegible] direct Government ownership or, at least [illegible] their strict control and supervision, in [illegible] vulnerable rural areas to enable food grains [illegible] reach the direct consumer at statutory [illegible] The entire machinery will necessarily have to [illegible] both elaborate, massive and complex. But if [illegible] Government have allowed themselves to [illegible] blackmailed to remain indifferent to this [illegible] ously developing situation over the years [illegible] the Second Plan was launched and which [illegible] threatening acceleration since the end of [illegible] they have only themselves to thank for the [illegible] magnitude of the problem which, we are afraid, can yield to no soft, half-hogging and indecisive measures. If they, however, continue to evade their primary obligations in this behalf, they have only to look into the pages of history to find out, at what little distance nemesis may be waiting to pounce upon them.

THE MID-TERM TAXATION BUDGET

Although it was known for quite some time that substantial additional tax efforts would have to be made for filling in the resources gap of the Fourth Plan as tentatively conceived by the Planning Commission and which, it was recently reiterated by accrediated spokesmen of the Commission and the Government alike, would be adhered to inspite of earlier counsels of moderation from various quarters, the supplementary mid-term taxation Budget that Union Finance Minister Krishnamachari presented to the Lok Sabha immediately after the reopening of Parliament for the autumn session on August 18 last carried an element of both shock and surprise. The Plan has yet to be finally discussed, initialled by the National Development Council which is expected to meet some time early in September and confirmed, after which it would have to be presented to Parliament for a debate and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

course. It was naturally to be assumed that ever the size and nature of the additional tion measures that would have to be even- decided upon, it would follow and ceede, as it appears to have in the present re, the final ratification of the Fourth Plan he N.D.C. and Parliament. Besides, the ion of the Fourth Plan is due to commence the 1966-67 Budget year and it would be ly assumed that the additional tax burdens e Fourth Plan would impose on the country accordingly, commence with the new -year. In fact, it appears that all that was to happen in the current autumn session of ment was that, in accordance with the l business procedure of the House of the the Union Finance Minister would be d to make a statement on the state of economy; he has, instead, presented a mentary Budget with drastic tax proposals are now estimated to raise additional reve- of the order of somewhere around Rs. 100 during the balance of the current financial

This new and immediately rather unexpected tion proposals have been officially described "first act in pursuance of the decision to the Rs. 3,000 crores of additional resources e Fourth Plan. While these new proposals timated to yield additional revenues of the of Rs. 100 crores during the balance of the financial year, the estimate of annual ional yield from these has been placed at d Rs. 167 crores, a sizeable additional which, it is almost certain, would be bound e further substantially augmented in the next of the 1966-67 financial year. The new proposals consist of the following items :

(1) The statutory import tariff on machinery be 40 per cent and on basic industrial raw erials, with an effective rate for the time being 0 per cent; the 10 per cent regulatory import earlier imposed in the last annual Budget remain unaffected ;

(2) Consumer goods imports will rate an ent duty at 100 per cent with the existing ver rates on specified items like liquor etc. ssing unaffected ; contraceptives and ferti- ers will continue to come in duty-free and there will be no change in the rate for essential drugs, baby food, newsprint and milk powder ;

(3) An additional excise duty of Rs. 50 per kilolitre on motor spirits, and Rs. 60 per kilolitre on high speed diesel oil ; Excise duty on superior kerosene is to go up by Rs. 52 per kilolitre while that on inferior kerosnee will remain unchanged ; the duty on light diesel oil is to be reduced to Rs. 90 per tonne and the duty on furnace oil will go up by Rs. 40 per metric tonne ;

(4) Excise on steel and pig iron and their products will go up by Rs. 10 per tonne and that on unwrought zinc and lead by Rs. 500 per tonne and those on copper ingots and copper manufactures will, likewise, go up by Rs. 500 per tonne ;

(5) Tax reliefs include a rise in the rate of development rebate to priority industries to 35 per cent to the list of which coal mining machinery will now be added ;

(6) The five year tax holiday will now be extended to new industrial undertakings which go into production during the Fourth Plan period ;

(7) Bonus to individuals on cumulative time deposits are to be exempted from tax and the 7 per cent Gold Bond 1980 will be exempted from income tax ; the commuted value of pensions will likewise be exempted from tax ;

(8) A fresh scheme for voluntary disclosures of *black* income and wealth has been incorporated in the new proposals under which the assessee will be permitted to pay his tax dues by instalments extending over a period of 4 years commencing with a 10 per cent instalment in the first year and provided securities are furnished for the balance ; the tax will be assessed at the usual rate appropriate to the income disclosed and not on any *ad hoc* concessional basis as earlier ; the income thus disclosed will not be subject to any further process of assessment, the identity of the declarer will not be disclosed who will also be immune from penalties and prosecution for past concealment ; this scheme will be in force until 31st March, 1966.

Structural Changes

It will, thus, be seen that although the Union Finance Minister, in course of his last Budget speech, opined that "indirect taxation has two

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

essential objectives: "to raise revenues for the State and to serve as an instrument of price policy" and admitted by implication the inflationary impact on the price structure of the then existing measures of indirect taxation when he further went on to say that "those indirect taxes which are designed primarily to raise revenue have to be adjusted not only in the light of revenue needs but also in the light of their impact on the budgets of individual citizens", he has done hardly anything, in designing his new and additional tax measures, to keep these fundamental principles of legitimate taxation in view. In fact, even in the last Budget he did not do much towards correcting the existing and rather overwhelming imbalances in the total tax structure which, admittedly, have been an important inflationary factor. In the last Budget, for instance, of the total taxes estimated to be raised, as much as 67.7 per cent were intended to be raised from indirect taxation ; of this, again, as much as 44.8 per cent were estimated to be derived from excise duties, at least more than 50 per cent of which concerned consumption goods and the balance related mostly to semis and other items the impact of which would naturally fall, at least in a proportionate measure, upon the end-consumer. With the present proposals coming into effect, the gross tax revenue of the country within the 1965-66 fiscal year would be estimated at Rs. 1,930 crores and the incidence of gross indirect taxation rise to Rs. 1,332 crores or, very nearly, to 70 per cent of the total tax revenue. This in the face of the Union Finance Minister's own admission that there has been substantial rise in the price level since the beginning of the current financial year and the wholesale price index, at the end of July, had touched an all time peak of 168.8, would seem to be a callous measure designed only to serve the revenue needs of the Government whatever its impact may be on the already low living levels of the people.

We have been obliged to comment on several occasions in the recent past in these columns that imposition of excise imposts upon consumption commodities is generally regarded by all sound canons of public taxation, as an item to be scrupulously avoided except in respect of such goods the restriction of the consumption of which is regarded as a sound measure of legitimate public policy, for the principal reason that such taxes [illegible] raise prices to the end-consumer by a [illegible] larger measure than the amount appropriated [illegible] the State. Since it is one of the primary [illegible] of the State while designing its tax measures [illegible] its revenue needs must conform to the [illegible] well being of the citizen, repeated resort [illegible] measures of taxation, as has been happening [illegible] the last one decade and longer and of which [illegible] present is only another overt instance, the new [illegible] Budget, inspite of certain measures of relief [illegible] proposed in the same Budget in the field of [illegible] taxation, must be regarded as an instance of [illegible] Government's complete indifference to [illegible] probable,—we consider them really inevitable [illegible] impact upon the living levels of the people.

We have been told almost *ad nauseam* [illegible] the last several years that the scope for [illegible] upward adjustment of direct taxation for [illegible] the essential revenue requirements of [illegible] State is very limited. Indeed, it has been [illegible] that the level of direct taxation being what [illegible] it has already been working as a disincentive [illegible] savings and investments and the needs [illegible] development dictate that additional [illegible] measures in this field must be avoided as [illegible] possible. It does not, however, appear to [illegible] been appreciated at the same time that an [illegible] distribution of the burdens of taxation, as [illegible] generally the case in the event of a too [illegible] emphasis upon indirect taxation including [illegible] imposts upon a large variety of consumer [illegible] quite a number of them in the essential consumables category, carry such a heavy inflationary potential upon the general price structure that [illegible] already sub-human living levels of the people are bound to be correspondingly distorted in the process.

Distortions in the Economy

It is this distortion in the economy that the [illegible] taxation structure of the country must be essentially designed to obviate and correct. In the last Budget the Union Finance Minister admitted this need when he said that "In a growing economy with shortages at various levels, there is also a tendency for the price structure to be distorted." Taxation, as he earlier stated in course of the same speech, must be designed in such a manner

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"serve as an instrument of price policy." Unfortunately, however, all that the Finance Minister endeavoured to do in this matter was to try to curb excessive profits by what he described as "selective increase in both import and excise duties to mop up these profits." It is an elementary fact of life in the Indian economy that whether excise or other similar imposts are laid on items which are said to be yielding excessive profits, all that happens is to pass on the burden of such imposts and, often, even more, on to the consumer by an upward adjustment of the retail prices by a more than proportionate extent and that the Government do not seem to have any desire to obviate or even effectively restrict.

As has been already seen, the minor adjustments in the tax structure which were sought to be effected in the last annual Union Budget with the declared purpose of employing it to serve as an "instrument of price policy" have utterly failed to achieve such an end and price levels have continued to rise to new peaks to a corresponding distortion in the economy. Ever since planned development was launched in 1950-51, the value of the rupee both at home and abroad has continued to steadily fall lower and lower, but for a short interregnum during 1953-54, and a substantial proportion of the achievements of so-called development has been correspondingly negated by inflationary pressures upon the price structure. In fact, it would seem that his melodious assertions to the contrary notwithstanding, all that the Union Finance Minister was concerned with, almost in the same measure like his predecessor, was to budget for the revenue requirements of the State by following a line of least resistance and in utter and complete disregard of how the process would be likely to affect he vast majority of the countrys' population.

Rationalizing the Tax Structure

In presenting his supplementary taxation proposals to Parliament, the Union Finance Minister is reported to have claimed that in formulating the new tax budget he had been endeavouring to carry forward the process of "rationalising the tax structure" in conformity with what he described as the "paramount need for raising progressively higher revenues for sustaining the dynamism and soundness (?) of the economy." This would seem to be a claim which does not appear to be justified by the actual contours of the over-all taxation structure. We have already seen that the incidence of indirect to total taxation, which was of the order of 70.3 per cent in 1963-64, and which fell to approximately 66.6 per cent in the following year's Budget, again rose to 67.7 per cent in the current year's Budget as a result, perhaps, of Krishnamachari's efforts at rationalising the tax structure and relating the incidence of indirect taxation to a more healthy purpose of serving as an effective instrument of price policy. The incidence of excise taxes to total tax would, in assessing the matter be a more reliable indicant and, in this field of taxation, the proportion of excise to total taxes which had risen to as high a level as 48.3 per cent in 1963-64 and which had fallen to 43.7 per cent in the 1964-65 Budget, rose marginally again by 1.1 per cent to 44.8 per cent in the current year's Budget. The effect of the tax proposals which are estimated to bring in an additional revenue from excise duties of little over Rs. 54 crores during the current fiscal year would be to further raise the incidence of excise to total taxes for the current year to just over 45.64 per cent or by .84 per cent over that in the annual Budget estimates.

As a result of these new imposts transport costs are bound to go up by a subsantial margin and will be bound to affect not merely the costs of essential passenger transport but also the carrying costs of goods all over the country. The increase in the steel and steel manufactures excise duty as well as on pig iron and castings would correspondingly increase the cost burdens on a variety of small industries as well as the cost of agricultural production and house building which would be likely to affect a very wide spectrum of society, both urban and agrarian. Indeed, these new mid-term tax proposals have created a condition of bewilderment all over the country and the reaction of the business community, who are far from convinced of the *bona fides* of the Union Finance Minister's plea that these were called for for the purpose of mobilising necessary resources for the Fourth Plan, has been that these would be bound to aggravate the prevailing state of uncertainty, lead to further

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

spiralling of prices and generally aggravate current rather steep inflationary pressures which have been very materially distorting he state of the economy.

What would seem to be rather obvious in this connection is that it was really not for purposes of mobilizing resources for the Fourth Plan, expenditure or outlay on which is not expected to commence before April, 1966, but really for purposes of covering shortfalls in Government's current consumption expenditure—the steep rise in the incidence of which has been a major factor in raising the level of current demand and consequent explosion in the price spiral—and which would be bound to have the net effect of further aggravating the present condition of sluggishness in savings and capital formation. Additional taxation to cover shortfalls in savings and public borrowings would be bound to be self-defeating in the measure that it will be bound to aggravate prices. The steep rise in the Government's non-Plan expenditure over the last several years, especially during the years of the Third Plan period, is a demonstrable example of how inflationary pressures are being substantially aggravated by thoughtless adjustment of non-development outlays by Government by recourse to additional taxation. Above all, this method of continuously budgeting for additional taxation between normal annual budgets of the Government would be bound to aggravate conditions of instability.

Imagination and Courage Needed

What is really needed to combat the present dismal cost-price situation in the country is a measure of boldness of imagination and the courage to retrace past errors, which, unfortunately, the Union Government or their Finance Minister do not seem to possess. The present taxation structure, it has become more than obvious over the years, is irrational and loaded with such heavy inflationary pressures inherent in its constitutional make-up that it has been defeating in substantial measure all efforts to carry the growth rate in the economy forward towards that stage of take-off at which it will begin to become self-generating and self-sustaining. Inspite of a decade and a half of planned development, the inflationary potentials inherent in the developing tax sructure along with several incidental and ancillory factors have been torting development in such measures that now there are wide and substantial shortfalls in the growth of the necessary infra-structure social overheads without which the process development cannot be appropriately and quately sustained. The fact that the present Finance Minister inherited most of the evils the present structure of public taxation from predecessor does not absolve him of the obligation to put the taxation structure on a more rational and equitable basis. He has been tinkering this obligation in a minor degree earlier in year while formulating his annual Budget but could hardly have any corrective influence obstreperous market forces—as demonstrably has not been having—and his present mini taxation Budget demonstrates that being so to cope with these forces he has been obliged reverting to the techniques of his predecessors further aggravate a situation which has been increasingly worsening day by day.

What is needed is not mere feeble tinkering with a structure of taxation which cannot to any but the most vigorously, even unorthodoxly conceived treatment, and at the first sign of difficulty, hastily revert to measures which themselves been largely responsible for the present situation, but a bold and courageous reform of the entire tax structure towards a more healthy and rational basis of public taxation. Such a step, expedient, it is conceded, would not be easy to follow ; it may even, over a short period, strain the finances of the Government in pretty substantial meeasure and, very possibly, require the process of plan-development to be slowed down and cause the structure of development plans to be recast in its entirety. But such an exercise alone, there is not the least reason to doubt, can rescue both planning and the finances of the Government from their onward and headlong journey towards a bottomless pit where they would appear to be heading at the present moment.

Structural and Constitutional Defects in Planning

Indeed, by far the largest measure of the present difficulties of the Government and the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...nomics and shortfalls in plan development ...be demonstrated to have been derived from ...wrong kind of planning that we have been ...ing in this country over the last fifteen ...s and to which our Plan-executives seem ...ained to continue to obstinately and stub- ...r conform inspite of the adverse lessons ...e past. Planning, it would seem, was being ...ed after the ambitious techniques of the ...ped countries of the world without regard ...e basic facts of our own economy. Without ...into unnecessarily extensive details, these ...facts may be described as being :

(i) Scarce capital ;

(ii) A huge incidence of residuary un- ...ed with an average addition to the labour ...at the rate of some 10 millions every year ;

(iii) A primitive system of agriculture being ...to ineffectually sustain some 77 per cent of ...gross population of the country.

The very first of these facts would seem to ...re that our plan-design should bee such that ...every unit of the small capital that may be ...able for investment, effort should be made ...cover the largest possible areea of employ- ... In other words, our plan for economic ...must necessarily, in the present condition ...resources and basic problems be founded ...a primarily labour-intensive design. Both ...the point of view of scarcity of available ...for investment as well as the need for ...dest and the speeediest employment coverage ...people, we are simply not able to afford ...design our immediate future development ...on a mainly capital-intensive technology- ...structure. The employment of modern techno- ...in economic development, it must be clearly ...stood, is primarily a concession to labour ...ge, a problem the very reverse of which is ...we have to currently deal with in this ...ry.

Unfortuntely, the primary emphasis in ...ning has been, from the very beginning, upon ...logy and capital intensification even in such ...rprises where their use might easily have ...avoided without materially affecting the ...orts concerned. Take, for instance, some of ...river valley projects where the use of modern ...moving and tamping equipments might ...ot materially affecing their implementation have easily been replaced largely by manual labour. In some of the larger key industries in the public sector also, the measure of technology-based development might have been attenuated in some measure and corresponding measures of capital investment obviated, without materially detracting from their production potential. What has, however, been happening in many cases is that instead of maintaining a certain and necessary measure of labour-intensiveness in the capital structure of these enterprises, the pressure of growing unemployment in the country has been obliging these to maintain a substantial measure of labour-intensive employment structure inspite of its capital-intensive investment base with corresponding measures of loss in productivity of the enterprises concerned.

A primitive kind of land tenure and consequent fragmentation of holdings, primitive methods of cultivation, lack of fertlizers in adequate and scientifically assessed proportion, dependence on the mercy of the seasons for irrigation water, lack of adequate flood control measures (inspite of huge outlays on this account, especially in the First Plan) and a paralyzing burden of labour force that the agricultural system has to sustain, has reduced agriculture more or less to an uneconomic occupation. Of the total agricultural households in the country, who constitute in the aggregate some 80 per cent of the total population and only about 10 per cent of whom are fortunately engaged in some supplementary income-yielding occupation, a little more than 10 per cent are wholly landless hired labourers ; some 31 per cent have holdings of an average size of less than one acre and are able to produce only enough to cover their own consumption needs for about 3 months in the year ; another 26.6 per cent have holdings measuring less than 2.5 acres and produce enough to cover their own consumption needs for between 6 and 9 months in the year. Of the rest constituting 32.4 per cent of the agricultural households, a certain proportion are only just subsistence farmers, that is, they produce only enough to cover their own consumption needs and have no marketable surplus. It is only the rest that produce a marketable surplus. Considering that a very large proportion of these have holdings of between 5 and 10 acres and also that in most

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

States now an effective ceiling of 25 acres has been prescribed as the maximum size of a holding per household, the proportion of those with any very large marketable surplus could only be microscopic.

In spite of these dismal facts, however, agriculture is still, even after fifteen years of what has been claimed as rapid and substantial industrialization under the Plans, the largest single source of production and accounts for, by value of the produce, well over one half of the gross national product and of which food grains production is estimated to account for well over 67 per cent. Productivity in agriculture is admittedly very low considering the huge burden of the population it has to continue to sustain. Recent trends, no doubt, demonstrate a certain process of increasing urbanization ; but its incidence is still quite infinitesimal and prospects of any very substantial acceleration in the process in the near future would seem to be quite remote. What, however, would appear to be a tragic fact of our agricultural occupation is that it cannot, by the nature of its present primitive processes and the magnitude of the labour force it has to sustain, afford full employment to the agricultural worker for more than about 200 days in the year. A great deal might have been done to offer a fuller measure of employment to the agricultural worker by creating subsidiary job opportunities —possibly in small industry—in the locale of his basic employment which would also have the effect of stimulating the process of productivity in agricultural output. Until measures for initiating an integrated process of rationalising agricultural occupations can be taken in hand by a multi-pronged attack on the system of land tenure, better availability of fertlizers and irrigation water and other ancillory measures, which would considerably reduce the labour-input in agriculture correspondingly with the increased input of these other items, the hope for inereased effort towards agricultural production which suffers from the disincentives derived from these lacks, would be bound to remain an unattainable ideal.

In fact planning in the manner it has so far been essayed and continues even now to be so conceived, has only been lop-sided and eccentric. There has never been—nor in the picture of the Fourth Plan of which [illegible] already been afforded a tentative [illegible] integrated and balanced approach to [illegible] And it is this lack which, it is demonstrated, [illegible] been responsible for the increasing shortfall [illegible] implementation, infructuous employment of [illegible] capital resources and inadequate measures [illegible] development relative to the outlays incurred. [illegible] Efforts to cover these lacks by a progressive [illegible] increasing mobilization of resources, by the [illegible] less and unscientific budgeting for more and [illegible] more taxation revenue from whatever sources [illegible] likely to yield the needed resources with the [illegible] least effort, have led the country into a situation [illegible] tion from which it will be most difficult [illegible] retrieve her fortunes. Both planning [illegible] and the structure of taxation will have to be [illegible] redesigned and reformulated if the position is [illegible] intended to be retreived. Or else we shall [illegible] soon reach a point of no-return from the [illegible] quicksands disaster.

Unaccounted Money

While discussing these fundamentals [illegible] taxation and planning, it might seem [illegible] irrelevanlt to revert to the question of unaccounted [illegible] ed money. But since Sri Krishnamachari has [illegible] included fresh provisions for inducing voluntary [illegible] disclosure of concealed or *unaccounted* wealth [illegible] and income in his mid-term taxation Budget [illegible] reference to this item, although only incidental, [illegible] would not seem to be wholly inappropriate. Sri [illegible] Krishnamachari himself tentatively estimated the [illegible] measure of this concealed wealth at around [illegible] Rs. 3,000 crores, although the Prime Minister [illegible] was reported to have been deliberately vague [illegible] and to have guessed the aggregate value of the [illegible] unaccounted for money at anywhere between [illegible] Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 10,000 crores. In any case, [illegible] by common consent the minimum estimate of the [illegible] measure of this money would appear to have [illegible] been assessed at around Rs. 3,000 crores. As a [illegible] result of the concessions offered in his [illegible] annual Budget this year, which remained in force [illegible] until 31st May last, voluntary disclosures of such [illegible] money was fixed to attract a gross tax of 45 [illegible] per cent of the disclosed amount at the highest [illegible] level. Under the new scheme, disclosed amounts [illegible]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

attract tax at the rate appropriate level of income so disclosed under the tax statute in force. The maximum rate at the highest slab would gross approxi- 74 per cent. Under the earlier scheme disclosures aggregated a gross income 50 crores, according to the Union Minister and yielded a tax revenue of crores; that is to say in accordance with ss of the Finance and the Prime Ministers, out 1.6 per cent of the minimum measure ccounted money operating in the market r been disclosed. The Finance Minister mmented that no individual or business ation with a really large measure of ed income has been included among the ts. If that were so, when they would be required to pay in taxes some 14 per cent less than now, would it not be too optimistic to expect that the new scheme would bear any more substantial fruit? True, there is the new concession of the declarant being allowed to pay his tax dues by instalments spread over a period of four years; but why should he elect to at all pay since he has, so far, been able to get away without paying anything? Mr. Krishnamachari, we are afraid, has been making a ridiculous exhibition of himself and of his Ministry by this measure. If he can think of no more compulsive and effective measure than this, it were better that he did not trot out from time to time these ridiculous concessional attractions.

SOCIAL ACTION PROCESS

A New Approach

M. K. SETHU RAO

pplication of science and technology is y a social process rather than a technical m or a technical process. Successful appli- needs changes in people's knowledge, e and skill. It is a difficult and drawn out s. Research brings out new products and ses which are to be translated into action. people concerned should understand, accept corporate the results of science and techno- in their actions thereby making necessary es in their behaviour.

Rural Development Programmes of very great de affecting millions of people are being d out in our country since 1952. The true of these programmes can be guaged only there are manifestations in the individual community life of the people concerned. huge army of professional leaders like e level workers etc. are engaged in this t in addition to Local Leadership. But whatever the type of programme it starts from an idea.

How does an idea become a practice? How does this practice become an integrated part of the culture of any society? Is there any set pattern observed? If so, what is the significance for the implementation of rural development programmes? These are some of the pointing questions that come to the mind of any rural sociologist.

In other words these questions boil down to the following:

Just how does action take place in the society? A fertilizer campaign, a rat-killing campaign or a plant protection campaign or mass vaccination programme or constructing a school or a hospital building in the village or arranging a village leaders' training camp etc. are some of the programmes that are to be undertaken. How these programmes get started and keep on going?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The solution for such problems may differ from area to area or from village to village, yet, a general pattern seems to occur in such programmes as mentioned above.

Before any action can start, interested people must agree that a problem or situation exists and something must be done about it. This feeling may arise in a number of people if the problem is severe like cattle disease or severe plant pest or epidemic etc. At other times action may be started by someone closely connected with the system—an insider like the *Gramsevak* or the school teacher or the Secretary of the Co-operative who represents certain special interests. This person may define the problem and try to get the support of the organisation concerned. Sometimes an outsider may try to get the action started like the Deputy Commissioner or a semi-official agency like Social Welfare Board or *Sevadal* etc. Awareness of a problem or unsatisfactory situation happens to be the first stage in any social process. Sometimes this may be vague and sometimes it is apparent. But the mere existence of awareness is not a guarantee for action, though it is necessary for any social action process.

Following is a brief analysis of stages in a social action process :

1. *Initiating Stage*

In any community or vilage situation action is generally started by an "initiating set". This is generally a small group. They feel that the problem is important enough to start some action to tackle it. The important thing to be remembered here is that there may be more than one initiating set in a particular problem situation considering the same problem. Thus starting of a social action process for any particular programme may involve only one group or many groups.

2. *Legitimation Stage*

Some persons or groups (may be informal or formal) in a community or a village seem to have the right or authority or the privilege to pass on things that make them legitimate activities. They are the people who usually say "this is good or bad or acceptable or not acceptable." These persons may be called "legitimisers". The initiating set usually takes the problem to legitimisers for their judgment. On some occasions only one or two are legitimisers and in some cases an informal group may be the legitimiser. In some other cases a formal group may be the legitimiser like caste group or religious committee, Mahilamandal or young farmers' club etc.

Though the ultimate legitimisers are people themselves, legitimation or giving sanction by key people in groups is a very important step in getting action. The people remain or become legitimisers because of many reasons like family prestige, key position, money, knowledge and correct judgments etc.

Legitimisers are very useful in testing an idea immediately. They are the keepers of values. They know whether people accept an idea or not, at what pace and they can also suggest how an idea can be modified to meet the needs of the people concerned paving for easy acceptance.

Sometimes they block progress, but on many occasions they prevent the initiators from going off in tangents and making serious mistakes. When an extension worker goes to legitimisers he gets several answers. His answer may be negative indicating that he is not willing to be attached to the programme in any manner. Then the extension worker must decide whether to modify the approach or use a different approach or in some cases to by-pass the legitimisers. Sometimes his answer may be positive indicating that his name be attached to the programme whenever necessary. In some cases the legitimiser may take the full responsibility by giving 100 per cent approval.

In most cases there are two kinds of legitimisers. Formal legitimisers or the administrators who set policy, make decisions and give orders. They usually operate from rules and regulations and from position of authority. Second are the informal legitimisers who may not be in the administrative structure. One person may play both the roles.

A legitimiser may not be very helpful for the programme even though the extension worker has consulted him and taken his sanction. But if he is not consulted and his position as legitimiser is challenged, he will try everything he can to stop or hinder the prpogress of the programme.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the development worker is completely
by the legitimiser then following
ives are to be explored and this depends
the nature and importance of the
me.

Using different approach with the
original legitimisers ;

Trying to set up other legitimisers ;

By-pass the legitimation set and try to
take the idea directly to the people.

ffusion Stage

hen an idea has been legitimised it is ready
rthforth before the general public or part
general public to feel the 'pulse' whether
be acted upon. In other words, the idea
into the diffusion process and a very
tant group, the 'diffusion set' takes over.
composition of the group is generally not
me as 'initiators' and legitimisers.' In
cases one or two or three legitimisers
e in this group and it is not uncommon
e or two initiators may also be found
group. In majority of the cases the
rs are not the best people to take the
mme to the public. The diffusion set needs
who are able to help the public understand
ccept the idea. Sometimes more than one
sion set gets involved before the community
nd accepts the idea.

Need Defined

Once the diffusion set is established the
em is right before the people. But, every-
may or may not be involved. Some groups
people start taking interest and the Need
es to get clearly defined. This is the crucial
in any social action process. How does this
pen? May be by extension programmes like
nstrations, surveys, comparisons with other
es, competition, past experience or crisis.

Formalising Action

As the programme gets going it is formalised
some stage. It is extremely difficult to pin point the particular stage at which the action is formalised, *i.e.*, when a committee or group or sub-group or individuals become responsible for the programme. It may take place in the legitimation process or diffusion process. Sometimes formalisation may not be necessary, but, on many occasions the social action programmes have failed because they were not formalised. During this stage the goals and targets are fixed.

6. *Commitment to Action*

This is the logical stage that follows the formalisation. The people might have recognised the problem, have defined the need, yet, the resources may not be forthcoming, i.e., the mobilisation of resources might not have taken place. It is here that the mettle of the extension worker is put to test. It depends upon the depth of understanding he has about the groups and their functional strength in the village. The individual leaders and the extent of their followers, past success of the groups and individuals, obligations of the groups and individuals, time factor of the villagers, special skill and abilities of certain individuals and the standing of the formal organisations in the village, etc.

7. *Launching Stage*

Some programmes get started by a formal meeting or any other types of ceremonies. Some programmes start without any formal functions or ceremonies.

8. *Evaluation*

This is a continuous process as soon as the programme gets started. May be on a scientific basis or may be in a crude way, may be both by the participants and outsiders, the evaluation goes on till the particular action programme comes to a finale.

The social action programme passes through the series of stages but need not necessarily follow the same pattern. Sometimes there may be combining of two stages. Anyway the extension worker should know about this sequence for effective implementation of the programme.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Referenve :

1. *Communication Bulletin* No. 17 of the University of Minnesota, U.S.A.
Agricultural Extension Service.
2. Hollis W. Peter, *Guide lines on the Process of Changes International Co-operation and Problems of Transfer of Adoptation*. States papers prepared for the United Conference on the application of Science Technology for the benefit of the less areas.
3. Raudabaugh J. Niel, Federal Service U.S. Department of Agriculture— *Social Action Process*—ER & T 91 (4-57).

MALAYSIA AND SINGAPORE

Clear Signs Of Real Goodwill

ELISABETH BARKER

The decision of the Governments of the Federation of Malaysia and Singapore, announced on August 9, that Singapore should leave the Federation and start a new life as an independent country is one that all their partners and friends must regret.

When Malaysia came into being nearly two years ago with the merging of Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak with the States of the already independent Federation of Malaysia, everyone was aware that there were difficult and perhaps dangerous times ahead.

Main Challenge

Abroad, Malaysia faced the hostility of President Sukarno's Indonesia.

At home, strains were bound to develop as the very varied elements within the enlarged Federation adjusted themselves to their new relationships.

The main challenge was, of course, to reach a successful solution of the relationship between the Malay and Chinese communities. One of the main aims of federation was to settle the problems —political, psychological, even strategic—created by the complex mixture of Malays and Chinese living on the long tongue of land which forms the Malay Peninsula, with the island of Sing at its southernmost tip.

Population Balance

In the Malay Peninsula, without Sing the Malays form about half of the populati Chinese a little over one-third. In Singapore the other hand, the Chinese make up t quarters of the population, while the Malays fewer than one in seven of the total. There also nearly 1,000,000 people of Indian Pakistani origin in Malaya and Singapore together.

Federation established a balance, in terms population, between Malays and Chinese. Federation as a whole had a population of arou 10,000,000. Of these, around 40 per cent were Malays and just over 40 per cent Chinese.

Of course, the Federation—as it took shape by the free consent of all the peoples concerned —had many other reasons for existence. Malays and Chinese may differ in cultural heritage, political approach, way of life and temperament. But many factors combined to draw them together in 1963—and still do.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

erful Bonds

Economic factors, geography and defence are powerful bonds. For instance, Singapore ds for its water supply on the neighbouring State of Johore.

And the defence of Malaya and Singapore st external threat, from whatever quarter, inly indivisible—as the two Governments have nized by their agreement to conclude an al defence treaty and to establish a joint ce Council.

mon Danger

In the last two years, moreover, President rno's "confrontation" policy—that is, active nesian hostility—has formed a fresh bond ween the various parts of the Federation. ether, Malays, Chinese and the Borneo peoples e faced a common danger from a country with times the Federation's population.

In the long run, however, the success or re of the Federation, in its original form, bound to depend on the Malay-Chinese rela-ship. The great question has been whether balance created, in terms of population figures, ld be transformed into a satisfactory working nership between the two races in building up new State.

Heartening progress was made, but communal sions flared from time to time. The decision been taken that it would be better to rate as friends than remain together and a deepening of resentments.

nesian Reaction

It was taken, quite clearly, with sadness on sides, and it has caused sadness among all Federation's friends. The only country to ose was—inevitably—Indonesia. Its leaders—inevitably, but wrongly—have tried to claim split as a victory for their "confrontation". They choose to depict it as the collapse of whole concept of partnership between Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo territories. And they have not concealed their hope that they themselves can give the final blow which will cause complete disintegration.

But President Sukarno and his colleagues have miscalculated. If the separation of Malaysia and Singapore was swift and sudden, it was also entirely orderly, smooth and peaceful, and provision has been made for continuing co-operation in defence, economic affairs and other matters of joint concern.

Future Co-operation

Clearly, the separation has implications for Britain's defence agreement with Malaysia which will call for careful study. But both Tunku Abdul Rahman and Mr. Lee Kuan Yew—Prime Ministers respectively of Malaysia and Singapore—have stressed that arrangements for mutual defence are not affected.

The Singapore Government has promised to allow Britain to continue to use the bases, as hitherto, for the purpose of helping in the defence of Singapore and Malaysia, for Commonwealth defence, and for the preservation of peace in South-East Asia.

Moreover, Singapore—as an independent State—wants to be a member of the Commonwealth. This again should strengthen and confirm the basis for its future co-operation with the Federation.

Unity in Diversity

Most important of all, there are clear signs of real goodwill on both sides. The Malaysian Prime Minister, in his first public statement on the split, said he hoped and prayed that in diversity Malaysia and Singapore would have a better chance to find unity.

On the other side, the Singapore Deputy Prime Minister, Dr. Toh Chin Chye, said: "Although lasting unification of Singapore and Malaya has not been achieved this time, it is my profound belief that future generations will succeed where we have failed."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THREE LEADERS OF THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE

D. P. SHRIVASTAVA

The religious and spiritual awakening and resurgence of India since the middle of the nineteenth century is a very significant phenomenon in the history of modern India. The mighty forces released by this great upheaval provide us the key to understand the nationalist movement and constitutional advancement of India. It aroused the mind and soul of this great country. Its reverberations were felt in the domain of philosophy, religion and culture. Political consciousness followed closely on its heels. The Indian renaissance was alo accompanied by revivalism. Some of its leaders laid great stress on the teachings of the Vedas, Upanishads and the Gita and vehemently criticised those Indians who came under the spell of Western civilization. The soul of India began to rebel against the despiritualizing and denationalizing influence of a foreign civilization. The Indian renaissance was accompanied by such religious movements as the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramkrishna Mission and the like. The outstanding leaders of the renaissance in India were Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Swami Dayananda Saraswati and Swami Vivekananda who respectively were the pioneers of the three great religious movements of the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Ram Krishna Mission. We shall now deal with each of these eminent Indian leaders.

Raja Ram Mohun Roy

Raja Ram Mohún Roy (1772-1833) heralded the modern age in Indian history. He was a great rationalist. Though he profoundly studied the Hindu theology and metaphysics at Banaras, he had no deep reverence for orthodox Hinduism. Acc... ing to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, "Raja R... Mohun Roy was the first and the best... presentative of this new spirit of ra... inquiry into the basis of religion and so... He challenged the current religious be... and social practices of the Hindus es... being in consonance with their own s... tures. He tried to show that the belief... multiplicity of gods and worship of im... which formed the essence of the cu... and popular Hindu religion, was oppos... the teaching of the Vedas. How far... views were historically correct, or m... sound, was of secondary importance. W... really mattered was his open and p... protest against the blind acceptan... whatever passed current on the a... of priest-hood or its interpretation of s... tures. The standard of revolt he thus ... ed against the medieval tyranny of d... unleashed forces which created what m... called Modern India, and makes him w... to rank by the side of Bacon and Luth... The distinguishing characteristic of t... Medieval period was to have blind faith... current customs, beliefs and conventi... Ram Mohun raised a banner of re... against this practice and thus laid t... foundations of modern intellectualism a... rationalism in India. Ram Mohun was... staunch believer in the monotheistic d... trine of the Upanishads and was deadly o... posed to the practice of idolatory wh... was widely current in his times. In ord... to wage a continuous battle against sect... anism, superstition and idolatory and to o...

1. "History of the Freedom Movement in India," Vol. I, p. 291.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the ideal of monotheism he founded Brahmo Samaj in 1828, although the ial opening of the Samaj was made on uary 23, 1830. The Samaj made a great act on the intelligentsia in Bengal and e of the greatest men in modern India, as Jagadish Chandra Bose, Rabindra Tagore, Brajendra Nath Seal and n Chandra Pal, were influenced by its rines. The Brahmo Samaj was one of greatest forces responsible for the re-ance in India.

Raja Ram Mohun Roy was the mov- spirit behind the renaissance in . A versatile genius as Ram Mohun his achievements were nonetheelss rifarious, which have been beautifully marised by Brajendra Nath Seal as ows: "The history of Indian civilization ght him many other things of funda- tal importance, e.g., in the sphere of e policy, an original seperation be- en the legislative and the executive ction, in the spehre of jurisprudence, origin of law in custom and **Achara** -ordinate with the sovereign's com- , and, often, as satissfield **ex post facto** uch command and sanction ; and in the e of juridical as well as revenue ad- istration, the pivotal character of the ge and its **panchayat** and of the **ryot's** e and ownership of land. But he a modern meaning and purpose to e ancient and medieval elements of n polity. He went on to link them up representative government, trial by , and freedom of the press, and he ected and completed the Hindu's per- al law of marriage, inheritance, reli- s worship, women's status, **stri-dharma** **varnashrama-dharma**, by introducing most liberal principles of justice and ity, for which he found sanction also in old codes, thus working out a synthesis ween Eastern and Western social ues and postulates, against the common kground of Universal Humanity. But it was not only the jurisprudence of the New Polity, it was also the modern civilization of the West, that he wanted to plant on Asiatic soil ; and, accordingly, he helped to establish public education in India on the basis of real and useful knowledge, more particularly of science, and the application of science to industry. Similarly, he avoided the fallacy of the physiocratic economists in putting agriculture against manufacture ; he would preserve the ryotwari agrarian and rural basis of the Indian civilization, while he would plant on this soil modern scientific industry to improve the standard of living, and therewith the health and physique of the Indian people. And, finally, he made a forecast of the future political history of India and her relation to Great Britain on plantation (or colonial) lines. Indeed, he would even welcome high-grade European settlements in certain parts of the country as a tentative measure to hasten this consummation. And in the end there came to this prophet of humanity on his death-bed the vision of a free, puissant and enlightened India, the civiliser and enlightener of Asiatic nationalities, a golden link between the Far East and the Far West, a vision as emblematic of the past, as it was prophetic of the future history of Humanity."[2] In this way Ram Mohan Roy epitomized rationalism, intellectualism, liberalism, humanism and democracy in renascent India.

Dayananda Saraswati

Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883) was another great leader of the Indian renaissance. Like Raja Mohan Roy he also waged a relentless war against superstition, blind belief, idolatory and orthodoxy. Swami Dayananda was a great protagonist of the Vedas and wanted to apply the Vedic canons

2. 'Ram Mohan Roy : The Universal Man,' *Ram Mohan Roy Centenary Volume*, part II, Pp. 108-09.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

for solving the riddles of life. There was almost a nationalist instinct in his faith in the Vedas. He had a firm belief in the revelatory character of the four Vedas. He held that the Vedas included pure and pristine knowledge which was revealed to humanity by the Creator. "Dayananda believed, like Ram Mohan Roy, that the reform of Hindu society could only be effected by reviving Vedic rituals and institutions which had been hidden under the excrescences of the later Puranic age. So he adopted a programme of social reform. He rejected the hereditary system of caste and did not recognize the authority or even the superiority of the Brahmans merely on the ground of birth. He proclaimed the right of every body to study the Vedas and other Hindu scriptures. He denounced the worship of gods and goddesses and preached that only the Supreme Being should be worshipped. Inter-caste marriage was encouraged and child-marriage was decried—the minimum marriageable age for boys and girls being fixed, respectively, at 25 and 16. Dayananda was, however, opposed to the remarriage of widows."[3] According to Rabindra Nath Tagore, 'Swami Dayananda, the great path-maker in modern India, who through bewildering tangles of creeds and practices—the dense undergrowth of the degnerate days of our country—cleared a straight path that was meant to lead the Hindus to a simple and rational life of devotion to God and service for man. With a clear-sighted vision of truth and courage of determination he preached and worked for our self-respect and vigorous awakenment of mind that could strive for harmonious adjustment with the progressive spirit of the modern age and at the same time keep in perfect touch with that glorious past of India when it revealed its personality in freedom of thought and action, in an unclouded radiance of spiritual realisation.'

Swami Dayananda was fully conscious of India's downfall from the height of glory. In his Satyarthaprakash he traces India's degradation to "mutual feud, differences in religion, want of purity in life, of education, child-marriage, in which contracting parties have no voice in selection of their life-partners, indulgence carnal gratifications, untruthfulness, other evil habits, the neglect of the study of the Vedas, and other malpractices." He laid a great deal of emphasis on the education of pure and impeccable character. India can become a great nation only on the basis of sturdy character.

Swami Dayananda founded the Arya Samaj at Bombay in 1875 which exercised powerful influence on the nationalist movement in India. In the words of Bipin Chandra Pal: "It cannot be denied that the movement of Dayananda Saraswati, organised in the Arya Samaj, has contributed more than the rational movement of Raja's Brahmo Samaj to the development of a new national consciousness in the modren Hindu, particularly in the Punjab. This was really the beginning of this religious and social revival among the Hindus of India to which we owe so largely the birth of our presentt national consciousness."[4] Swami Dayananda had boundless love for India. He frequently addressed India as Aryavarta. He deplored the want of undivided (Akhanda), free (Swatantra), self-governing (Swadhina) and daunless (Nirbhaya) rule in India. He was the first Indian to speak of Swaraj. Though his nationalism was confined to the Hindus, the latter became enthused with the nationalist spirit and thus India was able to organize herself against the British regime. Speaking of the nationalist spirit generated by the Arya Samaj, Swami Shradhanand and Ramdeva write in their Works: The

3. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *Ibid*, p. 296.

4. *Memoirs of my life and Times*, Vol. II, p. 426.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Arya Samaj and its Detractors' as follows: "Even, therefore, the Arya Samaj sings the glory of ancient India—the land of exposition of Revealed Learning, the sacred soil where Vedic institutions flourished and put forth their choicest fruits, the holy country where Vedic philosophy and Vedic Metaphysics attained their highest development, the sanctified clime where lived exemplars who embodied in their conduct the loftiest conceptions of Vedic ethical teachings the high-forces of nationalism receive an impetus, and the aspirations of the young nationalist who had persistently dinned into his ear the mournful formula that Indian history recorded the lamentable tale of continuous and uninterrupted humiliation, degradation, foreign subjection, external exploitation, etc., feels that his dormant national pride is aroused and his aspirations stimulated. So patriotism, which is the handmaiden of Vedicism, is lofty, inspiring, vitalising, unifying, tranquillizing, soothing, bracing and exhilarating." Swami Dayananda was a nationalist to the tips of his fingers. He was the first Indian to speak of Swaraj, the first to insist on people using only the Swadeshi goods and on discarding the foreign ones, and the first to recognise Hindi as the national language of India.[5] Swami Dayananda was indeed a great builder of Indian nationhood and a great leader of the Indian renaissance. His programme of social reform and reconstruction heralded the movement for national and political progress of India.

Vivekananda

The renaissance in India received a great momentum at the hands of Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902), the great disciple of Ramkrishna Paramhansa. He took a leading part in the establishment of the Ramkrishna Mission in Bengal in 1897. He crashed into limelight at the Parliament of Religions which was held at Chicago in the United States of America in the year 1893 by championing the cause of Hinduism and elucidating the principles of Vedanta with wonderful eloquence and oratory. He made a mark on the Western religious leaders in the U.S.A. and was able to secure a high seat for Hinduism in that assemblage. The Westerners realised, as New York Herald admitted, how foolish it was to send missionaries to the land of such wisdom. In 1894 Swami Vivekananda established the first Vedanta Society in the U.S.A. He also toured Western Europe and got many people converted into Hinduism.

Swami Vivekananda's triumphant tour abroad had a remarkably toning effect on the Hindu intelligentsia in India, who had become gravely despondent in respect of their culture and civilization. The Christian missionaries at that time were making sweeping inroads on Hinduism in India and were painting it as a bundle of superstitions, immoral customs and out-of-date institutions. Swami Vivekananda's efforts secured high praise for Hinduism at the hands of Westerners. As a result of this the Hindus were able to regain self-confidence in their own culture and civilization. This sounded a patriotic chord in their heart and quickened the pace of Hindu nationalism in India.

Swamiji combined the qualities of a great saint and a staunch nationalist in his being. He made eloquent appeals to stir the nationalist spirit of Indians. "Oh India! Wouldst thou attain, by means of thy disgraceful cowardice, that freedom deserved only by the brave and the heroic? Oh India!.....forget not that thy marriage, thy wealth, thy life are not for sense-pleasure, are not for thy individual personal happiness; forget not that thou art born as

5. Though a Gujarati by birth Swami Dayananda recognised the worth of Hindi as the national language. He wrote the voluminous Satyarthaprakash in Hindi.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a sacrifice to the Mother's alter ; forget not that thy social order is but the reflex of the infinite Universal Motherhood ; forget not that the lower classes, the ignorant, the poor, the illiterate, the cobbler, the sweeper are thy flesh and blood, thy brothers. Thou brave ones, be bold, take courage, be proud that thou art an Indian, and proudly proclaim : "I am an Indian, every Indian is my brother." Say : "The ignorant Indian, the poor and destitute Indian, the Brahman Indian, the Pariah Indian, is my brother." Thou too, clad with but a rag round thy loins proudly proclaim at the top of thy voice : "The Indian is my bother, the Indian is my life, India's gods and goddesses are my God, India's society is the craddle of my infancy, the pleasure-garden of my youth, the sacred heaven, the Varanasi of my old age." Say, brother : "The soil of India is my highest heaven, The good of India is my good", and repeat and pray day and night : "O Thou Lord of Gauri, O Thou Mother of the Universe, vouchsafe manliness unto me. O Thou Mother of strength, take away my weakness, take away my unmanliness, and Make me a Man."[6]

Swami Vivekananda repeatedly stressed the need of conquering the world by India, not by the sword but by love and compassion and the lofty ideals of Hinduism. He proclaimed that India had a mission to the rest of the world : 'This is the land from whence, like tidal waves, spirituality and philosophy have again and again marched out and deluged the world, and this is the land from whence once more such tides must proceed in order to bring life and vigour into the decaying races of mankind.' All these lofty ideas had an electrifying effect on the nationalist sentiment in India. The clouds of gloom vanished into thin air and India leapt into buoyant and vigorous life.

Swami Vivekananda was fully [illegible] of the poverty and abject misery of the Indian masses. In a letter addressed to the Maharaja of Mysore he wrote ; "The thing that is at the root of all evils in [illegible] is the condition of the poor....Priest-[illegible] and foreign conquest have trodden [illegible] down for centuries, and at last the poor India have forgotten that they are [illegible] beings.....I do not believe in a [illegible] which cannot wipe out the widow's tears bring a piece of bread to the orphan's mouth However sublime be the theories, however well-spun may be the philosophy—I do not call it a religion so long as it is confined to books and dogmas.....Let these [illegible] be your God.....Him I call a Mahatma whose heart bleeds for the poor, otherwise he is a Duratman.....So long as millions live in hunger and ignorance, I hold every man a traitor who, while being educated at their expense, pays not the least heed to them."[7] Here is the germ-idea of removing poverty and misery from India. It has been a source of inspiration to all the nationalist leaders of India. That is why the battle against poverty is courageously being waged by India after attaining freedom.

Swami Vivekananda firmly believed in the spiritual equality of human beings. He vehemently criticised priestdom and Brahmanism. He was deadly opposed to the practice of untouchability. All these notions became important planks in India's struggle for independence. The incorporation of the right to equality in the Indian constitution also bears the above background.

A hero-prophet of Indian nationalism as Swami Vivekananda was, he was also a great builder of modern India. A great nation can be built up only on the basis of some moral qualities of the people. With this in view Swamiji laid a great deal of

6. *The complete works of Vivekananda*, Vol. IV, Pp. 408-09.

7. *Modern Review*, Vol. XXV, January-June, 1909, p. 580.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

emphasis on fearlessness, courage, manliness, positive action and self-confidence. In a speech he thundered: "But this is not the time with us to weep, even in joy; we have had weeping enough; no more is this the has been with us till we have become masses of cotton.....what our country wants are muscles of iron and nerves steel, gigantic will, which nothing can which.....will accomplish their those in any fashion, even if it meant go down to the bottom of the ocean and facing death face to face. That is what want, and that can only be created, established and strenthened, by understanding and realizing the ideal of the Advaita, that soul of the oneness of all. Faith, faith, faith in ourselves.....If you have faith in the three hundred and thirty millions of our mythological gods, and in all the gods which foreigners.....have introduced into your midst, and still have no faith in yourselves, there is no salvation for you. Have faith in yourselves and stand up on that faith.....why is it that we, three hundred and thirty millions of people, have been ruled for the last thousand years by any and every handful of foreigners?.....Because they had faith in themselves and we had not....."[8]

There were other leaders of the Indian renaissance as well. The three singled out in this article are most important ones mainly because they were the founding fathers of the three great and gigantic religious movements of the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Ramkrishna Mission. The impact of these three great leaders of Indian remaissance was far and wide on the resuscitation and galvanization of the Indian nation. They spread the nationalist sentiment. They helped India regain self-confidence. They projected the old religious and cultural values of India with new vigour and posture. They led to the social reconstruction of India. They pointed out the evils that were eating into the vitals of this country. They also showed the way how those evils were to be fought out and how India was to be made an independent, powerful and noble nation. Their robust inspiring words shall continue to echo and re-echo down the carridors of Indian history.

---

8. *The complete works of Vivekananda*, Vol. III, p. 190.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Read & advertise in

"Andhra Pradesh"

—an illustrated monthly journal for every family

Don't miss the following four interesting novels now being serialised in Telugu edition

* MIHIRAKULUDU By Sri Vishwanatha Satyanarayana
* ISWARYAM By Kodavatiganti Kutumba Rao
* BRATHIKINA COLLEGE By Palagumi Padmaraju
* ADAVI MALLE By Kum. Vasi Reddy Sita Devi

Circulation now over 80,000 copies per month

Published in
Telugu, English, Urdu & Hindi

Price : Single copy 25 paise only

For further particulars write to

T. Ramachandra Rao
Director of Information & Public Relations,
HYDERABAD

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indian Periodicals

The Prime Minister's Economics

Writing in the **Swarajya** of July 31 ...der the above legend Mr. J. M. Lobo ...thu has something to say on some of the ...me Minister's recent utterances on ...tters of economic policy and planning ...ich may seem relevant in the context ...current developments and, therefore, of ...n interest to our readers:

The Prime Minister's commonsense seems ...e confronted with the ideologies of the ...ming Commission. Since commonsense must ...mately win, particularly when it is supported ...the logic of facts, the ideas of the Prime ...ister, expressed at the meeting of the national ...mittee of the India Productivity Year 1966, ...serve to be closely examined.

The first proposition expressed by the Prime ...ister was the "very disturbing situation that ...the matter of industrial goods, raw material ...d machinery, India is more dependent upon ...ports now than it was ten years ago". This ...ression has several implications, the first being ...t our planning for industrial self-sufficiency ...s failed. It is enough to mention that after ...ree new steel factories in the public sector and ...nsion of the existing two factories, in 1962-63 ...e imported Rs. 86.55 crores worth of steel, ...ile in 1952, import of all metals including ...el was only Rs. 44.96 crores. We should ...iously consider if two more steel plants should ...e added, which may only relieve the exporting ...untries of their surplus capital goods production, ...thout reducing our imports of steel.

The second implication is that the economy, ...cluding employment, stands mortgaged as never ...fore to other countries for raw materials and ...mponents. The Prime Minister's solution, that ...increasing indigenous substitutes, ignores that ...me of the imports cannot be produced in the ...untry and the others require import of capital ...ods for which we cannot find the foreign ...change. Another solution, increase of import ...ties to encourage production of substitutes, will ...rease costs of production because of the cost ...d quality of the substitutes produced in ...dered conditions.

The solution has already been suggested by the World Bank, repeating a finding of Sir R. F. Harrod, that licences for new industries be suspended for as long as established industries require the foreign exchange available to maintain their full capacity. Even if this deprives government of patronage, particularly that expected from industries in the State and co-operative sectors, it will not deprive the people of any urgencies. The Fourth Plan must be largely of what is for the needs and within the means of the people themselves.

The second proposition laid down by the Prime Minister was increase of exports "even if that involved some sacrifice on the part of the consumers at home". Even if the sacrifice of the present for the future, which has been pressed as a justification for Planning, is conceded, the consequences of scarcity on the economy deserve to be considered. For instance, the export of sugar will lead to rationing, with its consequences of blackmarketing and doubled or trebled prices, which communicate themselves not only to general inflation but also to distortion in the pattern of agricultural production. If export must be encouraged, it must be of items like tea, jute, tobacco, ores, leather, which the country can not only spare but also increase. The Tax credit just extended will be only meaningful if it encourages the export of such items.

The third proposition was that the cost of production was tending to *rise* in India, when it is *falling* in other countries. The Prime Minister envisaged investigation through a special committee. It is good that the Prime Minister has realized it, because if industrialization means higher prices, the very purpose of Planning is frustrated. Some increases, like that of fertilizers to three times the world level of prices, are also unfair to our agriculturists, the poorest in the world and with the lowest productivity.

Kirloskar, President of the FICC, indicated one reason for the rise in costs, the favours to factory workers, which are carried into the prices, particularly health insurance, which has encouraged absenteeism. A more important cause is the excessive taxation, which also is carried into the prices, in some instances, like tea, being equal to 63 per cent of the cost.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

State enterprises set standards not only of inefficiency and waste but of profiteering like the Pimpri factory, which sells penicillin at more than double its cost. Controls also establish monopolies in production and distribution, which add to the prices. Whatever the committee may find, immediate relief on these obvious factors which raise costs should be taken. The reliefs which the Finance Minister is offering by Tax certificates and Tax credits can be a beginning for a new tax structure to reduce costs and increase supplies.

The fourth proposition is in respect of increasing agricultural output by coordinated efforts of official and non-official agencies. When the total number of holdings exceeds 55 millions, the only possible agents for improvement are the cultivators themselves, whom other agencies not reach to any extent. Only increase of and administration therefore cannot make difference in the methods which have failed far.

What is necessary is an impulse cally conveyed to the whole body of agri This may be in the form of Tax certificates those who raise productivity to fixed norms the alternative the Tax certificates could be to those who adopt approved practices of culture. If Tax certificates are good for and export, they should be better for agri where the potentials for increase are g The "Indian Productivity Year 1966" meaningful if it includes agriculture, which greatest industry.

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWE

Higbly Appreciated By George-VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB,



(Jyotish-Samrat)

(London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in **England, America, Australia, China Japan, Malaya. Java, Singapore, Hongkong,** etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. **This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist** Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can redress the pernicious influence of evil planets, help to win difficult law suits, ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness.

Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji

WONDERFUL TANTRIK BLESSINGS BENEFITED MILLIONS ALL OVER THE GLOBE

Dhanada grants vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity, honour and fame in the Puja expenses ordinary Rs. 7.62 P. Special Rs. 29.69 P. Super-Special Rs. 129.69 P., **Bagalamukhi** to overcome enemies it is unique Gets promotion in services and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials, it is unparalleled. Puja expenses : Ordinary Rs. 9.12 P. Special Rs. 34.12 P. Super-special Rs. 184.25 P. **Mohini** : Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Puja expenses : Ordinary Rs. 11.50 P., Special Rs. 34.12 P., Super-special Rs. 387 87 : **Saraswati** : For Success in examination gain of retentive powers and sharp memory Puja expenses : Ordinary Rs. 9.56 P., Special Rs. 38.56.

A few names of admirers—The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court, Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt. The Hon'ble Chief Justice Mr. B. K. Ray of Orissa High Court. The Hon'ble Minister, Government of Bengal. Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot. The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh and Ex-president of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Monmatha Nath Roy Chowdhury, Kt. His Highness the Maharaja of Athgarh. Her Highness the Dowagar Sixth Maharani Saheba of Tripura Her Highness the Maharani Saheba of Cooch Behar. Mrs. F. W. Gillesple, Detriot, Mich. United States of America. Mr. K. Ruchpaul. Shanghai, China. Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka Japan & many others.

Detailed Catalogue with Testimonials Free on Request.

Estd. 1907] ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd

Head Office & Residence : 50-2. (M.R.) Dharamtola St., "Jyotish Samrat Bhaban" (Entrance on Wellesley St.) Calcutta-13, Phone: 24—4065. Consultation hours : 5. P. M. to 7. P. M.

Branch Office :—105 Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Calcutta-5. Consultation hours. 9—11 A.M. Phone : 55-3065

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Foreign Periodicals

U.S. Policy regarding Vietnam and San Domingo ..

Once USA advocated Monroe Doctrine, time and circumstances changed the ude of those who happen to guide the y, internal and external, of this great . Whether this change and shifts have ght glory or not is a matter that his- y has to decide. But, then, the people compose the population, not the Red- ans or the Negroes, can point out to an when their ancestors fought the then ction of the age with the zeal of a cru- er and to escape the persecution found a haven in the land that once belonged the Red-Indians.

Today, a section of the descendants of ancestors, known to this history as genots, with equal zeal and enthusiasm been pursuing a policy that is not be- appreciated generally by those who are ens of the land in question and con- ned by the world at large. How it cts USA itself is surely the concern of citizens; but if and when it affects the ld, the world has a right to question policy—a policy today pursued and cuted by the 'awesome four'—LBJ, amara, Rusk, McGeorge Bundy. They show determination, but deter- ation, however, steady, is only a factor iplomacy and war. And, what happens t? Where these resolute gentlemen are ing them? are the questions that have troubling the rational minds of this d, vis-a-vis the USA policy in relation S. Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. What Samuel Shapiro, history teacher, versity of Notre Dam (South Bend), says in the 24th May issue of the **Nation** in this context should be interesting :

Historically, all the major reform movements of this century have petered out in the financial and emotional expenses of wars : the New Freedom in World War I, the New Deal in World War II, the fair Deal in the Cold War and Korea. If mischance or miscalculation causes the delicate Dominican Situation to blow up in our face, the War on poverty may be shelved for a more martial conflict.

But, to whose aid USA's 'awesome four' step in? On this, the editorial of the same issue of the **Nation,** quite lucidly discusses the matter.

The Crux of the American intervention is that in the guise of defense against the totalitarian Left it threw American military power on the side of the totalitarian Right. Thomas C. Mann, Under secretary of State for Economic Affairs, explains that this is because Communists are not really indigenous forces but agents of a Sino-Soviet Conspiracy. He reveals that we would gladly move against right-wing forces as well, but such action against a genuine native group would need to be collective, and the majority of the American republics are opposed to it. Mann actually said this to Max Frankel of The New York Times in a long interview which beats anything in Alice in Wonderland.

It is a safe assumption that our closest Latin American alies will continue to be right-wing military Juntas and that we will recognise, train and finance them in the future as in the past. It is also safe assumption that rebel movements will break out against our wards. .....By aiding the Dominican Right and labelling their opponents Red, we have lost even the pretense of neutrality, much less a benevolent liberalism. We have made our choice—or rather the 'awesome four' have made it for us—and now must live with it.....

This 'choice', made by the President and his three advisers in the 'awesome foursome'—McNamara, Rusk, McGeorge Bundy—, has led Samuel Shapiro to write:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

To begin, our action flatly violates the Charter of the Organization of American States. Article 15 of the Charter denies the right of any state or group of states 'to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal and external affairs of any other state'; Article 17 forbids military occupation 'even temporarily.....on any ground whatever'. Sending the Marines ashore to protect American lives might be excused on humanitarian grounds, but our civilians have now been evacuated—and the troops remain. Illegal, unilateral action dismays our allies and costs us influence among the neutralists; even Senator Ellender complained that he did 'not know how we shall be able to explain this action to the World in view of what we are doing in South Vietnam".

Nay, more. The same writer continues:

A second drawback to the President's revival of gun-boat diplomacy is the special resentment it arouses in Latin America. In the words of Mexico's Foreign Secretary, Antonio Carrillo Flores, it evokes 'painful memories' throughout the hemisphere. Peru's Foreign Minister and Venezuela's Congress Condemned the landings, and Uruguay, the oldest and most stable democracy in Latin America, is bringing charges against us at the United Nations. Previous anti-U.S. resolutions at the UN (Guatemala, 1954, Cuba, 1960; Panama 1964) have been safely bottled up in the OAS, but it looks as though this one might break loose.

But then, the White House and Pentagon **cum** CIA justify their actions by branding Juan Bosch and his supporters as Communists or controlled by Communists. This attitude and jutification recall the spirit of John Foster Dulles which seems to dominate those who happen to guide USA. But, on the evidence presented so far, the Dominican revolution is no more Communist controlled than the CIO or the civil rights movement. Thus, James M. Goodsell, of The **Christian Science Monitor**, writes in his paper:

I tried to locate several of those whose names are on the list (i.e. CIA's blacklist —M.R). I was not successful.....I could find no evidence that they were anywhere in .....Key Command positions..... The top rebel Command is in the hands of non-Communist elements who fiercely proclaim their opposition to Communism.

Other journalists also contradict the official American view. The rebels, many of them students or professional men, insist that they are Fighting for Bosch and Constitutional Government, not for Castro or any other foreign power. American journals quote them as follows:

Herald Tribune: 'I can't believe the Americans are on Wessin's side. We thought they would be for us.'

National Observer: 'We are not Communists. Wessin is killing us from hunger and taking our jobs. We can't compromise with military dictatorship.'

Copley News Service: 'Here in Santo Domingo there is no Communism. What we are trying to do is to regain our liberty . . . . It is a movement for the restoration of the constitution with Juan Bosch as President.'

Time: "A group of young rebels plainly told Time's representative, 'we are not communists. We are active anti-Communists. We are fighting for the constitution, for Bosch. When the constitution is restored, we will keep the Communists out. We can handle them."

Despite all these, for reasons of its own, Washington has so far lined up with Wessin Y. Wessin-Junta which operates from the San Isidro base across the Ozama River from the Capital, but which seems to have the support **beyond the reach of the Marine bayonets.**

Matters do not stop there, John Thomas Gray, under the title Schizophrenia in Santo Domingo, writes in **New Statesman**, 9th July, 1965:

At the El Embajador, the scene of shooting in late April, and now the headquarters for the Press Crops and the OAS negotiating mission, the Commissar's dream becomes a controlled nightmare. Beside a cluster of large and spreading *franbroyan* trees, now livid with Scarlet flowers, the Embajador, a product of Conrad Hilton's playboy fantasies, rises like the superstructure of a liner half buried under the green grass and red earth. This is the emblem and banner of Latin American Chic. No Dominican has made to the upper classes until he has cha-cha'd by its pool-side. Near the hotel there is a helicopter field where some 15 machines sit with the fragile

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...e of grass hoppers. With monotonous regu... one machine lands and another takes off, ...ound an abrasive shudder and beating of air, ...s near and far, is always present over the

...side the hotel, GIs in full battledress, ...ed and armed, saunter beneath the mass... ...ed chandeliers and the tattered paper palms. ...muzak pipes out in a high, tinny treble. One ... a group of Dominican officers arrive for ... Perhaps the much needed reform of the ... could begin with a re-tailored, functional ...; such opera buffe costumes are bound to ... a man into justifying excesses of vanity ...barbarism, both of which are common vices ... them.

On the other side of the OAS lines there is ...together different dream prevailing—a ...ful eclat, a bonhomie, a sense almost of vic... There are only 2,300 professional military ... police among them, a small fraction of the ...ary power machine, which is some 40,000 ... The Constitutionalist Soldiers seem to ... lost the sullenness of conscripts, the dark ...ivable broodiness and suspicion, one finds ... the Dominican Soldiers around the Junta's ...quarters—which is a few lines on the other ... of the OAS troops in the building that should ... the country's Congress. Like everyone ... the Constitutionalist Zone, these soldiers ... the solidarity, the sense of release, which ...d also be called exaltation, of men who are ...cted with some active principle. At its sim... that principle is the desire for a return to ...ocratic government under a modestly liberal ...stitution, a desire for some basic though ... radical reforms.'

..., turning to the Vietnam question,

The **U.N. Weekly Newsletter**, 16 July, ... reports on Secretary-General's views ... Vietnam as he expressed at a press con...ence held on 7 July in Palais des Nations, ...eva:

'I think that the choice for the parties in... ...el is no longer the choice between victory ... defeat. As I see the situation, total vic... ... or total defeat is out of the ques... ... To achieve peace, and to restore stability ... the area, discussions must take place, and they ...ld centre around the question of major con...sions by both sides. As Senator Fulbright re...marked in Washington recently, the solution is possible only on the basis of major concessions by all parties involved in the conflict.

But, when on his return to New York from Europe on 10 July, U. Thant was asked by the reporters if he had contacts with all the parties to the Vietnam crisis, he replied: "No I did not; I could not."

Vietnam problem has stirred up the world, including the national minds of USA. With the escalation of the war in Vietnam has come escalation of the protest movement in the United States, with the nation's academic community, both students and faculty, in the vanguard. At first the tempest in the academic circle was written off as naive, impractical idealism. But time and circumstances became such a compelling one that the State Department could not permit itself to ignore such ferment and so the State Department has sent around foreign service officers and others "to keep its staff in touch with the country."

Meetings were arranged and these meetings frequently boiled over in heated exchanges between flow and platform, reports Donald Janson, Midwest correspondent of The **New York Times**, stationed in Kansas City, Mo:

—Why do prisoners we take confess to infiltration only after a month of interrogation, asked Wisconsin student.

Conlon: Have you ever had anything to do with interrogation?

—No, and I don't want to.

—Sometimes it takes a long time before a prisoner wants to talk.

—'Torture!' Shouted another youth.

—Do you also charge the North Vietnamese with torture?, Conlon asked.

—I condemn torture whoever does!

—'The Americans do not torture,' Conlon said when the prolonged applause had died.

—'But we run the show', a student in the crowd shouted.

—'We do not run it', said the team man.

—'Aw C'mon', came shouts from all over the floor, 'let's be honest'.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

And, one can also quote from Lawrence Ferlinghetti's where is Vietnam? **New Statesman,** 30 July, 1965 :

"Meanwhile back at the Ranch the then President also known as Colonel Cornpone got out a blank army draft and began to fill in the spaces with men and Colonel got down to the bottom of the order where there is a space to fill in to indicate just where the troops are to be sent and Colonel Cornpone got a faraway look in his eye and reached out and started spinning a globe of the world that lay ready at hand to be spun..... And just then Ladybird came running and Colonel Cornpone stepped into a cloakroom and whispered to her just where is that there Hanoi? and she being smarter than he as is usually the case whispered back that this here Vietnam was not a place at all but a state of mind And Colonel Cornpone got that faraway look again and stepped back onto the front porch of his Ranch where they keep the rockers and he sat there rocking for a long time and then he said gentlemen I am a family man and this is for real and I am now ordering the complete and final liberation of Vietmind I mean Vietnam for the roots of the trouble are found wherever the landless and despised, the poor and oppressed [illegible] before the gates of opportunity and are not [illegible] across the Fronier into the Great Society [illegible] gentlemen here we go fasten your seatbelts [illegible] powerful and free and we have a destiny [illegible] gentlemen let me point out to you all [illegible] where it is we are going on this here globe [illegible] cause even though I have never been out of [illegible] United States of America I know just [illegible] where we're going on the brink of Vietnam [illegible] mean Vietnam and even though we don't [illegible] stop the world spinning in the right direction [illegible] for a moment I want to slow it down just [illegible] enough for all of us to get our bearings so [illegible] I may put my finger for you exactly on this [illegible] sore spot which is Vietmine I mean Vietnam [illegible] Colonel Cornpone put out his hand to slow [illegible] the world just a bit but this world would not [illegible] stopped this world would not stop spinning [illegible] and Texas and Vietnam spun on together [illegible] and faster slipping away faster and faster [illegible] Colonel Cornpone's hand because the surface [illegible] this world had suddenly become very slippery [illegible] a strange kind of red liquid that ran on it [illegible] all the obscene boundaries and this world was [illegible] spinning faster and faster in the same [illegible] destined direction and kept on spinning [illegible] spinning and spinning and spinning!

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

শারদীয়া প্রবাসী-১৩৭২

(সাধারণ সংখ্যা হতে পৃথক)

আগামী ১৩ই সেপ্টেম্বর প্রকাশিত হবে

তিনটি সম্পূর্ণ উপন্যাস লিখছেন—

ডাঃ নীহাররঞ্জন গুপ্ত

রামপদ মুখোপাধ্যায়

অশোক চট্টোপাধ্যায়

জুলে ভার্ণের

একটি বিখ্যাত উপন্যাসের অনুবাদ করেছেন

বাংলা সাহিত্যের দিকপাল অনুবাদক কৃষ্ণধন দে

গল্প লিখছেন—

বিমল মিত্র

বিভূতিভূষণ মুখোপাধ্যায়

হরিনারায়ণ চট্টোপাধ্যায়

সরোজকুমার রায়চৌধুরী

গীতা মুখোপাধ্যায়

গতকের দিনে সাড়া জাগানো নাটক **'কল্লোল'**-খ্যাত

উৎপল দত্ত লিখছেন

কবিতা লিখছেন :—**নরেন্দ্র দেব, কালিদাস রায়, কুমুদরঞ্জন মল্লিক, কৃষ্ণধন দে**

আরও অনেকে।

এ ছাড়া পর্ব্বত অভিযান সম্পর্কে বিশ্বদেব বিশ্বাসের সচিত্র প্রবন্ধ—জাপান অলিম্পিক সম্বন্ধে (সচিত্র)—পঙ্কজ গুপ্ত। অলঙ্কারের উৎপত্তি ও ক্রমবিকাশ (সচিত্র)। বিভিন্ন দেশের শাড়ী ও পোশাক-বিন্যাস (সচিত্র)।

এ ছাড়া অনেকগুলি বহুবর্ণ প্রাচীন চিত্র ও প্রায় একশত একবর্ণ চিত্রও থাকছে।

চারশত পৃষ্ঠার বিরাট সংকলন। মূল্য তিন টাকা পঁচাত্তর পয়সা

নির্দিষ্ট সংখ্যক ছাপা হইতেছে। আপনার সংখ্যাটির জন্য আজই অর্ডার করুন।

প্রবাসী প্রেস (প্রাঃ) লিমিটেড

১৭।২।১ ধর্মতলা ষ্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা-১৩

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

গ্রাহকদের জন্য

প্রবাসীর এবং মডার্ণ রিভিয়ু-র গ্রাহকগণকে জানান যাইতেছে যে গ্রাহক নম্বর উল্লেখে অগ্রিম ৩ টাকা ৭৫ পয়সা জমা দিলে রেজিস্টার্ড ডাকযোগে বিনা মাশুলে পাইবেন শারদীয়া প্রবাসী। (প্রতি গ্রাহক মাত্র একখানা পত্রিকা পাইবেন) নির্দ্দিষ্ট সংখ্যক শারদীয়া সংখ্যা ছাপান হইতেছে, সুতরাং অগ্রিম অর্ডার দিন। আংশিক মূল্য জমা পাইয়া অর্ডার গ্রহণ করা হইবে না। ভিঃ পিঃ ডাকে শারদীয়া সংখ্যা পাঠানো হইবে না।

—)০(—

ভারত ও পাকিস্তানের পুস্তক ও পত্রিকা বিক্রেতাদের জন্য

শারদীয়া সংখ্যা প্রবাসী মহালয়ার পূর্ব্বেই প্রকাশিত হইবে। বর্ত্তমানের শ্রেষ্ঠ লেখকদের রচনাসমৃদ্ধ এই সংখ্যার মূল্য তিন টাকা পঁচাত্তর পয়সা (৩ টাকা ৭৫ পয়সা)।

বিক্রেতাগণ ২৫% কমিশন বাদ দিয়া তাহাদের চাহিদার মোট মূল্যের অন্ততঃ অর্দ্ধেক টাকা মনিঅর্ডার যোগে অথবা অফিসে জমা দিয়া অর্ডার বুক করুন। বাকি অর্দ্ধাংশের মূল্য ভিঃ পিঃ করিয়া বই পাঠান হইবে অথবা মূল্য পরিশোধ করিয়া লওয়া যাইতে পারে।

অবিক্রীত সংখ্যা ফেরৎ লওয়া হইবে না

প্রবাসী প্রেস (প্রাঃ) লিমিটেড

১৭।২।১ ধর্মতলা ষ্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা-১৩

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ECONOMIC HELPLESSNESS OF INDIA

There can be no justification for the inadequate and misleading survey of the economic position of India made by the Indian Fiscal Commission. It will be remembered that Lord Hardinge's Government had pleaded for a change in the industrial policy of India in very definite terms. In a despatch addressed to the Secretary of State in 1915, the Government of India said :

"It is becoming increasingly clear that a definite and self-conscious policy of improving the industrial capabilities of India will have to be pursued after the war unless she is to become more and more a dumping ground for the manufactures of foreign nations, who will be competing the more keenly for markets, the more it becomes apparent that the political future of the larger nations depends on their economic position. India will consider herself entitled to demand the utmost help which her Government can afford to enable her to take her place, so far as circulatances permit, as a manufacturing country."

The Indian Industrial Commission, who reported later after a carefully planned enquiry and prolonged deliberation, declared that the present industrial position of India "has become in many ways disadvantageous to the interests of the country ; and that India's iudustrial equipment is impaired by deficiencies which affect the interests of national safety", and spoke of the "the growing realisation of the dangers to which industrial unpreparedness exposes a nation."

The distinguished authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms thought that the adoption of a "bold" and "forward" policy was "urgently called for" in industrial matters, matters "in respect of which considerations of military security, political expediency and economic advantage are coincident, and are in agreement also with the interests of the Empire as a whole." They sounded a significant note of warning. This was not uttered a day sooner than was needed. They said :

"After the war the need for industrial development will be all the greater unless India is to become a mere dumping ground for the manufactures of foreign nations which will then be competing all the more keenly for the markets on which their political strength so perceptibly depends. India will certainly consider herself entitled to claim all the help that her Government can give her to enable her to take her place as a manufacturing country ; and unless the claim is admitted it will surely turn into an insistent request for a tariff which will penalise imported articles without respect of origin."

The economic tendencies that have taken shape since the termination of the war fully justify the apprehensions to which Lord Hardinge's Government, the Industrial Commission, and the authors of the Montagu Chelmsford Report gave expression.

Ramananda Chatterjee in The Modern Review
for February—1923, Pages 265—66

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

MAHATMA GANDHI—THE EARLY PHASE, Vol. I : By Shri Payrelal, published, February 1965 by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, Super-Royal 8vo., p. 845 ; Price Rs. 25|-, with a Preface by Rashtrapati S. Radhakrishnan.

Shri Payrelal, who for the better part of his life lived with Mahatma Gandhi and for a very long period worked as his personal secretary, has already brought out a biography in two volumes dealing with the last phase of the Mahatma's life. In the present volume the author brings out the first one of a projected series dealing with the earlier phases of the great man's life and activities and covers the period from his birth until 1896 when the Mahtma returned to India for a short while from South Africa to fetch his family. Explaining this peculiar arrangement under which the author felt obliged to bring out the volumes dealing with the last and the more dramatic phases of the life of his subject much ahead of the present volume, Shri Payrelal, in his introduction to the present volume, says that he felt himself "in the unenviable position of a producer of a play who is forced by circumstances to present the first act after his audience had seen the fifth act staged."

By ordinary sandards Shri Payrelal should be regarded as one of those most competent to present a precise, objective and factual biography of Gandhiji, living as he did in close association with the great man for the better part of his life. The Mahatmaji's, however, has been one of the most controversial and, not inforequently, also one of the most misunderstood personalities of his times. And the most extraordinary part of it was that he has often been as deeply misunderstood by his own admirers and followers as by those whom, for want of a expressive term, one is generally obliged regard as his adversaries and detractors, for instance, his thesis on "non-violence" Although the Mahatma has repeatedly re throughout his long and extraordinary career, that the creed of "non-violence" with him, a basic article of faith, there been not a few among those who 'accepted abided by his leadership over almost a whole time of public activities, who would as stoutly insist that "non-violence" was the enunciation a political policy and a technique of action was dictated by considerations of expedien is not easy to explain how this could except to accept that the Mahatmaji's was a complex and multi-faceted personality that could absorb within itself contradictory attitudes and faiths and yet reconcile them into an integrated whole by the alchemy of his leadership in both thought and action.

To undertake the work of compiling biography of such a man is undoubtedly both difficult and a heroic job and the task of the biographer could be made all the more difficult when he happened to have been living with the subject of his biography for the better part of his adult life. For too close a contiguity with the subject of his study might easily rob him of the perspective that a certain distance might have lent him and to that extent assisted him with true objectivity of observation and selection. It is not inconceivable that living with Gandhiji as he did for a very long period, the author's ability for objective analysis of the subject of his study might easily have come under strong subjective

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ences and correspondingly blurred his ...tion.

Nevertheless, Mr. Payrelal may be said to ...e done fairly well with a subject the inherent ...culties of which must have been far too ...erous and complex. One wishes, however, ...e might more profitably have planned his ...graphy on a more narrative style than he ...ears to have done and had altogether avoided ...rather tricky business of putting his own ...pretation on events on occasions as he ...ears to have done here and there. For, it is ...yet time for the history of Mahatma Gandhi's ...to be penned; we still live too near him; ...are yet too vigorously under the influences ...his personality. It is inevitable that our ...sonal biases and prejudices, our subjective ...sions and emotional responses would impinge, ...more or less degree, upon a dispassionate and ...ective study and assessment of the subject. ...one famous British writer once rather cynically ...served, "ignorance is the first requisite of the ...torian: ignorance, which selects and omits, ...ch simplifies and clarifies with a placid ...fection unattainable by the highest art!" If, ...the present volume were planned merely as ...narrative of events in the Mahatmaji's life, it ...ld have been a valuable record for the ...ence of the future biographer whose studies ...the subject would not be likely to be so deeply ...enced by the personal relationships that ...isted over more than a quarter century ...ween the present author and his subject of ...y and presentation.

For one thing, the background material ...vided in the presentation (Chaper II—A ...tory of Wrong), obviously with a view to ...aining the environmental condions and ...uences within and amidst which Mahatma ...dhi was born and grew up in his early child- ...d and youth, are full of inaccuracies, prejudices ...d biases. He appears to have relied upon autho- ...ties in compiling this part of the volume under ...view,—at least so far as they relate to the early ...tory of British India,—whose unauthenticated ...mony, for the most part would be wholly un- ...eptable to a student of history. To cite only ...e small example, the author quotes extensively ...m Ronaldshay's *Heart of Aryavarta* to prove ...t by the middle of the nineteenth century a ...ried of intellectual anarchy" had set in in ...ia which cried down the ancient civilization ...the country, despised ancient learning and ...ected any kind of religion as utworn superstition. It is, however, part of recorded and authentic history now that in the process of rescuing society form the burdens of sacerdoal authority and supersition-ridden modes of living, the first generation of English-educated Indians raised a standard of revolt against all kinds of authoritarianism and, for a time, rejected everything that relied upon priestly authority for sanction; but the phase passed soon enough and even some of the most eminent standard bearers of this revolt, soon sought and found anchorage in a social order and in immutable ethical standards which they themselves, largely, helped to shape and forge. Although later in course of this presentation Shri Payrelal acknowledges the contributions of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and, subsequently of Maharshi, the Brahmo Samaj and other similar enterprises and leaders to the progress of the country, he seems to have completely overlooked that by the middle of the nineteenth century the strains and stresses of the early years of the new rebellion had already subsided and a vigorous process of ordered progress had got into its strides. It would be repudiating a historical truth if it were not acknowledged that it were mainly the band of English educated Indians who provided the lead to the country and in which the Brahmo Samaj under Maharshi Devendranath Tagore played no mean part. If, instead of relying upon a bevy of nondescript authorities, Indian and foreign, for his guide for this part of the work, unless Shri Payrelal had certain personal predelictions and preconceptions in this regard, he were to refer to those two stupendous and completely authenticated works of history, the late B. D. Basu's *Rise of The Christian Power in India* and *Education Under The East India Company*, he would be easily convinced that but for the gifts of English education which, largely, the Indians themselves had to wrest from the British against severe and determined opposition from the ruling community, the emergence of the Indian Nation as we conceive it today might have been far longer delayed. It is equally a travesty of historical truth to extoll the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-58 as India's first struggle for freedom from British domination as it appears to have come to be the fashion now-a-days among the present ruling echelons of the country; it was no more nor less than a revivalist struggle for the re-establishment of the mideaval feudal order.

One could pick many similar other holes in the work under review. Nevertheless on the whole, the work, as already observed, is a worth-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

while one not, perhaps, so much as a truly objective presentation of the life of the Mahtma, but atleast as a reliable chronicle of events which would provide material for a correct appreciation of the social, political and, above all, moral contributions to human society of its great subject.

Karuna K. Nandi

"INTERVAL DURING POLITICS": By Dr. Rammonohar Lohia. Published by Navahind Prakashan, Hyderabad—India. (Price 12).

Dr. Rammonohar Lohia needs no introduction to the politically conscious section of the public of his country. An undaunted fighter for freedom, Dr. Lohia has been arrested innumerable times, and probably holds the worlds' record in political arrests. In the realm of political philosophy and economic speculations, he has contributed many interesting theories.

In his book entitled "Interval during Politics", the author has touched upon the many facets of human existence, both nationally and internationally, and he here discusses a wide range of subjects including as he does on the one hand abstract speculations regarding Truth, Character building, and concepts of Beauty, the Metaphysical impact of the cult of Ram, Siva, and Krishna upon the practical realities of Indian life, the Language problem in India, the Racial conflict in the U.S.A., while on the other he holds forth on a critical appreciation of Delhi and on such topics as the unsuitability of Cricket as an Indian Sport, Britsh Journalism and Fair Play'.

Whether one agrees or differs with Dr. Lohia's views as expressed in this book, it cannot be denied that the author has placed before his readers most interesting opinions on diverse problems which basically affect mankind to-day, and there is furthermore never a dull moment from the beginning to the end of this book.

L. C.

THE "SPEECHES OF PRIME MINISTER LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI", published by Publications Division, Ministry of Information Government of India, are a collection of the important ones delivered by the Prime Minister between June 1964 and May 1965.

In this collection the Prime Minister quite clearly and precisely his views of the Government's policy regarding the Administrative Services, Business Ethics, The Fourth Plan, problems facing the Indian Economy, the problem, the Language problem, Education and responsibilities of India's young citizens, as as many other vital problems. Among his speeches related to International affairs, are those pressing his views of India's relations with tries such as Afghanisthan, Ceylon, Nepal, Soviet Union, the U.A.R., as well as the monwealth countries. In all these speeches emphasises the twin principles of Co-existence and Non-alignment, which he feels to be essential for furthering Universal peace. In the last speeches he touches upon Pakistan's aggressive policy towards India, specially in the Kutch area and expresses the view that if "Pakistan persists in talking of war, all that we can say is that we are fully alive to our responsibilities and we shall fulfill them come what may."

Throughout the reader is impressed by the absence of platitudes and verbosity in these speeches, which revolve clearly round the three main aspirations of Mr. Shastri, viz. to fight poverty and unemployment at home, to make national integration a positive and irreversible fact, and to build up a strong nation capable of defending herself when necessary, for according to Lal Bahadur Shastri "the tasks before us (are)—an India free, prosperous and strong, and a world at peace and without war."

L. C.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE
Printed and Published by Kalyan Das Gupta, Prabasi Press Private Limited,
77/2/1, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE PRABASI

INDIA'S LEADING BENGALI MONTHLY

Advertisement Rates For Single Insertion

	Rs. P.
ORDINARY POSITION	
Page Full Page	100.00
" Half-page or one column	60.00
" Quarter page or half-column	35.00
" One-eighth page	20.00
Next to and or opposite contents	125.00
Ditto half-page	75.00
Ditto quarter-page	45.00
Ditto one-eighth page	30.00
SPECIAL POSITIONS	
Page facing second page of the cover	150.00
Page facing third page of the cover	140.00
Page facing last page of the reading matter	140.00
Page facing back of the Frontispiece	155.00
Ditto half-page	80.00
POSITION WITHIN READING MATTER	
Full page	180.00
Half page	95.00
One-fourth page	50.00
One-eighth page	30.00

Positions within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

	Rs. P.
COVERS	
Front page of the cover (1"x6")	190.00
Inside page of the cover	200.00
Back page of the cover	175.00
Inside back page of the cover **(One-colour)**	225.00
(Bi-colour)	275 00
(Tri-colour)	350.00
SUPPLEMENT size 8"x6" (to be Printed and supplied by the advertiser)	
8 pages (or 4 slips) ...	400.00
4 pages (or 2 slips) ...	250.00
2 pages (or 1 slip) ...	150.00

TECHNICAL DETAILS & OTHER PARTICULARS

Type area of a full page	8"x6"
" " half pgae	4"x6"
Number of columns to a page	2
Length of a column	8"
Breadth of a column	3"
Type area of half-column	4"x3"
" " quarter-column	2"x3"

Process and screen blocks (65 screen) are accepted. Matrices or unmounted blocks are not accepted.

PRABASI PRESS PRIVATE LIMITED
78/1 Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13

THE MODERN REVIEW

Subscription : Payable in Advance.

Annual — Inland	:	Rs. 15.00
" — Foreign	:	Rs. 24.00
	:	
Half-yearly—	:	
— Inland	:	Rs. 8.00
— Foreign	:	Rs. 13.00

(Advance Payment. Rates are inclusive of postage)

On V.P.P. order—V.P.P. Charges—extra

16 Single Issue :
Inland : Rs. 1.25

Cheque on Banks outside Calcutta are not accepted.

If regular subscribers do not renew their subscriptions and/or send stop-orders in due time, the next issue after the expiary of their current subscriptions, will be sent per V.P.P. —assuming their willingness to continue.

Complaints of non-receipt of any issue of the Modern Review—must reach our office by the 15th of the month in question—and in all cases the *Subscriber Number must be quoted.*

Terms for News Agents :—On application : (minimum 5 copies of the Modern Review per month—should be ordered. Special Rates for 20 or more copies per month—on advance payment.

Manager
THE MODERN REVIEW

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW Price : India and Pakistan Re. 1.25 P. Registered N...
Subscription—Ind. & Pak. Rs. 15.00, Foreign Rs. 24.00, Single copy Rs.2.00 or e...
Phone : 24-5520

25 SEP 1965
भारत 48

CITY BOOK SOCIETY

THE PIONEER PUBLISHERS OF
ILLUSTRATED JUVENILE LITERATURE

Books of Late Jogendra Nath Sircar entertained and enlightened the Children of B...
&
Enthused Lakhs of Non-Bengali Children to learn Bengali.

Hasi Khusi I
99th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Hasi Khusi II
38th Edn. — Re. 0.80
(The two most outstanding books to learn Bengali)

Mojar Galpa
25th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Asare Swapna
18th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Ranga Chhabi
31st Edn. — Re. 0.80

Khelar Sathi
27th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Chhabir Bai
25th Edn. — Re. 0.70

Bane Jangale
9th Edn. — Rs. 5.00

Galpa Sanchaya
5th Edn. — Rs. 4.50

Khukumanir Chhara
17th Edn. — Rs. 3.50

Chhabi-O-Galpa
19th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

Chhotoder Chiriakhana
7th Edn. — Re. 1.87

Hasi Rasi
33rd Edn. — Re. 1.40

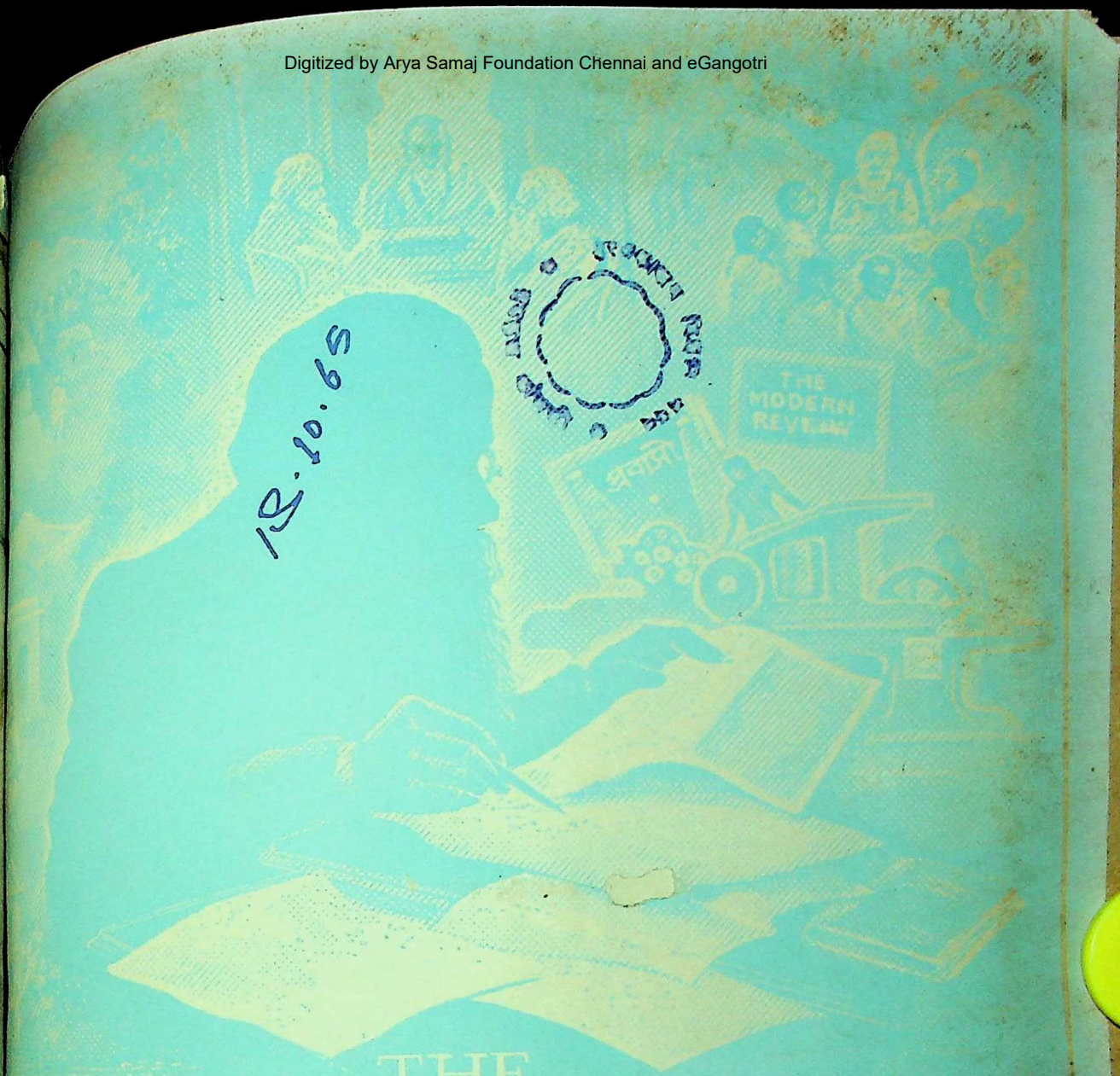
Chhotoder Ramayana
36th Edn. — Re. 1.12

Chhotoder Mahabharat
36th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

CITY BOOK SOCIETY
64, College Street
Calcutta—12.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



12.10.65

THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER : 1965



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOR

PRINTING

WITH A DISTINCTION.

Contact the

PRABASI
PRESS
PRIVATE LD.

We print in 3 LANGUAGES

ENGLISH

BENGALI

DEVNAGRI

for more details—Contact the

MANAGER

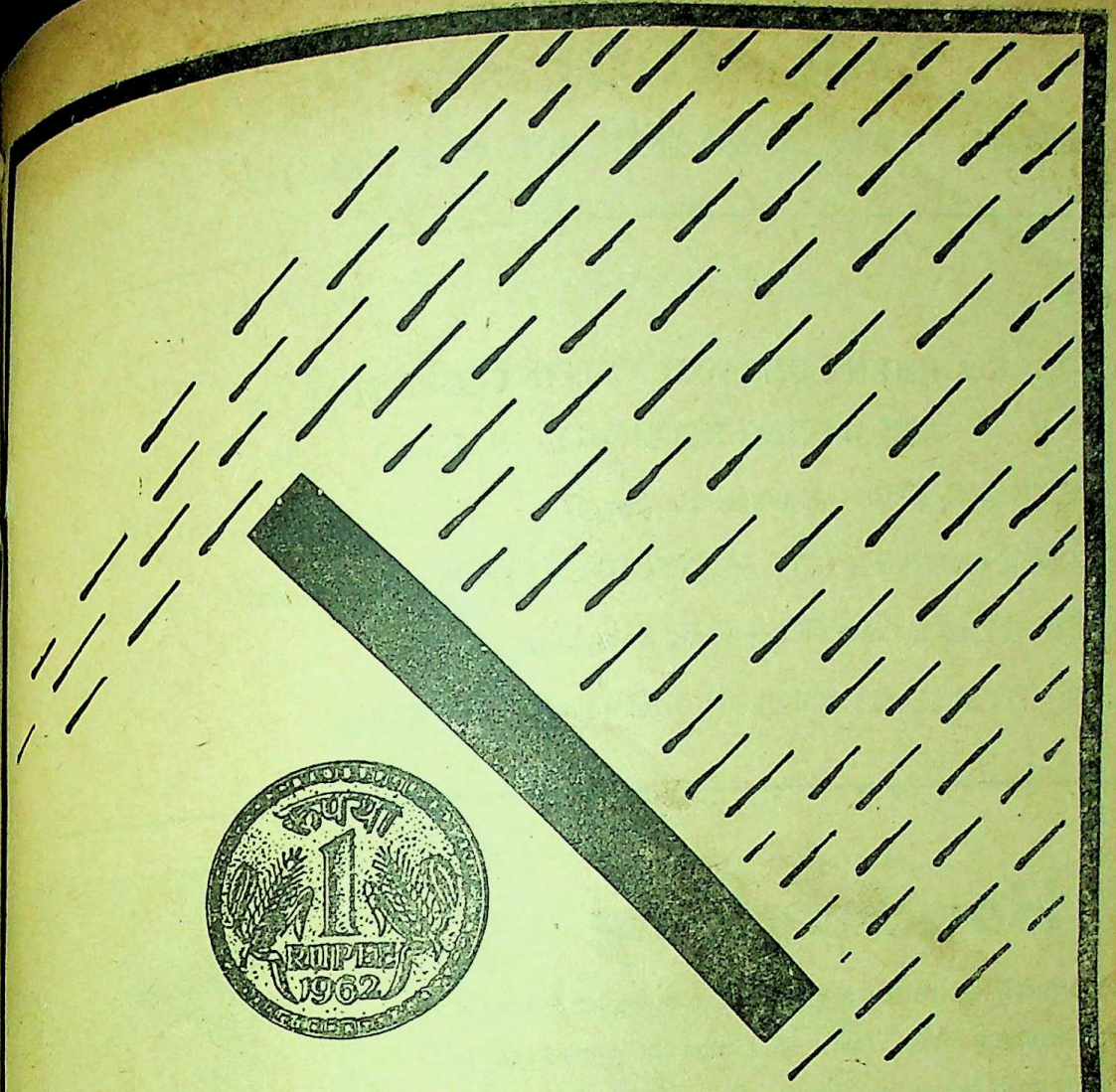
PRABASI PRESS PRIVATE LD.

77-2-1 Dharamtala Street,

CALCUTTA—13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



YOUR MONEY
IS SHELTERED, PROTECTED,
SAFE IN
PUNJAB NATIONAL
BANK

PR. 6526/Ad/9

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. CXVIII. No. 4 CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1965 WHOLE NO.

NOTES

THE 'DEVELOPMENT DECADE' AND INTEGRATION OF THE WORLD ECONOMY—S. Venu

CURRENT AFFAIRS—Karuna K. Nandi

SHAKESPEARE'S SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS—Utpal Dutt

V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI—B. N. Sankhder

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR IN BIHAR—Girish Mishra

How Sparkling

Pearly white teeth give charm and glamour to a winning smile. You, too, can be the proud possessor of beautiful shining white teeth and healthy gums by following the simple 'DENTONIC' habit.

Chlorophyll added to Dentonic helps in curing Pyorrhea.





Dentonic

ANTISEPTIC TOOTH POWDER

Available Plain and with Chlorophyll.

For your Smile of beauty

BENGAL CHEMICAL

CALCUTTA • BOMBAY • KANPUR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
ATER, HISTORY AND THE INDUS PLAIN—George C. Taylor, Jr.	321
NIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY—	341
BERT SCHWEITZER—Lakshmi Chatterji	343
O-PAKISTANI CONFLICT—	346
THANISM OF SMELL—L. Repin	353
DY ABALA BOSE—Sobhona Nandi	356
OK REVIEWS—	361



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

—Advertisement Rates—

ORDINARY POSITION

	Rs. P.
Full Page	150.00
Half-page or one column	80.00
Quarter page or half-column	50.00
One-eighth page	30.00
One-eighth column	20.00
Page next to and or opposite contents	180.00
Ditto half-page	100.00
Ditto quarter-page	60.00
Ditto one-eighth page	40.00
Ditto one-eighth cloumn	30.00

SPECIAL POSITIONS

Full Page facing second page of the cover	200.00
„ Page facing third page of the cover	190.00
„ Page facing last page of the reading matter	195.00
„ Page facing back of the Frontispiece	210.00
Ditto half-page	110.00

POSITION WITHIN READING MATTER

Full Page	220.00
Half-page	120.00
Quarter page	70.00
„ col.	50.00

Space within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

COVER PAGES

Second page of the cover
Third page of the cover
Fourth page of the (*One-colour*)
(*Bi-colour*)
(*Tri-colour*)

SUPPLEMENT size 8½" × 6" (to be printed & supplied by the advertiser)

8 pages (or 4 slips) ..
4 pages (or 2 slips) ..
2 pages (or 1 slip) ..

MECHANICAL DETAILS, Etc.

Type area of a full page 8" × 6"
„ „ „ half page 4" × 6"
Number of columns to a page 2
Length of a column 8"
Breadth of a column 3"
Type area of half-column 4" × 3"
„ „ „ quarter-column 2" × 3"

Only Mounted Stereos & coarse screen blocks (65 screen) are accepted.

Subscription Rates 1 year Rs. 15.00. Half yearly Rs. 8.00
Single copy Rs. 1.25P. including postage.

Prabasi Press Private Limited

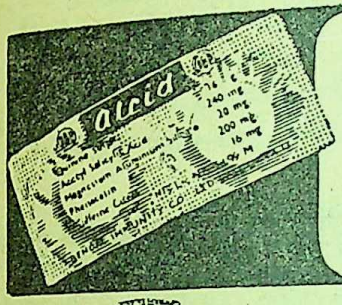
77/2/1 DHARAMTALA STREET,
CALCUTTA-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THESE 3 FOR YOUR HOUSEHOLD





Alcid gives quick relief from headache, cold, flue, feverishness and muscular pain.
Just two tablets of Alcid make a complete adult dose.



Antol prevents infection—kills the germs before they have a chance to do harm. A powerful but soothing antiseptic Antol gives protection in open cuts and insect bites.
As a mouthwash and gargle Antol prevents throat infection and colds.



Acriment is a non-staining all-purpose antiseptic healing ointment for burns, scalds, wounds, abrasions, and infective skin conditions.
Keeps wound aseptic.
Helps in natural healing.

ALWAYS KEEP HANDY ■ ALCID ■ ANTOL ■ ACRIMENT

BENGAL IMMUNITY PRODUCTS

OBL

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE PRABASI

INDIA'S LEADING BENGALI MONTHLY

Advertisement Rates For Single Insertion

ORDINARY POSITION	Rs. P.
Ordinary Full Page	100.00
" " Half-page or one column	60.00
" " Quarter page or half-column	35.00
" " One-eighth page	20.00
Page next to and or opposite contents	125.00
Ditto half-page	75.00
Ditto quarter-page	45.00
Ditto one-eighth page	30.00

SPECIAL POSITIONS	
Full Page facing second page of the cover	150.00
" Page facing third page of the cover	140.00
" Page facing last page of the reading matter	140.00
" Page facing back of the Frontispiece	155.00
Ditto half-page	80.00

POSITION WITHIN READING MATTER	
Full Page	180.00
Half-page	95.00
Quarter page	50.00
" col.	30.00

Space within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

COVERS	Rs. P.
First page of the cover (1"x6")	190.00
Second page of the cover	200.00
Third page of the cover	175.00
Fourth page of the cover **(One-colour)**	225.00
(Bi-colour)	275.00
(Tri-colour)	350.00

SUPPLEMENT size 8"x6" (to be Printed and supplied by the advertiser)	
8 pages (or 4 slips) ...	400.00
4 pages (or 2 slips) ...	250.00
2 pages (or 1 slip) ...	150.00

MECHANICAL DETAILS & OTHER PARTICULARS

Type area of a full page	8"x6"
" " " half pgae	4"x6"
Number of columns to a page	2
Length of a column	8"
Breadth of a column	3"
Type area of half-column	4"x3"
" " " quarter-column	2"x3"

Stereos and screen blocks (65 screen) are accepted.
Matrices or unmounted blocks are not accepted.

PRABASI PRESS PRIVATE LIMITED
77/2/1 Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13

THE MODERN REVIEW

Subscription : Payable in Advance.

Annual — Inland : Rs. 15.00
" — Foreign : Rs. 24.00

Half-yearly—
— Inland : Rs. 8.00
— Foreign : Rs. 13.00

(Advance Payment. Rates are inclusive of postage)

On V.P.P. order—V.P.P. Charges—extra

16 Single Issue :
Inland : Rs. 1.25

Cheque on Banks outside Calcutta are not accepted.

If regular subscribers do not renew their subscriptions and/or send stop orders in due time, the next issue after the expiary of their current subscriptions, will be sent per V.P.P. —assuming their willingness to continue.

Complaints of non-receipt of any issue of the Modern Review—must reach our office by the 15th of the month in question—and in all cases the *Subscriber Number must be quoted.*

Terms for News Agents :—On application : (minimum 5 copies of the Modern Review per month—should be ordered. Special Rates for 20 or more copies per month—on advance payment.

Manager
THE MODERN REVIEW

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Gram : COKEPLANT

Phone : 23-8621 (8 lines)

THE DURGAPUR PROJECTS LIMITED

(A Government of West Bengal Undertaking)

Regd. Office : 10, Middleton Row, Calcutta-16

Would Welcome Trade Enquiries Regarding :

COKE

HARD NUT

BENZOL PRODUCTS

BENZENE TOLUOL INDUSTRIAL

MOTOR BENZOL LIGHT SOLVENT

NAPTHA

TAR PRODUCTS

WASH OIL CARBOLIC OIL

NAPTHALENE OIL ANTHRACENE OIL

TIMBER PICKLING OIL

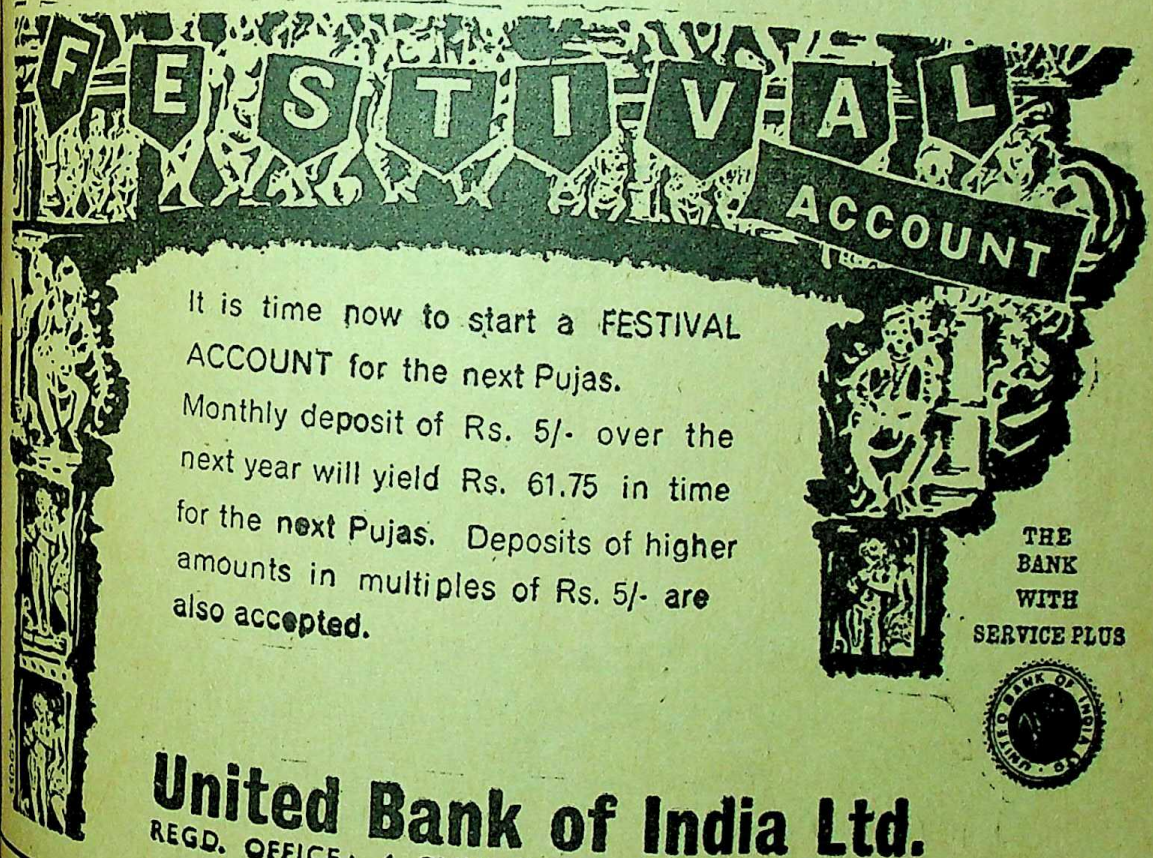
CRUDE NAPTHALENE SODIUM PHENOLATE

PROCESSED TAR

ROAD TAR

PITCH

RESIN



United Bank of India Ltd.

REGD. OFFICE: 4 CLIVE GHAT STREET, CALCUTTA-1.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

With the

best

compliments

of

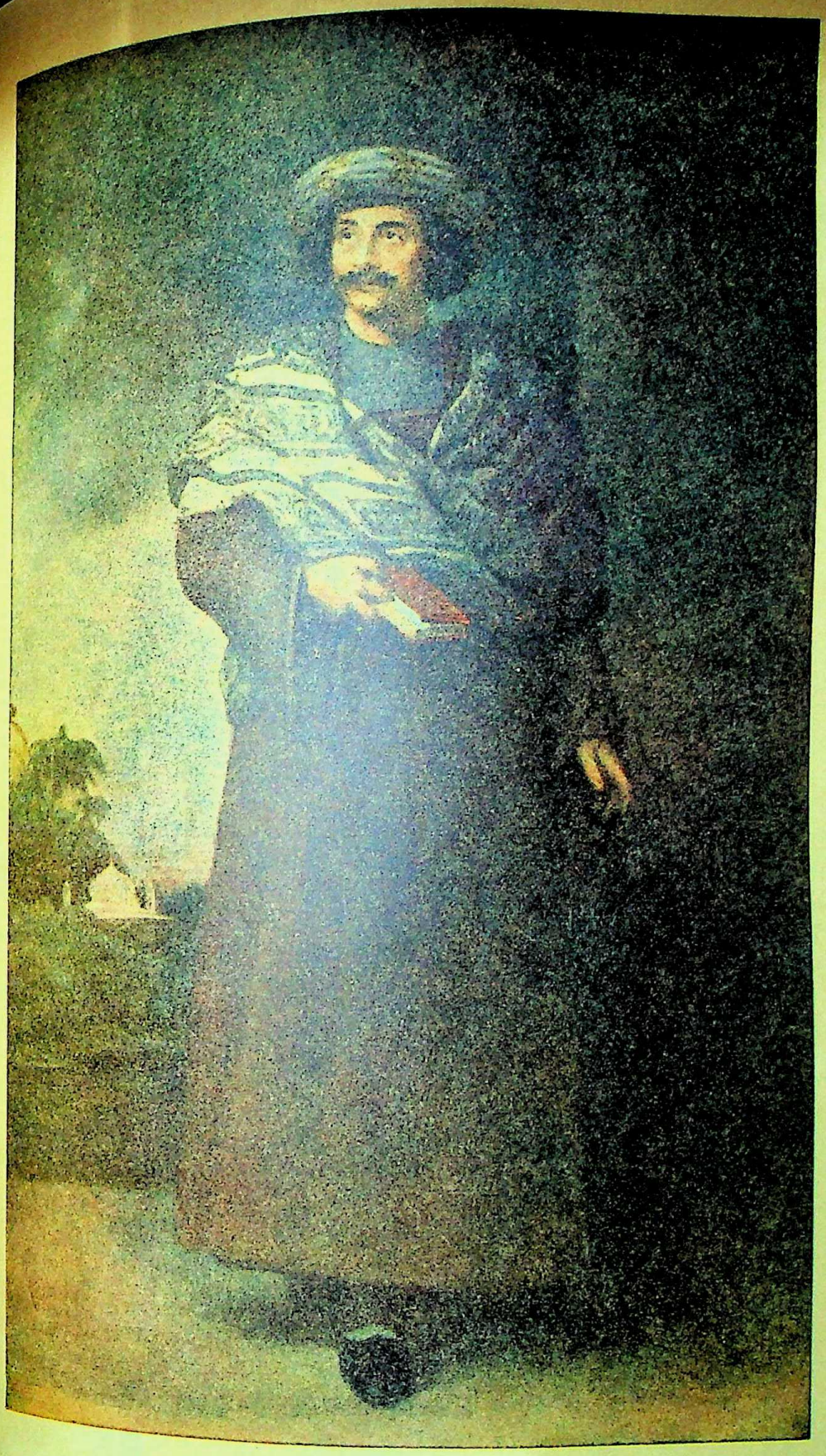
Pioneer Plastics Works (P) Ltd.

Manufacturers & Exporters of quality Plastic Products.

44/1D, EZRA STREET,
CALCUTTA-1.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY

Prabai Press, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER 1965

Whole No. 706

CXVIII, No. 4

NOTES

Kashmir

When India was partitioned in 1947 by British Imperial overlords and the gress and the Muslim League provided party support for the partition; the ple of India, who were at least 99% e in number than the party members of Congress and the Muslim League, were consulted. Both these parties at that talked about the people's right of self rmination but, in fact, arrogated to selves the right of self-determination e people of India. Their assumption hat what the Congress and the Muslim gue thought would necessarily also be thought of the Indian people. It did not to them at the time to consult the ple about this partition. The British lords particularly observed a complete ce as to the competence of the two ical parties to negotiate a partition of a at that stage. The Muslim League a British inspired party from its very ption and the British put the idea of ing a Pakistan in the mind of such m leaders as they could mobilise to through their nefarious plans. The gress failed to control the Muslim ers and slowly veered round, under ure of violent riots organised by the m League, to the opinion that although dus and Muslims had lived together for 700 years they could no longer do so if India became an independent state. The people of India, excepting the 1% who belonged to the Congress or the Muslim League had no say in the matter. The British just handed over power to these two numerically insignificant political parties after obtaining their sanction for a partition of India which the British wanted more than anybody else. Being expert politicians with an intensive as well as extensive knowledge of political science, the British knew what that sanction for partition was worth. **There should have been a plebiscite in 1947** to decide whether India should be divided into two States. There were only relatively few Muslims in India as a whole and the plebiscite would have certainly gone against the idea of partition.

With partition came the question of fixing the accession of the Indian States to India or to Pakistan. In this matter the question of the nature of the people and the geographical situation of the States were considered. Hyderabad, for instance, had a Muslim ruler but a population which was almost completely Hindu. Moreover it was right inside India surrounded by Provinces which were predominantly Hindu. The mere fact of accession could not therefore decide to which of the two newly demarcated countries an Indian State should be attached. But in the typical manner of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Pakistan, the Hyderabad Muslims obtained arms from different sources and tried to take over the State by force. The Pakistanis tried the same illegal and underhand tactics in the case of Jammu and Kashmir too. Before the Maharaja of the State could think about the matter of accession, there was an invasion of Kashmir by Pakistani soldiers dressed as Tribesmen. These men began to pillage the state territories in the manner of marauders. Murder, loot, arson and carrying away women became the order of the day. The Maharaja promptly called in India to save his territory from pillage and rapine. In the circumstances he did not consider it of any use to call in Pakistan to his succour; for everyone knew Pakistan was engineering the whole thing. Pakistan, of course, denied, that she had anything to do with this, or that her soldiers and arms were being used everywhere for this invasion of Kashmir. She took many months to stop telling lies to the world and to admit that the tribesmen were by and large, Pakistani soldiers in fancy dress. But this happened when she had to seek the protection of the U.N. with the help of America and Britain to lift the Kashmir episode out of the mire of pure banditry to the level of a territorial dispute even if of a somewhat tainted origin. The question of aggression was discussed and though Pakistan was found to be the aggressor her supporter nations tried their best to give the fact of guilt a secondary place and to make the matter of the alleged territorial dispute more prominent. Eventually Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru agreed to a ceasefire agreement pending the total withdrawal of Pakistani troops from Kashmir. Pakistan however merely used the ceasefire agreement to organise an Azad-Kashmir government, which was only the local name of Pakistan's military administration of the occupied portion of Kashmir. This was proved beyond doubt later on when Pakistan handed over portion of Kashmir by a treaty with China to Peoples' Republic. Had there been any Azad-Kashmir State, Pakistan could have handled its territory in the manner that she did.

The ceasefire line has been violated by Pakistan ever since its demarcation as a line of defence beyond which Indians would never go; but Pakistan could indulge in sorties over it into Kashmir whenever she liked. She has done this repeatedly during the last seventeen years and India has merely protested without successfully restraining Pakistan to change her marauding tactics. Pakistan during this whole period has been molesting her minorities in East Pakistan and steadily pushing them out into West Bengal and Assam. She had also been organising infiltration into these areas of selected Muslims, some 2,00,000 of whom illegally entered Assam. Pakistan also laid claims on territories in West Bengal and Assam; but never said anything about giving up any land for the millions of the minorities whom she forced to abandon their homes and seek refuge in India. Had Pakistan believed in any ethical principle several million acres should have been handed over to India from contiguous areas for the settlement of Hindus, Christians, Buddhists and Animists whom Pakistan has chased out of their hearths and homes.

The grave moral unrest that the military dictators of Pakistan have been pretending to suffer from for "the poor ill-treated Kashmiris" who happened to be citizens of India on the same terms of equality as the other 60 millon muslims enjoy in India; never allowed them to see the farcical side of their pretensions. If Pakistan public opinion has been ruthlessly suppressed by dictatorship. The tribes, Pathans, the Baluchis and the people of East Pakistan are kept down by military force. But Pakistan pretends to feel very strongly

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a plebiscite in Kashmir. Plebiscite is an
ression of democratic ideals and Pakistan
destroyed all democratic institutions in
own territory. Surely this is a clear case
e Devil quoting scriptures. And the
n is very clear. She wants to use
mir for a further expansion of her
torship.

Pakistan's recent treaties of amity and
ship with China prove that she finds
cratic United States a misfit in her
e of things. Indonesia is surely more
her heart. Pakistan's dictators suffer
a megalomania in which schemes for
conquest of India clearly find a pro-
ent place. Asia could become by and
e a Pan-Islamic hegemony in which
istan's dictatorship should provide the
lights. Indonesia could swallow large
ks of Malayasia and other areas inclu-
the Andaman and Nicobar islands.
a, with Japan coming in later as an
trinated satellite communist state,
l then form a communist bloc, and,
e, she will be given Burma, Thailand
Indo-China in exchange of some muslim
s in Asia which are now under China
Russia. A grand scheme harboured in
minds of some very common robbers
murderers, who have nothing great
eir psychological make up. Pakistan
ders herself as the leading state in the
m world. She forgets that without
aid she would be comparable to a very
ward state. She has instituted a theo-
c dictatorship which by its very nature
either modern nor progressive. In India,
about 70 million muslim citizens there
re education, social security, industry,
loyment, general prosperity and liberty
thought and action. The muslims and
other minorities are given a fair deal
India. The Vice-President of India and
mber of ministers are muslims. There
muslims in high position everywhere
India. This proves that muslims as a community are better off in India than in Pakistan. The dictatorship of Pakistan has achieved nothing so far to add to the glory of Islam or the greatness of muslims. The imposition of a dictatorship upon more than 80 million Muslims is certainly nothing to rejoice over. And the condition of minorities in Pakistan fully proves that the government of that "pure and holy" land is backward, primitive, barbarous, tyrannical and inefficient. Pakistan by her 18 years of miserable misgovernment of a vast body of poor peasants has proved that she can only exist in the community of nations as a blot on the landscape.

The present conflict further proves the dishonesty, vicious untruthfulness and utter treachery in ordinary behaviour of the Pakistani leaders. They are party to a ceasefire agreement and they have undertaken to stay on one side of a ceasefire line. But they organised a mass crossing of that line by Pakistanis dressed as Kashmiris. A number of groups of these freedom fighters could not even speak Kashmiri and had no knowledge of Kashmir. Pakistan persistently denied her complicity in the socalled rising of these freedom fighters. It was soon proved that the Pakistan army was fighting the security forces of India. They were dishonestly using the weapons given to them by the U.S.A. which they undertook not to use against India. And, very funnily the freedom fighters of Kashmir were using these arms too. They first told lies and when the lies could not be maintained they tried to brazen it out by admitting their use of forbidden arms with bold and stupid assertions of **their right to do so!** Then when our security forces pressed them back beyond the ceasefire line and liquidated large groups of them they suddenly attacked Chamb near Jammu which was no where on the cease fire line. It was a clear attack across our international

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

boundary. Then India opened several fronts against them all along that international boundary line to force them to deploy their armour over a wide front. Then started a storm of accusations : India has violated this, India has violated that and India has violated all moral principles relating to peace and war as well as broken all international laws. And this comes from a state which cannot distinguish lawful negotiations from banditry ! Having violated all laws of civilised existence and conduct during a period of over seventeen years, Pakistan is now getting what she had been asking for. But her flood gates of falsehood are still disgorging lies and calumny in tumultuous waves.

U. Thant came and left without achieving success. India agreed to stop fighting unconditionally but Pakistan refused. She wanted total withdrawal of all troops of both sides from Kashmir and a plebiscite within three months. India naturally declined to agree to this. For she rightly thought, who was Pakistan to dictate terms when she was the aggressor and has been so for more than seventeen years. Pakistan believes in brute force, so let force decide the right or wrong of the case.

Pakistan's collusion with China is quite clear in all these fresh acts of violation of ceasefire agreement, infiltration by trained and well armed soldiers in plain clothes or fancy uniforms, spreading falsehood in every conceivable manner and so forth. China, Pakistan and Indonesia are now the world's worst political organisations. All are dictatorial, exploitative and none gives any cognisance to moral, just or agreed principles. What is not at all understood is the part played by the U.S.A. in support of Pakistan. The U.S.A. is now the hub of world democracies. How can one reconcile this with the quiet acceptance by the U.S.A. of Pakis[tan's] open misuse of U.S.A.'s military aid.?

China

Illicit aggression, if allowed to [pass] querade as straight forward fight for [possession] session of territory for which one can [claim] a lawfully tenable right of ownership always inflate the criminal greed of [the] aggressor and lead to further acts territorial banditry. China's aggressi[on] Tibetan territory was based on an [assumed] defunct imperialistic overlordship on [Tibet] no modern State could base its claim ownership of the territory of another [state] Further China had been able to exe[rcise] this right of overlordship only on occasions during recent centuries. D[uring] one thousand years or more and during periods of Chinese imperial "glory" Tibet had never been anyth[ing] other than a separate national entity [with] an exclusive national territory, charac[ter] culture, language and social system. W[hen] therefore Communist China was permi[tted] by the nations of the world to annex Ti[bet] as an integral part of China, they com[mit] at an act of aggression of the worst poss[ible] type. A great nation with a long hist[ory] was just liquidated by a vast unprincip[led] military organisation which was like th[e] invading hordes of the middle ages, wh[ich] took the world as their natural prey a[nd] believed invasion and plunder of oth[er] nations as a perfectly normal expressi[on] of a law of nature which permitted t[he] strong to eat up the weak. China swallow[ed] up Tibet, chased out the Dalai Lam[a] abolished Tibetan laws, customs, rig[hts] and institutions and replaced those by wh[at] she thought were Communistic substitute[s] The World said nothing, and China cont[in]ued to expand in territory, power, and i[n] mannered arrogance. All nations though[t] it right to placate this 650 million strong super-marauder and the United Nations

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ently ignored all appeals from Tibetans
hen the Chinese occupied their homeland
d destroyed their independence with a
thless disregard for all considerations of
stice and human rights. A short resume
Tibet's history will clearly show that the
hinese have no right to occupy Tibet or
call it a part of China.

Tibet was a strong political body in
-8th centuries and her armies often
feated neighbouring kingdoms and exact-
tribute from them. China paid tribute
Tibet in the 8th century. The Tibetan
er Song-tsen Gam-po accepted Buddhism
the State religion and had the Buddhist
criptures translated into Tibetan written
a script similar to the Brahmi script of
dia. Mahayana culture prevailed in
bet and she remained fully independent
re than one thousand years. During the
anchu period in the 18th century the
betans had internal dissensions and a
anchu expedition succeeded in establish-
g Chinese overlordship at Lhasa. This
came a mere technical suzereinty very
on and the Chinese only maintained an
ice at Lhasa which exercised no autho-
y. About this time the British tried to
me to definite terms about various
atters with the Tibetans but did not
hieve much in the beginning. The
hinese made certain agreements which
ere not honoured by the Tibetans. The
ounghusband expedition of 1904 captured
hasa, but the British came away after
ffecting a kind of convention which they
emselves did not trouble to enforce. The
anchus thought they could control the
feated Tibetans and began to be over-
rds again on paper but no de facto autho-
ity could be excercised by China. In 1912
e Tibetans evicted all Chinese from
hasa and the British also repudiated all
aims of the Chinese over Tibet. In 1914
ere was a convention at Simla in which
e Chinese took part in a loose fashion.
They did not ratify the terms and the British accepted the unilateral Tibetan ratification as politically binding and sufficient. The Chinese tried aggressive action against Tibetans in 1918 but were unsuccessful and humiliated again. The Kuomintang maintained a government representative at Lhasa from 1934 to 1949. This official had to leave Lhasa in 1949 at the request of the Tibetan Government. With the formation of the Peoples' Republic of China, the Chinese became progressively stronger and increased pressure on Tibet. The first invasion by Peoples Republic of Tibetan territory occurred in 1950. In 1951, by a Sino-Tibetan agreement foreign affairs and defence of Tibet were placed under the Chinese who established a military head-quarters in Tibet in 1952. The Chinese, however, followed a treacherous policy of slowly working their way into every branch of Tibet's Government and to progressively usurp all power until they fully dominated the life of the people of Tibet. The Tibetans naturally resented this and things began to boil over. In 1959 the Tibetans made an unsuccessful attempt at overthrowing the Chinese and the Dalai Lama escaped to India.

One can see from the above that the Chinese claims to rule Tibet as an integral part of China are based on certain imperialistic ventures of the Manchus of the 18th-19th centuries. With very rare periods of exception China never actually controlled the Tibetan Government at any time before the nineteen fifties. So that China's right to call Tibet a part of China is based on conquest only of a recent date. Tibet never was a part of China and if China ever "ruled" Tibet for short periods; those were imperialistic gestures only. If freedom and liberty were fully re-established on earth at any time, Tibet could never be a part of China. The Peoples' Republic

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of China pretends to be a liberator of all enslaved peoples of the Earth. So far, she has not liberated any such member of the human race. The only fight that the Chinese have openly engaged in has been one of enslavement of a race which had never been ruled by China before nor could be called a Chinese race or sub-race in any accepted sense of raciality. If the Chinese action was an attempt at realising more completely the imperial ambitions of the decadent Manchus, that could hardly be called liberation of the people of Tibet. After the occupation of Tibet by force, the Chinese had been reducing that country to a state of total vassalage to the Chinese. Tibet and the Tibetans must become Chinese in every way is the idea which is being ruthlessly followed. The world just sits and watches without saying a word against this blatant and brutal destruction of an ancient and colourful civilisation. The Chinese conquest of Tibet can only be compared to the conquest of the Incas of America by the Europeans. The methods adopted by the Chinese to serve ideological cant to the Tibetans with inhuman ferocity is comparable to the acts of the Inquisition. Fanatics have always proved themselves to be in the wrong in all cases where the fanaticism transgressed the eternal moral laws of Humanity. The Chinese have not only transgressed all ethical principles accepted by the peoples of the world; but have also violated their own undertakings and solemn agreements. In short, the Chinese are behaving like a power-crazy horde advancing under the dehumanizing urge of a blood lust upon all who do not agree to surrender to their will. Apart from this fanatical urge for converting all "unbelievers" the cold blooded desire to possess advantageous territorial areas also induces Chinese leaders to violate the rules of international decency and their own admitted undertakings.

After occupying Tibet by force, the Chinese began to assess the vulnerability of communications and other qualities of the country from the angle of its integration with China. Their attempts at pushing forward the frontiers of Tibet along the Himalayas and in the extreme north-West were guided by considerations of defence communications with Sinkiang and further plans of conquest. The Chinese, with characteristic unscrupulousness and disregard for facts, claimed various areas as occupied the same as the soundest argument in favour of these claims. India at this time was suffering from an overdose of didacticism of a pacifist brew and the Congress leaders were running the Government of India on the basis of their faith in their prophetship and the world's impending conversion to their views. As a result of this utter detachment from realities, the Congress Government of India gave a miserable account of their ability to arrange for the defence of India. The Chinese overran the NEFA and later on went away after imposing some humiliating terms and conditions relating to management of Indian territory upon the Indian Government. After this Congress recovered their senses partially, dismissed their Defence Minister and looked around for better defences for the country. The death of Pandit Nehru brought about changes in leadership which were favourable for the recognition of realities in our international relations. Changed conditions improved India's military potential to a considerable extent and when Pakistan attacked Kashmir recently the Indian army and air force made military history by smashing up Pakistan's superior armour by their greater mobility, fighting skill, valour, ingenuity, better strategy-tactics and general ability. In a matter of days the Indian army and air force snatched the initiative from the Pakistan forces. The latter had started a surprise attack but

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

were beaten back all along the line. They then crossed the international boundary and attacked India below the cease fire line in order to cut India's supply lines. They also started bombing Indian cities far away from the cease-fire line or even Kashmir. India was therefore forced to attack Pakistan in othe places and thus carried the war into Pakistan. Having lost in their military adventure Pakistan approached China for support. The whole world had realised that Pakistan was an aggressor nation and that she had no territorial claims on Kashmir just because there were four million Muslims there. India had other sixty five million Muslims in other parts of India who enjoyed more freedom and equality than the 80 million Muslims in Pakistan. China too has a large Muslim population, but she is not arranging to hand over Sinkiang to Pakistan. China's love of Pakistan is based on Pakistan's enmity towards India. And in the hope that China would gain territorially by siding with Pakistan, the Chinese have been carrying on pro-Pakistan propaganda ever since Pakistan started her war against India. But she has now sent a virtual ultimatum to India. The chances that China will try to divert India's military resources to the frontiers of Tibet in order to relieve pressure on the Pakistan frontier are fairly sure. Whether the Chinese will engage in open war and thus bring other nations into the picture, is not so certain.

Cease Fire Again

This undeclared war began with Pakistan's violation of the existing cease fire line in Kashmir. Pakistan being a "dry land" has no sense of right or wrong; power has a way of always choosing the wrong in preference to the right. The existing cease fire line therefore had no sanctity for Pakistan and it was violated with impunity by the Pakistan army in fancy dress. The leaders of Pakistan added to their holyness by insisting on this crude violation of a solemnly agreed upon truce being a "revolution" brought about by the Kashmiris. In any case, all who like to call a spade a spade will call this act of aggression a violation of the truce made by Pakistan after she had failed in her 1947 aggression in Kashmir. Pakistan therefore has been guilty of aggressions and violations in the normal course of her ordinary conduct of international relations. One may add to her acts against India, her misuse of U.S. weapons, her breach of faith with the anti-communist bloc by making a treaty with China. In short there is nothing in Pakistan's origin, nature and evolution to recommend her as a trustworthy party to any treaty, truce or undertaking of any kind whatsoever. In the circumstances the Cease Fire that has been forced upon India by the U.S.-Britain dominated U.N.O. can not be accepted as anything that will be beneficial to India. It is only a lull in this war which will be broken any moment by Pakistan's next act of treachery.

The British and the U.S.A.

We have often been called sanctimonious for our faith in universal peace, vegetarianism, prohibition and misuse of the word socialism. But our sanctimoniousness has done no harm to anyone. It has on the other hand, done a lot of good to Pakistan, China and the makers of illicit profit. The British and the U.S.A. have broken all records in sanctimoniousness of a kind which nearly destroyed a nation of 450 million people. Their quiet connivance at Pakistan's acts of treachery and misuse of weapons received in trust added to their previous acceptance of China's rape of Tibet put them right on the highest peak of sanctimoniousness of a particularly lethal variety.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

All who accept their tempting little offers of this aid or that are slowly moving nearer the brink. We have to watch our step too in our dealings with the U.S.A.-U.K.-U.N.O. group of benefactors of humanity. Liberators and Benefactors are the two actively aggressive groups. The Third group is formed by the Victims, who slowly get entangled into the webs of liberation and prosperity. There should be a fourth group of self reliant and independent nations which will not ask for or accept any boons or gifts.

Pro-Pakistan Nations

There are no reasons why any nation should feel a bond of fellowship with Pakistan. The fact that Pakistan was synthetically manufactured with the assistance of muslim agents-provocateurs organised by British imperialists, would perhaps attract some Britishers to the side of Pakistan; but other nations have no historical or economic bonds with that backwash of British imperialism. But we find many large and small nations capering around this unruly nation of "Ladke Lenges" ("We shall take by force"). That has been their war cry in 1946-47 and they have never deviated from their ungodly path of loot and pillage. Pakistan can not [illegible] understand the ordinary rules of morality. They believe in Islam (let us accept that without questioning). So that whosoever believes in Islam must become a Pakistani. Strange logic; but it appears the British and the Americans believe in that logic too. These latter "high level" nations of course believe in any logic of any kind if it suits their low level plans. For we have seen how the British are hand-in-glove with Pakistan as well as with the Chinese Communists. We have also seen how the Americans can engage in war anywhere they like without attracting the attention of the U.N.O. The British also can fight a war against foreign invaders in Malay. But India cannot defend her territory against Pakistanis, or even against "Kawalis" or "Azad Kashmiris" (certified as to their identity by Pakistan) without getting the entire U.N.O. upon her as peace makers. One may ask why this game of Peace Making cannot be played in Vietnam; but such questions will be answered with "no comments". The British Commonwealth of nations is also another U.N.O.-like organisation. In this set up one has to be particularly careful of the feelings of the parent nation, the British. Their feelings, like all feelings, are not thoughts and as such cannot be gauged nor assessed in precise terms.

DURGA PUJA HOLIDAY

The office of **The Modern Review** shall remain closed on account of Durga Puja Holidays from the 1st to the 14th October, 1965, both days inclusive. The office will reopen on the 15th October 1965.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE 'DEVELOPMENT DECADE' AND INTEGRATION OF THE WORLD ECONOMY

S. VENU

The aim of this article is to pinpoint major trends in international trade ween the developed and underdeveloped tries over the post-war era. It is no ggeration to say that the main problems financing in the low-income countries e from the failure of their exports to p pace with world trade or production. orts are not "an engine of growth" and paper seeks to analyse causes and edies.

At the U.N. Trade and Development nference convened in March-June 1964, developing countries led by Dr. Raoul ebisch of Argentina questioned the utility the GATT on the ground that this body's proach to the problems of international de was weighted heavily in favour of 'Haves', i.e., the developed or rich ntries as against the 'Have-nots', i.e., the veloping or poor nations. At this con-ence, it was agreed to form a Trade and velopment Committee of 75 member ions with a number of subsidiary organs. e Conference, as an organ of the U.N. neral Assembly, will have to be recon-ed every three years. This partially dicates the stand of underdeveloped untries and indicates an epoch-making ange in the pattern of international eco-mic policy

The U.N. Committee of Experts postu-ted a steady 5% annual growth in the come of underdeveloped countries by 70 and referred to the 60's as the 'Deve-pment Decade'. In actual fact, the owth rate from 1950 to date has been in e region of 2.6% to 4.5% only. The share of non-industrial countries in total World Trade has declined and the terms of trade have also moved against them as will be evident from the following tables:

(i) Percentage Share in World Trade—

Years	1938	1953	1957	1960
Industrial Countries	62.5	61.0	65.00	70.00
Non-Industrial Countries	37.5	38.0	34.1	30.00

Sources: International Trade GATT 1959 and 1960.

Note: Centrally planned economies are excluded.

(ii) Median Value of Terms of Trade—

1953=100

	1954	1955	1956	1960
Industrial /Developed countries	100	99	99	101
Underdeveloped/Agricultural countries	108	106	110	89

(Note: The simplest terms of trade concept have been used—the ratio prices of commodities called the 'commodity terms of trade' or 'net barter term of trade'. Another concept usable in our analysis would be that of the 'income terms of trade'—the index of the value of exports divided by the index of import prices so as to show the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

imports obtainable for exports sent out—the commodity terms of trade are weighted in proportion to the other". (Wicksell Lectures).

The U.N. study referred to earlier calculates that for the poor countries as a whole there would be a 'hypothetical gap' of $ 11 billion dollars in their current and capital accounts by 1970 since export earnings will lag far behind import bills. This takes into account prospective capital flows, all forms of aid and the envisaged burden of debt servicing. Hence Gunnar Myndal holds that "trade operates (as a rule) with a fundamental bias in favour of the richer and progressive regions (and countries) and in disfavour of the less developed countries". (Challenge to Affluence—Gollancz 1963).

What are the main factors behind the gloomy story of the 'Gap' ? :—

(i) The root of the trouble is, of course, the vicious circle of poverty that causes a lopsided production structure, a limited range of traditional primary exports and the lack of capital and skill that makes the traditional export sector the main arbiter of opportunities. Poverty causes dependence on external markets and vulnerability to market trends. Reserves to cushion shocks are low and technological advance may merely lead to over-production.

(ii) Primary products have longer gestation periods and life cycles. Hence, on the side of entry one gets successive waves of excess capacity from previous boom periods. Exit is slower and more expensive than entry in the absence of alternative investment opportunities and the same ... ments are applicable to ... tive industries.

It has been argued that ... of the reasons for the lower ... of growth of trade of the ... developed countries is that ... all pursue highly protective ... policies on either infant-industry ... or terms of trade grounds. T... **reduces the volume of trade ... increases the marginal ben... from trade.**

(iii) The very process of econo... development implies an ... increasing volume, both abso... and relative of capital imp... The ratio of capital goods' ... increases (imports) has ... greater than the rise in ... values of traditional exports ... the consumption propensities ... the latter in the high ... countries are static, with ... being income and price inelastic.

On the demand side, market trends ... the developed countries have been work... against expansion of exports from ... poor nations :

(a) The intra-trade volume amon... industrial countries rose by 8... as compared with a 50% rise ... volume in other sectors of inte... national trade, the increase ... manufactures being greater than ... that of primary products. Pre... senting a 'Tableau Economique' ... Ragnar Nurkse painted the pros... tion in 1957 as "the picture is one ... that mirrors on the world eco... nomy. The twenty countries in ... Group A (High income) are each ... other's best customer. ... More than a hundred countries in ... Group B (Low income).....have ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

very little trade with each others". (Wicksell lectures).

(b) A saturated market for tropical foods and products (sugar and tobacco etc.), demand response being negligible to changes in income and retail prices. A large proportion of retail costs is accounted for by distribution and trade mark-ups as also processing changes. Empirical studies of food, tobacco and beverage imports reveal that net imports rose proportionately less than consumption but with a greater fall in import-unit values, the aggregate rise in values of these imports was marginal. Demand shifted from beverages and oils with a high import content to meet with a low import content.

(c) Technological advances have led to a number of changes. The requirements of imported raw materials per unit of output has declined, i.e., a more economical input-output ratio exists. Synthetics have replaced natural raw materials particularly so when prices of the latter show a considerable rise—rubber, sugar and fibres are noteworthy examples. Excluding petroleum, over 40% of exports now come to with synthetics.

(d) Improved technology has also led to greater 'interchangeability' of materials strengthening the bargaining position of buyers vis-a-vis sellers. There is a greater substitution elasticity of materials at the manufacturing level than at the retail stage in regard to upward price of traditional imports—a rise in price acts as a spur to new techniques. However, this process does not work proportionately in a downward direction. Substitution, once in full swing, is more often than not, irreversible.

A common grievance of the underdeveloped countries is that their export proceeds are unstable because of sharp cyclical fluctuations in the prices of their exports as well as a long-run secular decline. Such fluctuations exert strains on the balance of payments resulting alternatively in inflationary and deflationary pressures on the economy.

Summarising these developments, Singer remarks that "the rich countries have had the best of both worlds both as exporters of manufactures and as importers of primary products".

(iii) Outlook for the Future and Methods of closing the Gap—

The developing countries are interested in enhancing the aggregate value and not the mere volume of their exports. Average long-period earnings are of greater importance than short-term repercussions, i.e., earnings to reflect the import purchasing power or the "importing power of exports" also termed as the "capacity to import"—the terms of trade multiplied by the volume of exports. Trade is preferable to aid and stability to uncertainty.

(A) The Development Insurance Fund—

A 1961 U.N. Report proposes a Development Insurance Fund (DIF) which is an extended version of domestic social insurance applied to the field of international trade. The DIF would be an international body with resources in dollars and other currencies of the high-income countries.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Funds would, initially, be obtained by subscriptions and an annual "insurance premium". The GNP of a country would constitute the base for subscriptions and exports for premiums. Member countries would withdraw currencies automatically as compensation for the full shorfall in export earnings compared with the average of the preceding three years. To prevent abuses, however, it would be preferable to have a scaled degree of compensation so as to forstall a 100 per cent recoupment. Otherwise, a write-off could be enhanced by carrying over exports from the third to the fourth year after a large deficit gap. Repayment is obligatory where exports revive speedily and to a substantial degree. Net compensation accrues to a member only where recovery is so late that gains cannot balance withdrawals in the three year span.

This proposal is similar to that of the Export Risk Stabilisation Fund recently propounded. The DIF will enable the poor countries to buy more during periods of heavy withdrawals and avoid a drastic cut in essential purchases. As compared with the establishment of a commodity-reserve currency, the DIF cushions the effect of price declines on monoculture economics. The type of financing offered is independent of any output restrictions. But the DIF does not tackle the problem of shifting redundant resources from declining export work to productive spheres. The DIF is essentially defensive and may protect inefficient producers. Also, in the absence of any scheme for project evaluation, funds can be diverted by recipient nations to unproductive uses. DIF drawings are a more effective buffer against short-run fluctuations and not so against long-run cycles where considerations of functional finance would prevail in budgetary operations. Hence, this is only a partial remedy and not a complete solution.

(B) Commodity-reserve Currencies and Price-Support Schemes—

It has been suggested that the ... primary commodities entering into inter... national trade should be taken as a col... tive whole, their prices stabilised in ter... of gold and the value used as an int... national currency reserve in lieu of go... The rich countries should devalue th... currencies in terms of this new internation... reserve as a counter to the pressure ... rising money wages and cost-push inflatio... The International Sugar and Coffee Agre... ments are cited as notable examples of ... successful working of flexible quotas.

However, the 'Kennedy round' ... tariff negotiations with the ECM has ... emphasised the greater practicability of ... commodity-by-commodity approach.

The rich countries may impose ... import duty on incoming primary produ... and remit the proceeds to exporters of th... 'Have-nots'. If world prices rose, the latter ... would benefit and there would be ... redistribution of income between the pro... ducer and the State in the underdevelope... country (by the quantum of the tari... Whilst this is a workable proposition ... consumer countries' co-operation is secur... the method has been rejected that it would ... lead to a greater substitution of synthetic ... for natural materials.

Note :—(This follows J. B. Hicks' argument ... that the dollar shortage was a ... result of the import-biased charac... ter of America's technical progress ... While export-biased productivity ... change must 'a fortiori' turn the ... terms of trade in favour of the ... rest of the world, 'per contra' ... import-biased productivity changes ... turn them against the rest of ... the world and reduce the over... all gains from international trade).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Patterns of Industrialisation in the Developing Economies—

In the long-run, diversification of the ...ucts exported by the poor countries ...be the effective resort. What should ...the pattern of growth?

...Import substitution is logical and laud... as an objective. However, if the ...nt industry' argument is blindly ...ied, we might be subsidising inefficient ...stries and make for unnecessarily high ...it margins in sheltered markets.

Ragnar Nurkse and Arthur Lewis have ...ounded the 'balanced growth' hypo... to increase purchasing power and ...eral demand through diversified growth. ...culture, the export sector and the ...estic manufacturing sector are to be ...anded in balanced proportions accord... to the relative demand in each sector. ...taking over of ready-made markets ...imports by domestic import-substitutes ...help a balanced growth programme. ...this way", said Nurkse, "a pattern of ...tually supporting investments in diffe... lines of production can enlarge the ...of the market and help fill the vacuum ...the economy". Development should be ...izontal-biased in favour of light con...er goods since these industries easily ...ate a market for each others' products ...lighten the burden of development. ...y can serve as the basis of future exports and capital—intensive heavy capital goods, will continue to be imported.

Marcus Fleming and Hirschman have refuted this thesis on the ground that factor supplies are inelastic and that economic growth is continuously alternating between cycles of autonomous and induced investment. There will have to be **periodical** excess demand and excess capacity and substantial economies will be obtained by **vertical** linkages of industries at different stages of production each of which is the others' supplier or customer. The domestic value—added by consumer economies—would also be better off if they bought and sold goods at market prices. Tenders should be accepted on a competitive basis and they would thus realise the economies of scale and division of labour.

Constructive measures will belie gloomy prognosis. For example, the radical reduction in ocean transportation costs has reduced the incidence of falling terms of trade on the poor countries. Internationalism is not charity or idealism, but an expression of explicit needs. To establish an integrated world economy one requires a sentiment of international community. The world has shrunk in distances but must expand in its cohesiveness. Ideas and actuality, fact and fiction must be reconciled and the word 'we' should predominate all discussions.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

Defence Bias Of The Fourth Plan

At the last meeting of the National Development Council held in New Delhi it was rightly decided that the Fourth Plan should have an appropriate defence orientation within the over-all frame-work of the Plan now finally fixed at a gross outlay of Rs. 21,500 crores at 1963-64 prices. The Prime Minister, who presided, pleaded, as before, for according the highest priority to agricultural production at least during the first year of the new Plan even at the cost, he underlined, of temporarily halting the over-all progress of the Plan for the time being. At the same time he pleaded for the utmost economy in expenditure, maximum mobilization of resources through taxation and especial attention to the implementation aspects of the Plan. According to Shri Ashok Mehta who sought to underline the importance of economy of Government expenditure, by the Centre and the States put together even a two per cent economy in this behalf should release additional resources of the order of approximately Rs. 400 crores against an estimated gross expenditure of Rs. 6,000 crores.

Agricultural Sector to Contribute More

Shri Ashoke Mehta, Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission, estimated that to be able to sustain a Fourth Plan of the size now envisaged, the rate of investment will have to be stepped up from about 13 per cent of the national income at the end of the Third Plan period to 17 per cent by the end of the Fourth Plan ; tax receipts, likewise, will have to be stepped up from about 13 per cent of the national income as at present to 18 per cent by the end of the coming Plan period and savings will have to be stimulated to rise from their present level of about 10.5 per cent of the national income to 15 per cent during the Fourth Plan period.

Shri Ashok Mehta especially called for larger rates of savings and contributions to tax revenues from the Agricultural sector which had so far lagged far behind the urban and industrial sectors and for which, therefore, there should be ample scope. He estimated that agricultural income tax and irrigation rates together contributed to the extent of only 2.6 per cent to the additional tax revenues of the Government during the three Plan periods. According to a scheme formulated by the Planning Commission, Shri Ashok Mehta was reported to have told the National Development Council, it should now be possible to draw something like 25 per cent of the additional tax revenue projected for the Plan from the rural sector which has, so far, been subjected to only fringe taxation.

Shri Mehta did not seem to be unduly concerned over the possible effects of the measures of additional tax effort envisaged to sustain the Fourth Plan and felt that the extra effort in this direction would not be likely to unduly affect the living levels of the people as he envisaged that the necessary additional effort in this behalf would be met out of the additional incomes that would be generated as a result of the implementation of the Plan.

So far as the plea that the rural sector should meet at least a fourth of the additional tax revenue requirements envisaged for the Plan is concerned, the matter should bear a closer examination than would appear to have been given to it by Shri Mehta. According to a recently released study by the National Council Of Applied Economic Research, the rural sector of the population comprises 354 million persons or, roughly, 80 per cent of the total population. Of these 77 per cent or, roughly, 61.6 per cent of the total population are whole time agricultural workers.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

these, again, 10 per cent or, approximately per cent of the national population are wholly gless agricultural labourers whose income is computed to be of the annual level of 98.55 or 27 paise a day. At the next er level comprising 50 millions or, roughly, er cent of agricultural households are those e annual income is within the level of 116.85 (32 paise per day) and the higher million (24 per cent of the rural and about er cent of the national population) earn 153.30 (42 paise per day) per annum. these figures it would be obvious that if indicate anything like an approximately ct picture of the actual state of our rural my at the present time, the scope for ing anything like Rs. 750 crores (which is per cent of the uncovered resources gap of 000 crores estimated for the Fourth Plan the Planning Commission) from within this r in course of the next five years would be an absurd proposition, unless, of course, Commission are callously determined to draw proportion of additional resources from this weak sector of the economy without regard to the very serious measure of acute ration that such an impost would be d to bring in its wake. The assurance that additional incomes that would be generated e result of implementing the Fourth Plan l mainly, absorb most of the pressure of onal tax effort in this behalf without unduly ssing the living levels of the people may we are afraid, be bound to prove wishful ing in large measure. In the first instance, ng by the record of achievements of the ding three Plans actual achievements have ly and consistently been found always to fallen substantially short of anticipated ates and, secondly, a great deal of what still have been achieved has always been d to have been cancelled out, at least in some antial measure, by rises in the price level. net result of this, as would be bound to pen, is that while the weaker sectors of the my are obliged to carry a more than tionately heavier load of the burdens of ed development, the gains derived therefrom in very substantial measures, sieved up at her level, leaving very little, if any at all, to filter down to the bottom levels of the community. The process may be more vigorous in its dynamics in the urban and industrial sectors causing, as has been amply proved time and again during the last fifteen and, especially, during the last five years, very heavy concentration of income, wealth and economic power in selected and microscopically minute pockets of the economy ; but that the rural sector in also not entirely free from the effects of the evil process, there is ample material available to prove. Again, to quote the results of a study by the National Council Of Applied Economic Research, in the rural sector of the national economy, the highest income-earning 1 per cent of the population appropriate 9 per cent of the gross rural income (35 lakh persons appropriating Rs. 785.34 crores out of a total of Rs. 8726 crores or Rs. 2243.83 per capita), 10 per cent of the population on the bottom rung of the economic ladder appropriate only 4 per cent (35.4 millions appropriating Rs. 348.86 crores—per capita Rs. 98.55), 14 per cent on the next higher rung appropriate 6.7 per cent (50 millions absorbing Rs. 584.70 crores—per capita Rs. 116.85) and 28 per cent on the still higher rung appropriate 17.6 per cent (100 millions appropriating Rs. 1,533 crores —per capita Rs. 153.30). That is to say, at the bottom 3 rungs of the economic ladder in the rural sector comprising 52 per cent of the population are allowed to absorb only 28 per cent of the available income while at the topmost rung only 1 per cent of the population appropriate as much as 9 per cent of the income. In between the two extremes, that is people with per capita incomes of Rs. 98.55, Rs. 116.85 and Rs. 153.30 on the one side and those with incomes of Rs. 2243.83 at the other extreme, 47 per cent of the population absorb 62.7 per cent of the available total income. In these middle rungs of the rural income group the average per capita appropriation works out at approximately Rs. 372.7 per annum. There must be several levels of income within these groups the exact or even approximate measure of which it is not possible to gauge in the absence of more detailed data. But having regard to the comparatively modest average worked out above, except in the higher reaches, income at most rungs of these middle groups also are

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

bound to be somewhere around bare subsistance level; we have already seen that incomes at the 3 bottom levels of the ladder are definitely far below subsistence level. In the circumstances it seems curious that the Planning Commission under the leadership of Shri Ashok Mehta, who is nothing if he is not plausible, should have been able to evolve a scheme by which it is considered possible to make additional tax levies on the rural sector of the order of something like Rs. 750 crores (which works out at approximately Rs. 22 per capita at the present level of the rural population) without materially affecting the living level of the people which, for all practical purposes, remains at well below any measure of *civilized subsistence standards*.

Prices and Resources

But about what apparently neither the Prime Minister nor the Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission seem to be seriously concerned is the problem of prices. It has been officially confirmed at the highest Government level that wholesale prices have gone up by well over 20 per cent between 1961-62 and 1963-64 and it has been recently averred that prices have gone up still further by nearly another 17 per cent between March 1964 and July 1965. It has been officially admitted by the Union Finance Minister that price pressures of the other evinced have been seriously distorting the economy and, in effect, have been cancelling out the achievements of planned development by at least a proportionate measure. And, yet, there does not seem to be any awareness on the part of the Government of the urgent and vital need to devise effective measures to evolve a rational price policy so that the distortions in the economy caused by the relentless price pressures since about the end of 1962 might be effectually obviated and the distressing impacts on the living levels of the more vulnerable sections of the community might he relieved.

Except for a cursory reference to the matter in the resolution adopted by the last meeting of the National Development Council to say that the steady rise in the price level over the last few years has been mainly derived from shortfalls in agricultural production which, in turn, has mainly flowed from the rapid growth of [illegible] population with which agricultural [illegible] has been unable to keep pace, there does [illegible] seem to have been any indication of any [illegible] thinking on this crucial problem. All the [illegible] tive measure that the N.D.C. could [illegible] of was to recommend more vigorous [illegible] tion of population control which, even if it [illegible] he effectively handled—a very difficult matter [illegible] all circumstances—would, anyway, take a [illegible] long time to bear fruit. In fact from [illegible] experiences related to efforts towards popu[illegible] control, it would seem to be in very [illegible] doubt if there is really any effective mea[illegible] achieving such a desired end without raisi[illegible] protein contents of the people's food [illegible] essential condition-precedent. It has [illegible] observed that wherever the nutritional conte[illegible] the people's food have improved there has [illegible] an automatic fall in the birth rate. In [illegible] words a measure of sophistication in the pe[illegible] living levels would seem to be an inesca[illegible] condition of effective population control.

Be that as it may, the problem of cont[illegible] the price pressure would seem to be an esse[illegible] condition of resource mobilization for the Fourth Plan and even more so when planning, as it has to be urgently defence-oriented. One of the methods to be employed for "maximum resource mobilization" would have to be by additional taxation. It has been estimated by Shri Ashok Mehta that tax revenues of the Government which are now estimated to comprise approximately 15 per cent of the national income will have to be pushed up to 18 per cent by the end of the Fourth Plan period. With prices raging steadily and constantly upwards, additional tax mobilization of this order could only be achieved by pushing down the net disposable income of the people well below subsistence levels. "Consume less" is an admirable conusel but its effectiveness would be inevitably limited by the need of at least half to subsistence. And when in order to realize additional tax revenues the net disposable income is threatened with attenuation to a level well below minimum subsistence requirements, the entire tax effort of the Government may in turn well be threatened with jeopardy.

(Continued on p. 332)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SHAKESPEARE'S SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

UTPAL DUTT

I

Sam Goldwyn would rather leave the ssage to the Western Union. And a llar usurious approach dominates an olute majority of Shakespeare critics the day. It is therefore dangerous to ask ely: did Shakespeare try to say any- g? You may read him and with Wilson ght delight in the imageries and music. u may watch him played by actors in the e Poel-Granville-Barker tradition. But u must accept him as rather a dull fellow o did not think of the things he saw and . You may even, if the craze takes disbelieve he ever existed, or, if he merely lent his name to the resurrect- Marlowe. You may at the same time uss in full the social comments in orne and the political satire of Wesker. you have to assume that Shakespeare, Stratford boor, is quite incapable of t his lesser imitators have achieved ly.

This very British, very respectable, Park Lane attitude begins with nson's usual axiomatic sermon in 1765 n he preached on his mount that kespeare's

"works support no opinion with argu- ments, nor supply any faction with invectives,.....are read without any other reason than the desire of pleasure."

is has seemed to the church-going gregation of respectable critics a far more asant comment than the blasphemous ice that Carlyle presented between the ian empire and Shakespeare.

The much-maligned Bradley's attempt transfer our attention entirely to the psychology of the heroes of Shakespeare, though torn apart by Croce's frontal offensive, appears to me to be an inevitable development of the Johnsonian theme. The social content of the plays, if Bradley is to be taken seriously, must be altogether ignored. No wonder, but a few years removed from Bradley, we see the imposing figure of Dr. Ernest Jones who discovers that Hamlet is in love with Gertrude. He is hotly pursued by W.I.D. Scott who discovers that Antonio the merchant is homosexually attached to Bassanio, that Jaques is an involutional, and that Hamlet is a manic-depressive.

Psycho-analysis is a catching disease. John Vyvyan's brilliant "Shakespearean Ethic" begins by challenging those critics who see in Shakespeare nothing but a commercial Belasco; it ends by diagnosing various subconscious streaks in Shakespeare's characters. He starts off:

> ".....by limiting the problem to aesthetics and the theatre, it leaves out Shakespeare. From the evidence of the sonnets alone.....we see that Shakespeare was himself a perturbed spirit."

But of course with the plague raging, he cannot escape contagion and is soon quoting copiously from Jung to show that his Anima, Wise Old Man and Shadow were anticipated by Shakespeare in his Ophelia, Polonius and Iago. It may be pertinent to ask: did Shakespeare after all have a crystal in his reticule, that he could rise so above the scrappy theories of melancholy that Burton, Thomas Rogers and Bright supplied him with?

Freud's pan-sexual explanation is so

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

good an apology for suppressing evidence of Shakespeare's social consciousness that it appears like a **deus ex machina** in the most outspokenly revolutionary critic. Wyndham Lewis shook the complacent world of lotus-eaters with the startling comment that

"Far from being a feudal poet, the Shakespeare that 'Troilus and Cressida', 'The Tempest', or even 'Coriolanus' shows us is much more a bolshevik (using this little word popularly) than a figure of conservative romance."

It is with shock therefore that one stumbles a few chapters later on an unseemly discussion of Shakespeare the homosexual (the "boy" sonnets, of course !), portraying the manliness of Mark Antony from a feminine viewpoint. Small wonder then that J. I. M. Stewart in his "Character and Motive in Shakespeare" explains Leontes's jealousy of Polixenes on grounds of homosexuality.

But none of them looks more grotesque in his quixotic armour than the apocalyptic Morozov who conforms meekly :

> "Shakespeare's characters do not speak for the author, but so to say 'for themselves', i.e. are independent individuals (in other words we shall obtain new confirmation of Shakespeare's realism)".

It is agreed that all characters cannot speak for their author. Iago certainly does not, nor does the generation of villains sprung upon us. But surely it would be amazing if in the thirty-six plays he wrote, Master Will Shakespeare never once let himself go. Surely, if we were to find an idea or an imagery recurring again and again in his plays, provided that the idea is not brought up (like Iago's nihilism) for the express purpose of getting it condemned, then such an idea I say can very well be Shakespeare's own.

Our search for such ideas must necessarily be conditioned by what Sewell calls the "basic vision" of each play, where thesis and anti-thesis come into conflict. We must be careful not to attribute anti-thetical, negative elements in his plays to Shakespeare. He has a way about him of imparting equal power to both factors through poetry. Probably he could not help himself. Therefore to be lost in poetry like Coleridge, Keats, T. S. Eliot and Wilson Knight would prevent us from seeing the difference between positive and negative forces in his plays; between thesis he affectionately presents and antithesis with which he counters it.

Critics have sometimes avoided error and we have seen sparks of conformity like Oscar James Campbell who unequivocally declared that political ideas can and must be found in Shakespeare and Sergei Dinamov who treats Shakespeare as he would treat a modern work on contemporary politics.

II

It is to Professor Owst that Shakespearean criticism owes the mine of information on medieval sermons. The myth of Renaissance humanism creating Elizabethan drama has long been discarded; the figure of Mirandola, Ficino and Paracelsus has suddenly grown coxcombs on their heads and the only real contribution that the Renascita could make to England appears to be the panic and terror associated with Machiavelli.

It is significant that each of the recurrent ideas in Shakespeare has its counterpart in medieval thought and comes in headlong conflict with the ideology of the Tudor Reformation.

The principal idea running persistently through medieval literature is primitive communism and glorification of corporate life.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

... in his decretal could declare:
Communis enim usus omnium quae
sunt in hoc mundo, omnibus hominibus
esse debuit."
Antonio echoes it when he insists that
taught the abolition of private pro-
and that property should therefore
the largest number of hands, in
on use.
ence too Martin Saint-Leon in 1270
declare with religious confidence that
vangelists had promised daily bread
ch man:
.....pour chacun le pain quotidien
omis par l'Evangile".
is perspective alone does John Ball's
ism appear inevitable. About
years after his rebellion, Master
Sledon could preach at Paul's Cross:
"And covetise maketh also that rich
ren eat the poore, as beasts done their
esous.....**In commune to all, rich and**
poore, the earth was made. Why will
e ritch chalenge proper right herein?"
d Winstanley carries on the same
e in his "New Law of Righteousness".
Now whereas the Creation, man should
n equalitie towards one another."
Turning to Shakespeare we meet Glos-
"King Lear", blinded, having realized
ate where the ills of the world lie.
ives his purse away and declares:
"Heavens, deal so still!
Let the superfluous and lust-
dieted man
That slaves your ordinance, that
will not see
Because he does not feel, feel
your power quickly;
So **distribution should undo excess,**
And each man have enough." (IV, 1, 67)
could be possible to show, if space
mitted it, that Lear and Gloster, like
Quixo, Falstaff and Hamlet, are ana-
chisms in a world where corporate
is disintegrating, and a new morality
of each for himself is coming to power. Like Quixote they tilt at windmills. Like Cyrano they fight a hundred men alone. Like Eisenslein's Ivan they sprawl on the floor and beg for strength from God. Edmund, Iago and Claudius comit rape upon a fundamental concept of the middle ages—that, alone, man is not man, but a monster. Ulysses puts it well:

"That no man is the lord of anything,
Though in and of him there be much
consisting,
Till he communicate his parts to
others:" (Tr. & Cr., III, 3,115)

The Duke in "Measure for Measure" leaves the same advice with Angelo:

"Thyself and thy belongings
Are not thine own so proper as to waste
Thyself upon thy virtues, they on thee.
Heaven doth with us as we with
torches do,
Not light them for themselves."
(1, 1, 30)

Collective living and collective good faces extinction in the new conflict arising with the merchants' power. So, when Marcus in "Titus Andronicus" screams:

"You sad-fac'd men, people and sons of
Rome,
By uproars sever'd, as a flight of fowl
Scatter'd by winds and high tempes-
tuous gusts,
O, let me teach you how to knit again
This scattered corn into one mutual
sheaf,
These broken limbs again into one
body," (V, 3, 67)

we feel Shakespeare has gone back to his favourite idea of communal life.

Timon, the other great quixote who seriously took Christ's teaching about giving away riches, says:

"Why, I have often wished myself
poorer, that I might come nearer to
you. We are born to do benefits: and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

what better or properer can we call our own than the riches of our friends ?"

Sewell in a moment of exasperation accuses Timon of dreaming like a fool and the "gross foolishness of his philanthrophy". The picture of Jesus, the self-denying, horse-hair-clad son of a carpenter, mouthing phrases of giving away all thou hast, is understandably an uncomfortable one. It is better to dress him up in the decent clothes of a curate of the Church of England, who will not ask silly questions on private property. Unfortunately Shakespeare never appeared to take to the prelates and bishops in his chronicle plays; his Canterburys, Elys, Cranmers and Wolseys are little short of scandalous. His love and respect seem to be wasted on the "bare-foot brothers" and Franciscan friars who lived on onions and thundered against inequity.

To return to the theme—however uncomfortable—of communal life in Shakespeare, "Venus and Adonis" has this line :

"Things growing to themselves are growth's abuse" (166)

once more, the futility of isolation.

And so on to Gonzalo's speech on the commonwealth in the Tempest, a complete picture of primitive communism. How different from and opposed to Reformation ideas of the ideal state ! A comparison with More's "Utopia", written in Antwerp, the business-capital of Europe, the biggest money-market, will reveal at once that whereas More is thinking in terms of absolute power for the mercantile class and destruction of feudal privileges, Shakespeare is harking back to a state of nature that existed before slave-society. If one were to apply mechanically the rules of historical study, one would arrive at the conclusion that Shakespeare, opposing the new class, was a reactionary. Such a study forgets that in England in any case the biggest feudal landlords turned overnight into the biggest merchants. Consider the assets, in land and merchandise, of Essex. Consider Grand Lease whereby the Church forced to hand over the palatinate coal to the Leicester Group, especially Thomas Sutton (Johnson's Volpone). Consider the case of Sir Edmund Knight-marshal, Royal Standard-bearer, owner of gigantic states, owner of hackney carriages in London and tobacco-merchant. To Shakespeare therefore there was no war betwen a dying class and a new progressive class. It was one unrelieved oppression, with one addition. The avaricious, covetise, usury—condemned by all medieval writers—had now found their ideologists apologists under Elizabethan patronage.

III

What medieval preachers, writers and actors constantly pilloried was avarice, the greed for profit which directly challenges and subverts corporate social being. Dante brought the house down by damning to hell the Cohorsine moneylenders, who were enjoying the patronage of the Pope himself. Grosstete equally shocked the neo-respectable gentlemen-merchants by fiercely attacking the Lombard bankers. Dante and Grosstete had the entire medieval tradition behind them as authority, because Gratian had stated explicitly :

> "Whosoever buys a thing, not that he may sell it whole and unchanged, but that it may be a material for fashioning something, he is no merchant. But the man who buys it in order that he **may gain by selling it again** unchanged, and as he bought it, that man is of the buyers and sellers who are cast forth from God's temple."

Having taken the image of Jesus with the whip on the steps of the temple literally, Franciscans defied the Pope himself in order to preach St. Francis's sermon against private property. It was one unbroken war on "appetitus divitiarium infinitus". The enemy was the merchant and the usurer. The merchant was hated in media-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...owns as an **alien,** precisely because ...philosophy of profit and merchandise ...against communal discipline. He was ...erefore described (just like that!) as ...dandae bellua"—monster of inequity— ...his profit was dubbed "turpe lucrum." ...Another recurrent imagery in medieval ...ons and literature is that of the "great ...that swallows up smaller fishes", the ...tous merchant who manipulates prices ...ruins smaller merchants and buyers, ...imports the law of the jungle into cor... ...life. Shakespeare echoes it in ...icles":

"3 Fisherman: Master, I marvel how the fishes live in the sea.

1 Fisherman: Why, as men do a-land —the great ones eat up the little ones. I can compare our rich misers to nothing so fitly as to a whale; 'a plays and tumbles, driving the poor fry before him, and at last devours them all at a mouthful. Such whales have I heard on a' th' land, who never leave gaping till they've swallowed the whole parish, church, steeple, bells and all" (II, 1, 27)

The merchant was considered to have ...mitted an outrage upon the sanctity of ..., because he has violated the elementary ...ciples of Christianity—contentment and ...ality. The discontent of the merchants ... poison that not only infects society, but ...self as well. Says a medieval preacher: "Ne suffreth him nought to have slepe, ne reste, by night ne by day...."

...e world of merchants that Shakespeare ...eates, in "Merchant of Venice" for ...emple, is also based on this uncertainty, ...ecurity and un-Christian worry. When ...anio and Salerino try to guess the ...son of Antonio's melancholy:

"Your mind is tossing on the ocean—" "—had I such venture forth
The better part of my affections would Be with my hopes abroad."
"My wind, cooling my broth Would blow me to an ague—"

we have repeated reference to this violation of social sanctity. Finally, when Salerino clinches it with

"Should I go to church
And see the holy edifice of stone,
And not bethink me straight of dangerous rocks....."

we should consider how much of this is deliberately blasphemous. Shakespeare may well have made the merchant condemn himself in the eyes of the people, if the Church of God reminds him of nothing but dangers to his merchandise. Such an outrageous attitude is well-illustrated in the brilliant Latin sermon of Bromyard on Silver where he suggests that merchants put their trust on the cross of wealth on which their god Silver hangs crucified. They have replaced Jesus with silver because silver works more miracles than Jesus. It makes deaf judges hear, dumb advocates speak, the blind see. Money conquers, money rules. Comparable to it is John of Grimstone's English sermon-sketch:

"Pecunia { maket wrong right / maket day nith / maket frend fo / maket wele wo"

Another Shakespeare play based on the corrupt life of merchants is the "Comedy of Errors". Dromio of Ephesus launches a tirade (II, I) on his master, whose pre-occupation with gold appears to me to be double-edged. It reveals Dromio's mistake, as well as Antipholus's covetise. My view is strengthened by Adriona's description of gold at the end of the scene:

"I see the jewel best enamelled
Will lose his beauty; yet the gold bids still

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

That others touch and, often touching, will
Where gold; and no man that hath a name
By falsehood and corruption doth it shame."

When Shylock cries on his ducats and his daughter and prefers the ducats to the daughter, it is not the Jew in him that speaks, but the covetous. One has only to juxtapose with this Morocco's speech on the gold casket and the indictment in doggerel:

"Many a man his life hath sold
But my outside to behold.
Gilded tombs do worms infold...."

and the larger perspective of Shakespeare's attack on covetise becomes apparent. For Shakespeare defends Shylock the Jew. It is Shylock the usurer that he attacks. And when an old English manuscript gives us the following about merchants:

"In the daytime they are so tormented in tene and labour that at nights they have no rest; they have dreams in plenty and money brok sleep", we are suddenly reminded of Shylock's dream of money-bags.

If further proof were required, the whole "Timon of Athens" exposes human greed in the terrifying proportions of a morality play. Apemantus makes all clear by straightaway picking on the merchant:

"Ap: Art not thou a merchant?
Mer: Ay, Apemantus.
Ap: Traffic confound thee, if the gods will not!
Mer: If traffic do it, the gods do it.
Ap: Traffic's thy god, and thy god confound thee." (I, 1, 241)

Apemantus's strongest credential is:

"Immortal gods, I crave no pelf.....
Rich men sin, and I eat root." (I, 2, 63)

Apemantus thus becomes almost a voice in the wilderness, living on locusts and proclaiming the coming of the Messiah. The Messiah when he does arrive is terrible to look at; it is Timon in fury, the prophet with the whip. The redeemer becomes a destroyer because the people of Athens have become, in Apemantus's words:

"Poor rogues, and usurers' men! bawds between gold and want!" (II, 2, 69)

Shakespeare's ironic presentation of Timon as a prophet, a prophet in reverse, a Jeremiah militant, calling terrible curses down on Bethsaida, becomes apparent in the messianic commandments of Timon at the mock-feast. (III, 6, 74) Moses breaking the tablets could not be fiercer. But mark the epithets:

"detested parasites
"affable wolves"
"fools of fortune" (III, 6, 98)

each tries to pinpoint a crime not only against Timon personally but against society in general.

Critics shrug Timon off with the cryptic remark that he is a misanthrope and hates mankind in general. They deliberately overlook Timon's angry denunciation of the oppressor and the covetous, as opposed to and distinct from the oppressed:

"The greater scorns the lesser: not nature
To whom all sores lay seige, can bear great fortune,
But by contempt of nature.
Raise me this beggar, and deny't that lord;
The senator shall bear contempt hereditary,
The beggar native honour.
It is the pasture lands the rother's side,
The want that makes him lean."

But nature is out of joint because

"the learned pate
Ducks to the golden fool: all is oblique...."

By flattering the rich, the poor have condoned their crime of covetise. Therefore are they all guilty.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Timon, the Jesus, is strong medicine. s difficult for a curate of the Church of gland to speak of him from the pulpit h fingers tucked in the waist-coat. Con- r, further, Timon's description of ciety ruled by jungle-law, of dog eat of each one swallowing others to keep nself alive (IV, 3, 328). Consider, further, mon's challenge to the thieves :

"You must eat men. Yet thanks I must you con
That you are thieves profess'd, that you work not
In holier shapes ; for there is boundless theft
In limited professions. Rascal thieves,
Here's gold.....
The laws, your curb and whip, in their rough power
Have uncheck'd theft. Love not yourselves ; away !
Rob one another. There's more gold : cut throats !
All that you meet are thieves.....
.....and gold confound you howso'er !
Amen."

may not be irrelevant to digress suddenly to "King Lear", and not that the orality that Edmund, Regan and Goneril each is profit and power. The two ird sisters are patent land-grabbers and dmund too starts off by screaming :

"Well, then,
Legitimate Edger, I must have your land." (I, 2, 15)

nce distribution is undone by excess "dissolutions of ancient amities" (I, 2, 150)

e taking place, and Gloster sums up the llapse of old values :

"Love cools, friendships fall off, brothers divide."

d so Albany forecasts the triumph of ngle-law under the new dispensation :

"If that the heavens do not their visible spirits
Send quickly down to tame these vile offences,
It will come,
Humanity must perforce prey on itself,
Like monsters of the deep."

It does not give us the authority to reject Albany as a pessimist any more than Timon may be overlooked on grounds of misanthropy. Albany is forecasting the result of covetise as a general social disease, legalized by the new mercantile class.

If it is argued (as it always is) that Albany's speech refers to a particular situation and particular mood, and that there is no justification for raising Lear to the pedestal of a general symbol of man wronged by the powerful, let us turn to the Dominican Bromyard's "Summa Predicantium". He attacks the rich for providing for their dogs while the poor famish. He quotes the bible, Isaiah, "Deal thy bread to the hungry" and asks, where is it said that dogs must be given the bread that men need? "Bring the needy and harbourless into thy house", he quotes, and asks again, where is it said that dogs must be given shelter and not men? "When thou shalt see the naked, cover him," he quotes, and asks, where does the bible permit the covering of pet apes, rather than naked man? Then he concludes :

"Therefore the aforesaid are not to be called 'men', but cruel sea-monsters that have given suck to the young."

The last is a quotation from Lament, IV, 3. But the point is : Bromyard brings together the image of the hungry, naked, harbourless, needy man, along with the imagery of the sea-monster who denies him charity. It does not require much effort, therefore, to note that Lear is precisely the hungry, the naked, the harbourless, the needy man. He has just been refused

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

shelter. And Albany by connecting the speech with the imagery of "sea-monster" puts himself in a proper perspective of medieval wrath against the rich.

Cordelia, says Danby, is a Christ. She redeems nature. He forgets to add, she is a Christ who leads a holy war against the sinners to establish a Jerusalem.

Timon is a Christ too, but he has no Alcibiades with him; he merely has Rigoletto's tongue, not Sparafucile's dagger. He therefore whips with his tongue. Phrynia and Timmandra ask gold of him. So do the painter and the poet. They know nothing better. But the wrathful messiah does not forgive. He says:

"What a god's gold
That he is worshipp'd in a baser temple
Than where swine feed," (V, 1, 48).

and scourges them away.

Thus, when Romeo says to the apothecary,

"There is thy gold—worse poison to men's souls,
Doing more murder in this loathsome world
Than these poor compounds that thou mayst not sell.
I sell thee poison: thou hast sold me none," (Romeo & Juliet, V, 1, 80)

we can safely assume it is no mere passing expression of Shakespeare's theatrical flair; it springs from the depths of his belief, his hatred of the new covetousness.

Thus alone can we understand the Bastard's speech on commodity in "King John", commodity in Elizabethanese meaning profit, turpe lucrum. Very roundly, very medievally, the Bastard proclaims:

"that same purpose-changer, that sly devil
That broker that still breaks the pate of faith,
That daily break-vow, he that wins of all,
Of kings, of beggars, old men, young men, maids,
.....That smooth-fac'd gentleman, tickling commodity,
Commodity, the bias of the world,
.....this vile-drawing bias,
This sway of motion, this commodity,
Makes it take head from all indifferency,
From all direction, purpose, course, intent:
And this same bias, this commodity,
This bawd, this broker, this all-changing word,

Wycliffe, Bromyard or Latimer could not be more furious. The withering irony conclusion that the Bastard draws sums Shakespeare's view of the new man, Renaissance man:

"Gain be my lord, for I will worship thee
Covetise deified.

IV

The Renaissance attitude of Commodity is summed up in a faux-pas made by no less a representative of the new age than Christopher Columbus.

"Gold," says Columbus, "constitutes treasure, and he who possesses it has all he needs in this world, as also the means of rescuing souls from Purgatory, and restoring them to the enjoyment of Paradise."

Columbus could hardly speak otherwise since his voyage was financed by the house of the spanish Jew Luis de San Angel. Magellan was financed by the Antwerp firm of Christopher de Haro and Co. The very brave sabre-rattling between Spain and England and the trails of the Armada were a mere facade of the actual financial war. English manipulation of the continental bourses stopped Spanish credit and, for a year, prevented the equipment of the Armada; finally continental companies, notably the Hamburgh Company, financed the anti-Armada preparations and were primarily responsible for Elizabeth's vic-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The English adventurers and staplers
re occupied not so much with patriotism
with their struggle against the Hanseatic
ence. They adventured, voyaged, im-
ted and exported, but prices in England
up by 300 to 400 per cent.

Is it accidental that while Drayton
s in praise of the voyagers, Greene's
ando" is built around Africa, Marlowe
is his "Tamburlaine" on Asia, Massin-
places his "Renegado" in Tunis, Beau-
and Fletcher's "Island Princess" can
around Spice and Clove Islands, Shakes-
e's reference to the voyages is perfunc-
and, often, downright condemnatory ?
cles, II, Prologue, 27 and II, 1, 63 ;
er's Tale, IV, 4, 578 ; Tempest, II, 1, 1)
ment of the casus belli in "Troilus and
ssida"—the ship-launching Helen—and
comparison with merchandise are
kespeare's eloquent verdict on the great
ges.

V

Where Shakespeare comes still more
long into conflict with the Reformation
dor despotism. Obviously far more
ety is called for here, because the
er of Revels and the city authorities
unlikely to pass over papist subversion
equanimity. The Eastward Ho inci-
landing playwrights in jail, is only one
ndreds of clashes. Shakespeare him-
repeatedly got involved in various
es, the Essex incident and the censor-
of the deposition scene in Richard II,
change of name from Oldcastle to
ff, and the change of Brooke in
lsor" to Broome in First Folio being
some of the tiffs that resulted.
illyard in his "Elizabethan World-
re" gives us a mass of information on
conception of an ordered universe that
dor times inherited from the middle
What he neglects is the one basic
difference that has crept in between the two. The medieval concept of Order was an attempt—however inept—to provide a scientific basis to a primitive Christian conception of equality and harmony. The Elizabethan thinkers introduced into this Order the anti-Christian concept of degree and inequality and almost blasphemously placed an earthly sovereign at the head to preside over it all.

Medievals started from a conception of benevolent nature.

> "the very least as feeling her care and the greatest not exempted from her power."

So says Hooker in "Ecclesiastical Polity". Thus Order is a leveller, not a differentiator. There is no thought of an earthly king when he announces :

> "See we not plainly that obedience of creatures unto the law of nature is the stay of the whole world ?"

Spenser in "Hymn of Love" speaks of creation :

> "Air hated earth and water hated fire
> Till Love relented their rebellious ire.
> He then took them, and tempering goodly well
> Their contrary dislikes with loved means,
> Did place them all in order and compel
> To keep themselves within their sundry reigns
> **Together linkt with adamantine chains**
> Yet so as that in every living wight
> **They mix themselves** and show their kindly might.....
> ....Through which now all these things that are contained
> Within this goodly cope, **both most and least**
> Their being have."

This sums up a picture of Christian equality. Such was the medieval attitude to order.

Elyot in "Governor" speaks of God's

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"estates" and "degrees". But the degree descends from God, to heavenly ministers, hierarchies, the four elements, spheres, creatures including birds, beasts and men, herbs, trees, fishes. Each kind

> "have a peculiar disposition appropered unto them by God their creator, so that everything is in order."

Not a word here of Kings, or classification of human beings into ruler and ruled. On the contrary, all mankind is lumped together as a single rung in the universal ladder.

But with Haklyut's "Principal Voyages" we enter a new, qualitatively different phase. The queen, the benevolent despot, has

> "obtained for her merchant large and loving privileges."

The state is being rebuilt on the ruins of decayed feudalism with absolute power for the Tudors and gold, deified by Columbus, is now the only standard. Thinkers begin to come forward with new interpretations of the concept of Order.

Sir Walter Raleigh in his "History of the World" brazenly puts forward the new propaganda:

> "Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing and neglect them as unnecessary and vain? Certainly no. For that infinite wisdom of God....hath also ordained kings, dukes or leaders of the people, magistrates, judges and other degrees of men."

Under mask of order, Raleigh defends riches and absolute monarchy. The principal content of medieval Order, community and equality, is here coolly jettisoned.

A typical Renaissance Englishman is the abject Henry Peachum, who, in "The Compleat Gentleman", manages to strike the lowest that human spinelessness can reach:

> "Shall we not acknowledge a nobility in man of greater perfection, of nobler form, and prince of these?"

Again,

> "Noble or Gentlemen ought to be preferred in fees, honours, offices and dignities of command and government before the common people....We ought to give credit to a Noble or Gentleman before any of the inferior sort. He must not be arrested or pleaded against upon cosenage."

And so on and so forth, in grovelling idolatry.

The mass of naive propaganda-literature sinks sometimes to shameless blasphemy. Take, for example, Thomas Blundeville's "Three Moral Treatises" which has, among numerous gems of flattery, the following:

> "For justice is of law the end,
> The law the Prince's work, I say;
> The Prince God's likeness doth portend
> Who over all must bear the sway."

John Case in "De Sphaera Civitatis" outrages elementary sense of Christian propriety by picturing Elizabeth as the Primum Mobile, the master-sphere of the universe. And Sir John Davies's "Orchestra" links the moon and her planets with Elizabeth and her courtiers:

> "With hand in hand interlinked with
> sweet
> Making fair honour to their sovereign
> queen."

That Shakespeare was a Catholic is not practically proved. But apart from this, producing a rogues' gallery of kings in his plays, Shakespeare defies the Reformation trend and harks back to an age when to be king was to be precariously poised at the edge of sin. As Cardan puts it in "Comforte":

> "Palaces of princes are open to envy, hate, grudge, poison and persecution."

Shakespeare's chronicle plays seem based on this single line, because a more confusing welter of civil war, murder, hatred and anxiety can hardly be imagined. Because to make a man king is automatically an

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...sult upon the sanctity of corporate life. ...shocks the medieval conscience of equa... It gives the lie to homilies such as ...Expordium which insists that ...rich and poor alike without distinc... tion of persons are from one father Adam....the rich and the poor are alike and equal."

...contradicts the parable of Lazarus and ...es, the punishment of the rich merely ...cause he is rich. The Reformation tric... ...r whereby the sovereign and her barons ...almost deified and made cosmic forces ...s counter to Nicholas Bozon's sermon: "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted.."

...Shakespeare's kings—Macbeth, Claud... ...Richard III, Henry IV, John—are ...undrels, with a penchant for infanticide. ...ry VI, Edward IV, Richard II are at ...t febrile, drooling, lonesome men. As ...Henry V, in whom the critics pin all ...ir hope of finding Shakespeare the ...alist, D.A. Traversi in his significant ...k "An Approach to Shakespeare" has ...e the first breach. He finds Henry V ...intolerable megalomaniac. Further ...dy will no doubt reveal that Shakes... ...re (as carefully as he could, of course) ...ated in him a paranoiac; Henry is espe... ...lly fond of screaming threats against ...children and the maids of France. He ...ers the massacre of French prisoners. ...never is he tired of thanking the Lord ...his favour.

Critics assume that the cruelty of Henry ...justified because his war in France is jus... ...ed. This is astounding negligence be... ...se the very first scene of the play undermines the so-called cause; we see the Archbishop and his associate plan to engage the King's attention by a French adventure in order to save the monasteries. As for the ridiculous Salic law, the preposterous confusion of names—Pharamond, Charlemagne, Meisen, Elbe and Sala, Pepin, Childeric, Blithild, Clothair, Capet, Charles of Lorraine, Lady Lingare, Lewis, Lewis X, Isabel, Ermengare—if it is to be taken seriously, we would have to forget the way Shakespeare writes his satire and accept Gobbo's logic about Margery, his mother, as serious genealogy.

The chronicle plays therefore do not tow the servile reformation line. The one quotation critics have succeeded in fiinding out of the mass of references to Kings, a quotation they flout as Shakespeare's belief in divine origin of Kings (Claudius on divinity hedging a king) is the sheerest irony. Claudius is at the moment in possession of his brother's throne and wife, has tried to kill Hamlet, and in the same breath he calls himself divine. Far from being proof of kingly divinity, I think it is Shakespeare's comment on kingly divinity.

Because Shakespeare had behind him medieval hatred of pride, of royal vice, Dame Fortune swinging the wheel of fortune brings down the prince and the magistrate, and they are taught a belated but terrible lesson for transgressing God's law. As Bromyard asks,

> "Where are the evil princes of the world, the kings, earls and other lords of estate....who ruled their subjects harshly and cruelly?"

It is not without significance that the great bogey of the time, Machiavelli, was a defender of royal autocracy.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI
The Demosthenes of India

B. N. SANKHDER

It has almost become proverbial that wherever Bismarck, the great German Statesman went, he was the greatest man present. The same is true to a limited extent, of the loin-clothed saint-statesman Mahatma Gandhi and of his unique disciple—Nehru. But the solitary individual to whom it is thoroughly applicable among the brilliant luminaries of Indian Renaissance is Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. It would not be fallacious to say that Sastri was one of the greatest speakers of his age; and throughout the world, wherever he went and spoke, he found himself totally uncontested, unchallenged and unrivalled.

An interesting story is related by K. P. Kashava Memon in his article published some twentyeight years ago in *The Times of Ceylon*; about 'the splendid eloquence', excellent choice of words and arresting influence of Sastri as a speaker. He writes:

"In 1921 Mr. Sastri had to attend as India's representative, the Imperial Conference in London. Mr. Lloyd George happened to be present at the conference. After carrying out his part of the programme he was about to go away to fulfil another engagement when Sastri rose to speak. Mr. Lloyd George wanted to hear him for a few minutes and then go but the Demosthenes of India kept the wizard of Wales, waiting there spell-bound for a long time. The majestic flow of Sastri's eloquence had a compelling force which even Lloyd George found it difficult to resist."[1]

Sastri differed from his contemporary 'the uncrowned King of Bengal'; and distinguished orator—Surendranath Banerjee, in regard to the preparation of his orations. In *A Nation in Making*, Surendranath Banerjee who laid sufficient stress on the elaborate equipment of the speeches, quotes John Bright, favourably in his support that "a speech is not worth listening to" unless it has been "carefully prepared".

In the same context Surendranath narrates an incident that on his way to attend the Congress Session at Poona when he stayed for a day at Allahabad and reproduced his Poona Presidential speech to his son-in-law, Colonel Mukherjee, the latter was so much astonished that he felt that the speech would have taken "twenty years in the making."[2]

The sole purpose of quoting Surendranath is to emphasize the effortless manner in which Sastri used to deliver his most enviable speeches. In his characteristic, inimitable style, Sastri described in a letter to Krishnaswami Aiyar, in 1935,[3] the influence of his delightful speeches, which he delivered in the Mysore University.

Bangalore City
January 24, 1935

Dear Friend,

Here I have just finished a trilogy on Gokhale. I spoke for an hour and a half each day to an audience which was 3,000 the first day, 4,000 the second, and 5,000 the third. The attention I commanded was so profound, I felt flattered and proud. I had

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ades. The Vice-Chancellor was struck ...k with astonishment and read a three ...utes praise for me, calling my performance ...ur de force. To me the greatest wonder ...that I felt neither pain nor exhaustion. ...and said I was performing a sacred ... like a parent's obsequies and was ...fore immune from disease or infirmity.

Yours affectionately
V. S. Srinivasan

...lthough Sastri lacked "the rich and ...brant imagery of Lal Mohan Ghose, the ...energy of Pherozeshah Mehta or the ...estuous passion of Surendranath Baner- ...nevertheless he had something in him ...h enabled him to steal a march over his ...temporaries. His love for "structural ...rtion 'of the speech', his delicate sensi- ...ess to the music of words and a scienti- ...ppreciation of its power" were bewitching. ...it looked as if, to use Surendranath's ...ression in a different context, he had laid, ...the chambers of his mind a store house of ...e thoughts and fine vocabulary, ready at ...command to form varied combinations". ...words and thoughts "moved forward in ...ed procession for him to pick and choose ...modify, for the deliverance of his ...sage".[4] His heart inspired ; the mind ...ly obeyed and the result was a ...ating oration. The words burnt, glowed ...sparkled and 'set his soul on fire'. The ...t touched the tongue with 'celestial fire'. ...Gardiner's eulogy of Lord Asquith's ...eches that "the sentences of his ordinary ...eches marched into action like disciplined ...s marshalled and drilled" and that "every ...d had its mark,"[5] is applicable in no ...a degree to this one time school teacher ...dras.

The music of his words, the smoothness of his delivery, the development of his thought brick by brick like a master architect, and the perfect polished finish of his speeches, which made somebody call him out of envious digust 'the silver-tongued orator of the East'[6] challenged comparison with 'the supreme masters of the spoken word' such as Burke, Carlyle, Froude and Morley.

Sastri had unique self-confidence. He would address an assembly of world's seasoned statesmen and politicians on the baffling problems of international relations, disarmament and peace, in the same unruffled manner, and with the sams poise, efficacy and authority, with which he taught his students the simple rules of pronunciation and grammer, while working as a teacher in the Municipal High School, Mayavaram, in 1888 or subsequently, in 1899 on becoming Headmaster of the Hindu High School, Triplicane.

Rev. A. G. Fraser was so much under the magic spell of Sastri that he called him "the greatest master of English", and went further to the extent of saying : "It would be easier to find a married man who has not quarrelled with his wife than a listener who has not been impressed by this man of exquisite words".[7]

All over the globe Sastri had a large circle of admirers, nay worshippers of his excellent command over the English language which, to mention only half a dozen, included men of such high distinction like Lord Birkenhead, Thomas Smart, Stanley Baldwin, Earl Balfour, Lloyd George and Mahatma Gandhi.[8]

In the conservative estimate of Balfour he ranked among 'the five best speakers' under the sun.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Like his other speeches, Sastri's speech on disarmament at the Washington Conference created an unprecedented stir and took the whole civilized world by storm. A distinguished American scholar Elmer Davis commented, after the speech, that Sastri spoke English a shade better, if anything, than any other member of the British Delegation. Incidentally the delegation included men of no less repute and accomplishments than Earl Balfour himself.

The Imperial Conference of 1921, discovered in Sastri a world orator. Hypnotized so much by the profundity, mellifluous flavour of expression, fluency or the so-called 'gift of the gab' of the Valangaiman Brahmin, that the Briton in spite of his undiluted conservatism, was forced to welcome him into the Privy Council.[9] London must have congratulated herself, for the award of the Freedom of the city to Sastri, as some American congratulated the British Empire, for possessing such a superb speaker, after he had heard Sastri's speech.

No one knew that a poor school boy from 'the slumbering East' would attain so much prominence and distinction as to teach the West at the second Assembly of the League of Nations, in 1921, the principles of politics, Hindu ideals and statecraft, paradoxically, in tones unknown and expressions unfamiliar.

Whether in India, Australia, Canada or in South Africa, Sastri pleaded for ideals which were dear to his heart, and ideas which he cherished throughout his life. Although circumstances forced him to accept official appointments, nevertheless, he was not merely a representative of the British Crown ; he was the de facto exponent of the sentiments of the Indian people. Sarojini Naidu paid him the highest compliment by calling him the greatest ambassador of Indian thought and [illegible] after Rabindranath Tagore.[10]

A moderate by political opinion, [illegible] liberalism, like Mahatma Gandhi's [illegible] of non-violence and satyagraha, was based the solid moral force of his personality. nationalist to the backbone, Sastri discover a pragmatic approach to politics and [illegible] tism.

On May 14, 1930, Sastri addressed meeting of the British M. Ps. in London Indian problems. The speech was so [illegible] forceful and convincing that it became possible for a hardboiled Torry Colonel reserve his comments. In tremendous [illegible] and excitement he burst out !

"If this Man is one of the moderates, on earth are the extremists like ?" [11]

We may conclude this futile endeavour to assess the greatness of Sastri as an orator with the remarks of Mahadeva Desai

"There are very few men in our public life of the versatility and his wonderful mastery of the English language. Purist there are many, but none who has Sastri's, mastery the speech and the pen. There are many who have his eloquence but none of them can come near him in his acuteness of perception, wisdom, and knowledge of affairs. What Johnson said of Burke may be truly said of Sastri : "He is an extraordinary man. His stream of mind is prepetual".

---

1. K. P. Kashava Memon : Times of Ceylon, Sunday Illustrated, January 17, 1937 : Srinivasa Sastri, the Servant of India.

2. S. P. Saksena Ed. : Indian Autobiographies, Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 86-87.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

T. N. Jagadisan Ed. :
ers of Srinivasa Sastri, Asia Publishing
se, 1963, p. 277.
S. P. Saksena Ed. :
n Autobiographies, Oxford University
s, 1951, p. 87.
K. P. Kashava Memon :
Times of Ceylon, Sunday Illustrated,
ary 17, 1937, Srinivasa Sastri, the Ser-
of India.
It was Thomas Smart who dubbed him as the Empire's Silver Tongued Orator.

Janus :
Ceylon Daily News, January 16, 1937 ;
ic Voice of India No. One."
Mahatma Gandhi was a great admirer of Sastri. He was so much impressed by his command over the English language that he requested him to revise his autobiography :
'The Experiments with Truth.' When Gandhi received the news of Sastri's death, whom he used to regard as his elder brother, he burst into tears and wrote :

"Death has removed not only from us but from the world one of India's best sons. That he loved India passionately everyone who knew him could see.....His Sanskrit learning was as great as, if not greater than, his English. I must permit myself to say no more save this that, though we differed in politics, our hearts were one, and could never think that his patriotism was less than the tallest patriot. Sastri, the man lives though his body is reduced to ashes" (The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri—A Political Biography by P. Kodanda Rao—p. 436 Asia Publishing House, 1963 p. 436.)

9. Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri became a Privy Councillor in 1921.

10. P. Kodanda Rao : The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri—A Political Biography, Asia Publishing House, 1963. p. 426.
"Next to Ravindranath Tagore, Sastri was the greatest ambassador and interpreter of Indian Culture abroad".—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

11. The Indian Review, Volume XXXI, 1930, p. 428, "Mr. Sastri In England".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR IN BIHAR

GIRISH MISHRA

BIHAR is the second largest state of India from the point of view of aggregate population (4,64,55,610) and the 3rd in order of density of population (694).[1]

During 1951-'61 there was an increase of 20 per cent in the population of the state. If we take the preceding 50 years (i.e. the period 1911-'61) the growth rate has been 64 per cent (i.e. an absolute growth of over 18 million). The increased population on the same land area has meant a higher density per square mile, the average figure going from 319 (in 1921) to 694 (in 1961). The all-India figure of 358 is far lower than what it is for Bihar.

Bihar is one of the most ruralised states in India. According to 1961 census, over 91 per cent of the total population, lives in villages. Bihar has only 153 towns while Andhra, Gujrat, M.P., Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore, Punjab, U.P. and West Bengal have 223, 181, 219, 339, 266, 231, 189, 267 and 184 towns respectively. In all the districts except Patna and Singhbhum, the percentage of the rural population to the total population is above 90 per cent.

The rate of urbanisation in Bihar is very slow. The percentage of urban to total population has risen from 4.5 to 8 (approx.) during 1921-61. But even this has not made any impact on the occupational pattern. According to 1961 census, of the total working population 53.87 per cent were cultivators, 22.97 per cent were agricultural labourers, 3.39 per cent were engaged in mining, quarrying, live-stock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations, orchards and allied activities; 5.50 per cent were working in the household industries; 2.22 per cent were engaged in manufacturing other than household industry; 0.56 per cent were employed in construction work, 2.72 per cent were working in trade and commerce, 1.20 per cent were engaged in transport, storage and communications and 7.57 per cent were employed in other services. Most of the towns are over-grown villages and not true urban communities. The increase in the urban population during the last decades was basically the result of the expansion of industries. Most of the cities in the Gangetic plain have grown owing to their being centres of Government administration with facilities for education and communications. No scope was provided for easing the pressure on land.

The proportion of earning populations actually dependent on agriculture increased from 78.7 per cent in 1931 to 87.3 per cent in 1951 while the proportion of earning population dependent on industry has gone down from 4.3 per cent to 2.5 per cent. This indicates, in a sense, increasing ruralisation. Thus, we see that Bihar's economy is not only highly ruralised, but it is also very undiversified.

The agricultural population in rural areas forms the bulk of the population. Cultivators, labourers and their dependents are in a relatively large number in Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. The predominance of agriculture is most marked in the North Bihar plain, particularly in the districts of Champaran and Saran.

In 1951, over 86 per cent of the total population was directly dependent on agriculture. The 1961 census revealed a significant change. Cultivators and agricultural labourers together with those engaged in forestry etc., were found to constitute a little over 80 per cent of the total occupied population in 1961. But this does not mean that the absolute burden on agriculture has gone down. In 1951, 11.38 million people were working in agriculture while in 1961, 14.78 million people were found to be working i.e. an increase of 3.39 millions.

The number of cultivators has increased by 27.1 per cent while the number of agricultural

1. This is true only if we consider the major states.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ers has gone up by 36.5 per cent. This ...ects the inevitable process of pauperisation. ...e cumulative effect of intense demographic ...ssures, slow urbanisation, scarcity of non-...icultural employment and stagnant agriculture ...een wide-spread causing rural unemployment ...under-employment.[2] Not only the absolute ...er of agricultural labourers on a limited area ...e gone up, but Bihar's share in the total land-...agricultural workers has gone up from 11.7 ...cent to 14.03 per cent. On the other hand ...r's percentage share in the total net area sown ...e gone down from 7.71 to 6.07 and also the ...r's percentage share in the total number of ...ators has decreased from 11.67 per cent in ...to 10.41 per cent in 1961.

From the above figures, the following facts ...ge: (i) the net cultivated area in Bihar has ...d to keep pace with the growth in the net ...ivated area in the country as a whole ; (ii) the ...th in the number of cultivators has been pro-...ionately lower than that in the number of ...ultural workers owing mainly to the conver-... of cultivators into labourers ; because ...ther possibility of the settlement of labourers ...de the state on a faster rate is not plausible. ...shall see this while discussing emigration; (iii) both in 1951 and in 1961, the land area ...ble per agricultural worker in Bihar was ...e than what it was for the country as a ...e. In 1951 Bihar shared 11.67 per cent of ...ators and 11.77 per cent of agricultural ...rers of the country but only 7.71 per cent ...e total land area of the country. In 1961, ...d 10.41 per cent of cultivators and 14.05 ...cent of agricultural workers living on 6.07 ...cent the total land area only. Further, in ... there were 32 cultivators and 15 agricultural ...rers per 100 net sown acres in Bihar against ...all-India figure of 25 cultivators and 10 agri-...ral labourers. In 1961, Bihar had 53 culti-...rs and 22 labourers per 100 sown acres ...st the all-India figures of 31 cultivators and ...labourers.

In 1961, Bihar had 67,665 inhabited villages ...the total rural population of 4,25,41,690. ...total number of agricultural labourers in Bihar was 44,18,475 consisting of 25,74,239 males and 18,44,236 females.

The district-wise distribution of agricultural labourers was as follows :

Districts	Total Population	Total number of agricultural labourers
Patna	29,49,746	2,96,363
Gaya	36,47,892	4,34,364
Shahabad	32,18,017	2,80,999
Saran	35,84,918	2,38,823
Champaran	30,06,211	4,56,763
Muzaffarpur	41,18,398	4,38,321
Darbhanga	44,13,027	5,42,889
Monghyr	33,87,082	3,64,618
Bhagalpur	17,11,136	2,01,227
Saharsa	17,23,566	2,29,110
Purnea	30,89,128	3,59,672
Santhal Pargana	26,75,203	1,24,396
Palamau	11,87,789	1,38,182
Hazaribagh	23,96,441	1,10,070
Ranchi	21,38,565	67,506
Dhanbad	11,58,610	24,797
Singhbhum	20,49,911	1,30,375

The bulk of the agricultural workers come from scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward castes. At most of the places, the poor people of the upper castes also work as agricultural labourers ; but they do not form a comparatively big proportion of their total population. The people in Bihar are not only extremely poor and illiterate but they are socially very backward. The local custom does not permit the upper caste people viz. Brahmins, Bhumihars, Rajputs and Kayasthas to handle the plough. Thus the land-owners amongst these communities depend mostly on hired or attached labour for most of the agricultural operations. This system has a bad impact on the productivity of land. The hired or attached labourers or the cultivators, without any ownership on land, cannot have any interest in making either permanent improvements in land or in putting adequate inputs.

During the British regime, the agricultural labourers of Bihar were semi-slaves. The land for settlement and the debt made them tied to the owners of land as 'Bandhua Kamias' (i.e. tied labourers). Shri Dinkar Desai quoting an

2. A Techno-economic Survey of Bihar—...ER, ...s

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

official report in his article published in 'Indian Sociologist, July, 1942,' wrote that the average agricultural labourer was not infrequently compelled in times of stress to mortgage his personal liberty. In return for a small sum of money which he might happen to need at that moment, he agreed to serve the man from whom he had borrowed. The money was not repaid, nor was it intended to be repaid, but the borrower remained a life-long bond-slave of his creditor. For his work he merely received an inadequate dole of food and to all intents and purposes, was in the position of a medieval serf. The serf is called by various names such as Kamia, Jan, Jana, Janouri, Banihar, Banihara, Asami, Harwar-Marwar, etc.

Without the permission of the landlords, the serf was not free to go anywhere or to work for others. The families of Kamias were also obliged to become the Kamias of the landlords concerned. They had to render 'begar' (i.e. forced labour) at a very low wage. They were economically very poor and socially and culturally extremely backward. As they came mostly from lower castes, they were forbidden from touching the body, meals and water of the upper caste-people. In short, they had to live a life of poverty, slavery and insult.

The freedom movement and the Harijan movement launched under the leadership of Gandhiji aroused a new hope in them and their struggle for a new life began.

After 1947, each caste got the right to equality without any discrimination. Facilities in respect of education, settlement and employment were provided. After the abolition of zamindari, forced labour has disappeared from most of the places. The exaction of forced labour is punishable under Article 23(1) of the Constitution. Thus they are legally free but economic compulsions are still there. Laws have been enacted to protect them from the clutches of the money-lenders and provisions have been made to give them land for settlement. Vinoba Bhave's movement was also directed at ending landlessness.

But in spite of all the laws and pious hopes, no basic change has taken place in their economic conditions. Still they are just like slaves groaning under the weight of indebtedness.

It is sometimes said that the people in ... state are relatively lethargic and are prone ... be satisfied with a low standard of living ... than exert for economic betterment and as ... result of this, the cultural practices are poor ... intensive cultivation rare. There is some ... in these impressions but I do not believe ... they reflect in any way on the inherent qual... of the people.

Let us now consider the situation in ... A sample survey of land-holdings and ... tivation was carried out in the state in 1954-... The number of individual holdings was estim... at 6.1 million comprising agricultural land ... 17 million acres. The average size of an ... vidual holding was thus 2.8 acres but the ... common holding was under one acre. Indivi... holdings of sizes up to 5 acres constituted ab... 85 per cent of the total number of holdings ... they comprised less than 45 per cent of the t... area, while the number of holdings above 10 a... formed less than 5 per cent of the total hold... but comprised 30 per cent of the total area ... The number of holdings below 5 acres form... about 78 per cent of the total holdings with ab... 35 per cent of the total area in 1954-55 a... against 77 per cent of the total number of hold... ings with about 32 per cent of the total area ... 1950-51. Broadly speaking, in 1954-55, 78.8 ... cent of the rural families owned agricultural la... while 21.2 per cent were landless. The uneq... distribution of land is a contributory cause ... inefficiency in agriculture. If cost accounting ... applied, agriculture is not a profitable indust... except for the people with large land holdings ... As the uneconomic holdings predominate, prod... ability is negligible. There has arisen a contr... diction in agriculture. The cultivators holdi... less than 15 acres of land cannot pay more ... the labourers because theirs is a losing industry ... On the other hand, the agricultural labourer ... cannot even keep body and soul together wit... the traditional wage.

In Bihar, there are two types of agricultural ... labourers: (i) Kamias and (ii) Chhuttas (i.e. ... free labourers). We have said something of the ... Kamias. Besides them, there are Chhuttas who ... are not tied to any particular peasant. They ... may enter into an agreement to work for a land... lord for a specific period by borrowing some

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...or a piece of land. At some places, it ...erred that the money will be deemed to have ...e paid off after a year or so. Most of the ...r craftsmen have also joined the ranks of the ...ass for whole-time or part-time work because ...crafts are not in prosperous conditions.

During the pre-independence period, the ...rers had to sign 'Kamiauti' agreements to ...ans for marriage ceremonies, thus tying them- ...to the landlords. Though in the eyes of ...Kamiauti system has been abolished, in ...e it still continues. The hereditary ...s still exist. The great-grandfather ...wed money on the occasion of the marriage ...ony of the grandfather and made him a ...e. the same thing was repeated in the case ...e marriage ceremony of the father and so ...The agricultural labourer during the old ...used to get 1 to 1.25 mds of rice and ...one sari, one kurti (or 'Jhula') and hardly ...four rupees for his son's marriage from ...land lord. The entire borrowing amounted ...25 rupees (approximately). The debt was ...paid back in the father's life-time and was ...d to the son and thus went on accumulating. ...me places, we find three living genera- ...as Kamias. Even if the Kamias want to ...back the loans, the landlords find some ...e to refuse acceptance. The agricultural ...rers are compelled to leave their hearth and ...because of the intensified oppressions. In ...es, a 60-year old labourer will have to ...e all sorts of abuses. Even a child of the ...rd will address him in filthy language ...he will have to bear it silently; but in the ..., he has greater freedom. None can ...d him to ply his rickshaw, if he does not ...to, His earning is comparatively higher. ...e the labourers leave the villages. This ...be called 'distress migration'. The young, ...y, and more adventurous people migrate ...the villages leaving behind children, women, ...healthy and the less enterprising part of the ...lation. It is not easy to measure the impact ...ch migrations on the local economy, but ...e it is forced on the people by sheer ...mic impulse resulting in the above pattern, it ...med to be adverse. The landlords put ...cles in the way of their working elsewhere in the same area. The rich peasants combine together and apply social and economic sanctions against them. In some areas, the old Kamias are as much as 60 per cent of the total population.

These days, the landlords often take thumb-impressions of the labourers on pieces of blank paper thus the labourer is always in the clutches of the landlord.

The following table shows the percentage distribution of agricultural labour households with and without land.

Period	Percentage of Agricultural Labour Households	
	With land	Without land
1950-51	64.11	35.80
1956-57	61.22	38.78

Source:— Agricultural Labour in India, Vol. XIV Bihar (1962).

The proportion of households without land increased from 36 per cent in 1950-51 to 39 per cent in 1956-57. The growth of this class may be accounted for by the system of land tenures, by the increase of absentee landlords, by the transfer of land from the hands of their creditors, by the deteriorating man-land ratio, by the displacement of village crafts and industries due to the spread and use of machine-made products, by the gradual transformation of the old village economy resting on custom and payment in kind into a price economy based on contract. It is also seen that in a normal decade when there are no famines or epidemics, the landless labourers tend to increase faster than the rest of the rural population. In villages we witness an agrarian structure of a pyramidal character, with a small number of landlords owning large tracts of land and at the bottom thousands of farmers owning small plots and landless labourers. According to the report of the Bihar Unemployment Committee (1960), the total redundant population depending on land was 43,78,400. This surplus agricultural population sunk in abject poverty is one of the formidable obstacles to the planned economic development of the state.

There has been a large increase in the proportion of attached labour households, to some extent, owing to the employment of farm servants

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in large numbers, on account of the resumption of lands for personal cultivation by big land-owners as a result of the land reforms.

During the 1956-57 Agricultural Labour Enquiry, earning strength of the household was composed of earners and earning dependents. An earner was one whose income was sufficient for his own maintenance, and an earning dependent was one whose earnings were considered to be inadequate for his own maintenance. The family size in 1956-57 was 4.8 indicating an increase of 0.3 persons over that of 1950-51. The wage-earning strength, however, had declined from 2.2 in 1950-51 to 1.85 in 1956-57. Of the total earning strength of 1.85 persons in 1956-57, 1.18 were men, 0.57 women and 0.10 children. Men and children maintained same relative importance at both the points of time, while women showed a decline in their number from 0.9 in 1950-51 to 0.57 in 1956-57.

For the bulk of the labour in rural areas agricultural employments are the main source of livelihood. Employment in agriculture is seasonal, intermittent and on a limited scale. The holdings are of small size. Hence the increasing pressure of population on land results in the deterioration of employment opportunities. The agricultural labourers are compelled to search for employment outside the agricultural sector. They have to migrate to find employment in industries and other sectors. Not only this but the employment available in agriculture is meagre, uncertain, seasonal and at low wages. "Wages in this field of primary production are at a low level, firstly because of low farm incomes due to defective organisation, and secondly due to the unorganised nature and ineffective bargaining position of the agricultural labourers."[3] The landlords often succeed in their efforts of disrupting the labour movement by arousing caste feelings, instituting concocted criminal cases and exploiting their internal dissensions. The police officials and revenue officials usually are hand in glove with them.

The demand for labour on the farms depends on various factors viz. the nature of crops grown, soil fertility, the size of cultivated holdings, climate, intensity of cultivation and the general agrarian prosperity. There are few agricultural units which employ labourers throughout the year. Most of the units employ casual and seasonal agricultural labour. From the point of view of supply, the labour available on farms is usually over-abundant. Agriculture is usually conducted on family basis. There is also under-employment and unemployment in the off-season. During the peak seasons such as sowing, transplanting and harvesting, large numbers of labourers get employment; but during other periods they have to sit idle or go out in search of employment. Thus the insufficiency or non-availability of work is the main cause of under-employment and unemployment. Disguised unemployment is also there; but it is very difficult to determine its extent with sufficient accuracy. The Kamaias are in relatively constant employment. The women and children are employed in less strenuous work. They seek employment only to supplement the family income. They are paid at a lower rate. Their employment results in pulling down the volume of employment as also earning capacity of adult male workers.

The wage-rates vary from region to region. They depend upon rainfall, soil fertility, irrigation facilities, the crop pattern, the size and distribution of holdings, the proportion of different categories of households, the development of rural industries, industrial prosperity of the region, mobility of labour, custom, the type of labour, and the age and sex composition of labourers. Agricultural wages are usually lower than industrial wages owing to low agrarian prosperity, excessive supply of labour on farms and the unorganised and illiterate nature of agricultural labour.

Wages are usually paid in cash, kind and cash-and-kind. If a labourer is employed for the whole day, it means he has to work for 10 to 12 hours with a break of 1 to 1½ hours in the noon.

In 1956-57, 27.21 per cent of the total wages was paid in cash, 65.29 per cent was paid in kind and 7.50 per cent was paid in both kind and cash.[4] The system of cash payments is

3. Agricultural Labour in India Vol. XIV —Bihar Page 24 (1962).

4. Agricultural Labour in India Vol. XIV Bihar (1962) P. 34.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in vogue in the cash crops producing areas districts of Champaran (sugarcane and Muzaffarpur (sugarcane and tobacco), (sugarcane, tobacco, jute and Saharsa and Purnea (Jute) and that ments in kind are generally observed in stricts of Bhagalpur, Gaya, Patna, Shahabad Hazaribagh where cereals are extensively

According to the Second Agricultural Labour , the wage rates for both men and women d considerably in 1956-57 over those of 1. Wages of casual male workers had d down to 91 P in 1956-57 from 126 P 50-51 i.e. by 28 per cent, while wages of declined by 33 per cent, from 111 P in 51 to 74 P in 1956-57. The decline in s may be somewhat smaller if we make nces for differences in the procedures of sion of wages paid in kind into cash and r the differences in prices of foodgrains. The following table constructed on the basis ures supplied by the Second Agricultural r Enquiry shows the wages of casual adult workers, women workers and child workers ferent operations in 1956-57 :

	Ploughing	Weeding	Trans-planting	Harvest-ing	Sowing
Adult Male	94 nP	89 nP	101 nP	92 nP	—
„ Female	—	61 nP	85 nP	73 nP	87 nP
„ Child	53 nP	71 nP	83 nP	73 nP	88 nP

The wages are paid mostly in terms of inferior except during the peak seasons. At some a glass of cane-juice or a chhatak of wet with onion or gur is provided as breakfast. nch, the labourers usually get bread prepar- h barley or 'madua' flour or 'sattu' prepared Khesari, maize or barley. Wages are paid ding to "small weights" or "katcha seer." complaints regarding short weights are often

Though minimum wages have been fixed in state under the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 notifications made from time to time, e is no machinery to enforce them. Hence exist only on paper. The usual rates are of the minimum wages fixed by the Government. Transplanting wages for men are 2 to 2½ seers of paddy with lunch. For harvesting the labourer gets one in eight bundles of harvested crop in Champaran district to one in twelve or sixteen bundles of harvested crop in the districts of Hazaribagh, Palamau, Gaya, Darbhanga, Monghyr, Patna and Shahabad. The labourer has to perform all sorts of work from harvesting to processing of grain. He gets some corn in the form of 'lodha,' 'antia,' 'bichhia,' 'muthia,' etc.

Formerly, the big zamindars used to give 'khijmati' jagir to 'ponies' (such as washerman, barber, potter, etc.) and servants. The labourers had some land for 'bari' or 'kheturi' (i.e. kitchen gardening). After the abolition of Zamindari the labourers have lost them.

Still at some places some land is given to the labourer on yearly basis, the produce is meant for the consumption of the labourer and his family. From an enquiry conducted by the Bihar Rajya Khet Mazdoor Sabha in 1963, about 25 per cent of the agricultural labourers have got 4-5 Kathas of land[5] as jagir. The rest of the labourers have got a few kathas of land on crop-sharing basis. Generally, the landlord takes 2½ seers of the produce per katha in the name of 'Khalihan' and 'Bihan' in some of the districts besides his usual share of 50 per cent of the total produce. Some of these landlords take away the entire quantity of chaff and hay. It is in the interests of the landlords to give Jagir and 'batai' land. With the produce of this type of land, it is easy for them to get back their loan. The labourers are always afraid of the seizure of the crop as they do not have any documentary evidence to establish their ownership.

According to the Techno-Economic Survey of Bihar (NCAER), agricultural employment is

5. One acre=15 to 30 Kathas of land.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

available to male workers for only 167 days in the year while the all India average is 189 days. Non-agricultural employment is available to male workers for only 33 days and is mostly found in rice pounding, flour grinding, fuel splitting, building, trade, railway stations, mines and factories. Chhotanagpur provides the least agricultural employment (132 days) in a year and greater opportunity (56 days) for non-agricultural work.

Annual average earnings in agriculture in Bihar are estimated at Rs. 210 and for the lowest paid unskilled workers in industry at Rs. 445. The average level of annual earning of agricultural workers in agricultural and non-agricultural operations together is lower in Bihar (Rs. 247) than in U.P. (Rs. 393) and West Bengal (Rs.412). According to the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry, the average annual income of all agricultural labour households recorded a fall of Rs. 115 or by 21 per cent in 1956-57 over that of 1950-51. The per capita income of casual and attached households was Rs. 119 and Rs. 153 in 1950-51 which declined to Rs.84 and Rs. 94 respectively in 1956-57.

The average annual consumption expenditure of agricultural labour households by consumption groups is as follows. This does not include expenditure on ceremonies: 81.7 per cent of the total expenditure on food, 4.6 per cent on clothing and footwear, 8.2 per cent on fuel and lighting and 5.5 per cent on miscellaneous items. The average expenditure comes to about to Rs. 617.

The incomes of the labourers are normally insufficient and their requirements for making outlays for purposes of consumption and production necessitate borrowings. Debts contracted by them mostly turn out to be non-productive—for consumption purposes, for marriages and other ceremonial occasions. The high debts multiplied themselves at higher rates of interest, and coupled with the wide gap between normal income and domestic expenditure aggravate the economic conditions of the labour households, thus making debts a regular feature with them. The proportion of indebted households increased from 42 in 1950-51 to 68 in 1956-57. This rise in the proportion of indebted households was mainly due to high expenditure and lack of scope for supplementing meagre incomes from wage ... ment, by other subsidiary occupations and ... enterprises. The average debt per household ... Rs. 97 in 1956-57. Taking the indebted ... holds alone into consideration, the average ... of casual and attached households was Rs. ... per household was Rs. 142 in 1956-57. ... cent of the total debt was incurred for ... tion expenditure. Spending on social ... like marriages, births, and other social and ... gious ceremonies accounted for 232.5 per ... the total debt in 1956-57. The main sources ... borrowing are agricultural money-lenders ... shop-keepers. Foodgrains are lent at 'Sawai' ... fourth of the principal as rate of interest) ... 'Dedhi' (one half of the principal as rate of ... terest) or 'Chhada' and 'Murkati'. According ... Report of the Bihar Rajya Khet Mazdoor ... in some parts of Gaya and Monghyr, if some ... borrows one maund of paddy in August-Sep... ber, he will have to pay 1½ maunds of padd... November-December or 2¼ maunds of Rabi ... April-May. If one borrows inferior corn, one ... have to pay back in superior corn. When loan ... given in terms of cash, the rate of interest is usu... ally 6 paise per rupee per month. The rate of in... terest varies from 37.5 per cent to 75 per cent per ... annum. At times the loan given in kind ... converted into cash. Suppose one maund of pad... was borrowed in August-September and at ... time it cost Rs. 16 and in November-Decem... it was agreed to pay 2 seers per rupee as Chha... and paddy worth Rs. 16 at an agreed price usua... much lower than the market price. If it be Rs. ... per maund in our case, one would have to pa... 32 seers as chhada and one maund and 24 seers ... of paddy for Rs. 16. It all comes to about 2 maun... and 16 seers in all. The rate of interest is 1... per cent for three months only. There is a ... increasing need for subsistence credit in times ... under-employment. A very large number ... debtors with uneconomic holdings are practically ... rural insolvents. The largest amounts of mortgage ... loans by private money-lenders are in the prin... pering districts of Shahabad, Muzaffarpur, ... Champaran and Saran. The amount of distress ... sale is large. Generally the standing crop is sold. ... The agricultural money-lenders take away the ... entire produce at the barn and the labourer comes ... back empty handed and with a large portion of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...paid debt on his back. He has to sell at the ...st price prevalent and has to buy again at the ...mum price. Thus he is exploited intensively. ... of living is rising—expenditure on cere-..., education, medical treatment, clothes, ..., umbrella, footwear have gone up. Even ...y education (in spite of its being 'free') ... within their reach. A student of class IV ... spend more than Rs. 16 on books, not a ... book costs less than Re. 1. This leads to ...tration of land into the hands of a few ... The small peasants depending entirely on ...ture are losing their land and are swelling ...nks of the agricultural labourers.

...The co-operatives and the development works ... benefitted only the privileged classes. ...istrative inefficiency, corruption and red-... are widely prevalent. The personal enquiries ...cted by Prof. Thorner (published in the ...mic Weekly some years back) lend support ...is assertion. To quote Dr. P. C. Joshi, ". . . The principal beneficiary has been ... the traditionally privileged and econo-...y powerful section of land-owners and ... . on account of its superior social ...conomic position re-enforced by its political ...tions it has derived the main advantage ...development programes . . . . ."

...The rural works programme initiated to ... the labourers has failed to make any ... on their conditions in this state owing to ...ovision of having to contribute 50 per cent ... expenditure by the labourers and lack of ...t on the part of the Government of Bihar ... 1963 the programme could be initiated only ... blocks while the target was 80 blocks).

...ihar Money-lenders Acts of 1938 and 1939 ...it exorbitant rates of interest and insist on ...compulsory registration of money-lenders. ... is hardly any machinery, however, to ...ment their provisions. One major defect in ... is that only those money-lenders whose ...ess involves loans of more than Rs. 500 ...e registration. If a man has a wife and ...ons, he can give loans upto Rs. 3,000 and ...otes can be executed in his name and the ...s of his wife and sons (upto Rs. 500 in each ...).

...The land reforms have resulted in the ...ation of jagir land, prohibition on the use of forests for taking fuels and tending animals, reclamation of waste land etc. As most of the fallow land has been reclaimed, the labourers, usually the women folk have difficulties in regard to urinals and latrines. There is no road for taking animals from the house. There is no land for skinning animals and burning the corpse.

Emigration has registered a fall. It dropped from 419 per 10,000 of the population in 1931 to 381 in 1951. This decline was largely attributed to the slackening of demand for unskilled labour in the tea-gardens of Assam and in the fields, factories, mills, dockyards of West Bengal. The number of emigrants has further declined since 1951. Neither the economy of West Bengal nor the plantations of Assam has been able to absorb the continuous flow of emigrants from Bihar.

Agricultural labourers migrate to towns at times with families, to take to jobs like rickshaw pulling, building and construction projects, laying of roads and repairing them, cart driving and work in factories, mines and forests. They have little inducement at home between December and April when there is much work in the fields. They migrate to West Bengal and Assam.

In the matter of education privileges have been given only to the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. Among the backward castes, the poor people have not benefitted.

The Bhoodan and Gramdan movements have failed to do anything for the people. Most of the land donated are disputed, rocky and "non-existent" and the rest has not been fully distributed as yet. Village industries have not made any significant impact because of administrative inefficiency.

North Bihar has been neglected in the matter of industrialisation ; only sugar mills working for 3-4 months a year exist. There is scope for paper mills, jute mills etc. but the Government has not done anything.

There are two major problems viz. land for settlement and drinking water. The Government has declared its policy to settle the fallow and "gair mazrua" land with the people belonging to the scheduled tribes and the scheduled castes for construction of their houses. Petitions are lying with the revenue officials but nothing has been done for years. The labourers, at many places, have been evicted from their home-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

estate land by the landlords for they have no documentary evidence to establish their ownership. At the time of Zamindari abolition large scale tampering with records took place. The verification of records ('field bujhavat') has not been conducted properly.

Besides this, the Government has not made any provision for the settlement of the new members of the agricultural labour family and the homeless people.

In the district of Champaran, the land belonging to the Bettiah estate was settled not with the poor people of the district, who actually possessed it; but with the rich people of the district and the political leaders having hundreds of acres of land from the outside.

Most of the 'tolas' (i.e. wards) of the labourers particularly scheduled castes and scheduled tribes go without a well or tube-well. At some places, the wells meant for them have been sunk in front of the houses of the rich people. The wells have not been properly sunk in their wards. Most of them dry up during summer. Materials and bricks of the third rate quality have been used.

"The lack of interest and laziness among labourers are due to moist, enervating malarial climate and the extreme conditions poverty for many generations, when after a day's work people do not get two square Droughts and floods make the only avail occupation of farming completely uncertain unremunerative, and lack of basic medical public health facilities expose the under-nourished people to many diseases.. It is no wonder the people are apt to lose faith in work become fatalists. ....prejudice and ignorance prevent people from using modern techniques ....Many people do not take to highly remunerative activities such as poultry, piggery fisheries development purely on caste considerations. Though they are full of potentialities .....their adoption is restricted to a few communities only."[6]

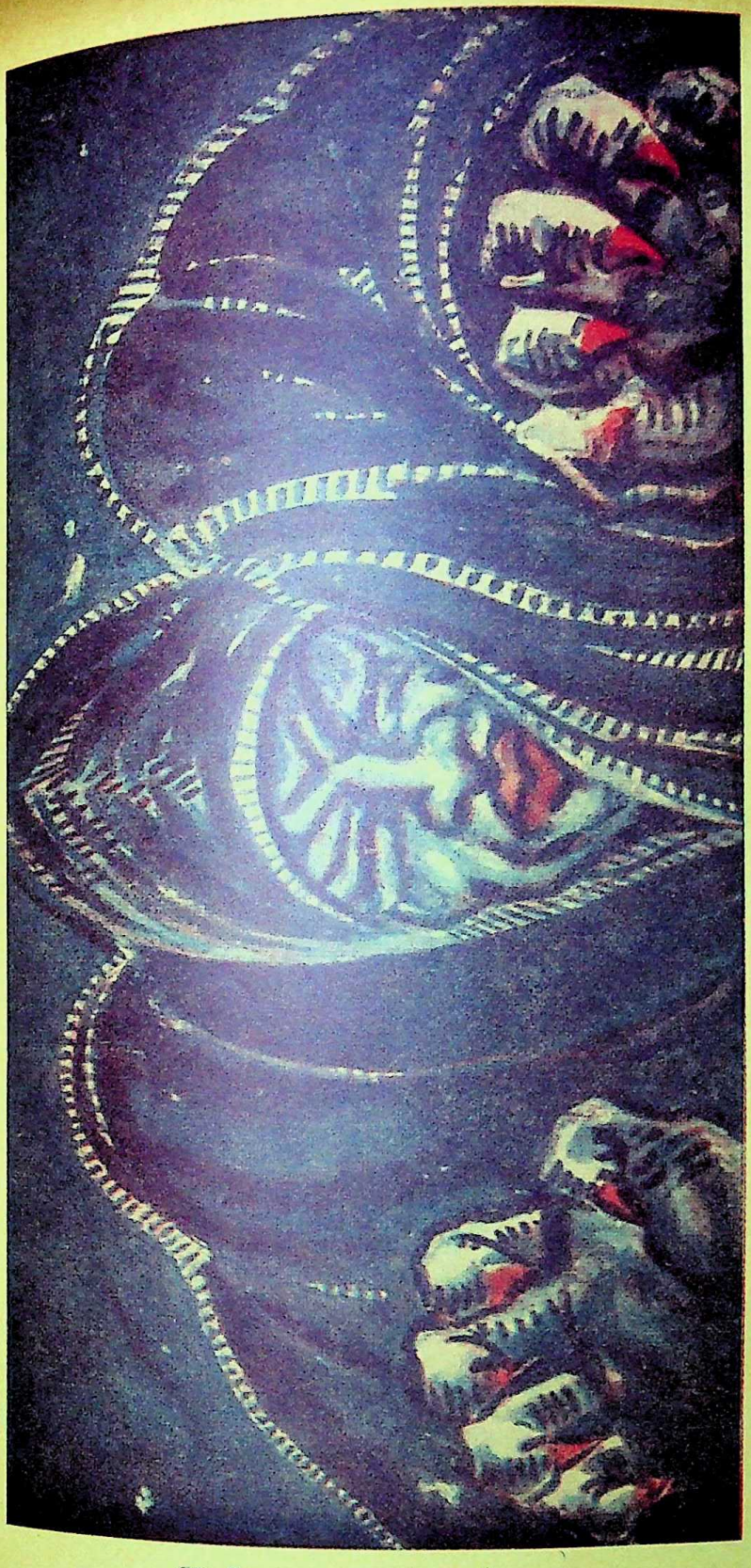
Radical institutional reforms are the need of the hour.

---

6. The observation of the Joint Study Team on Eastern U.P. which apply fully to Bihar.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



THE MONSTER OF THE BLACK MARKET
Artist : Gopes Ch. Chakravarti

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WATER, HISTORY AND THE INDUS PLAIN

GEORGE C. TAYLOR, Jr.

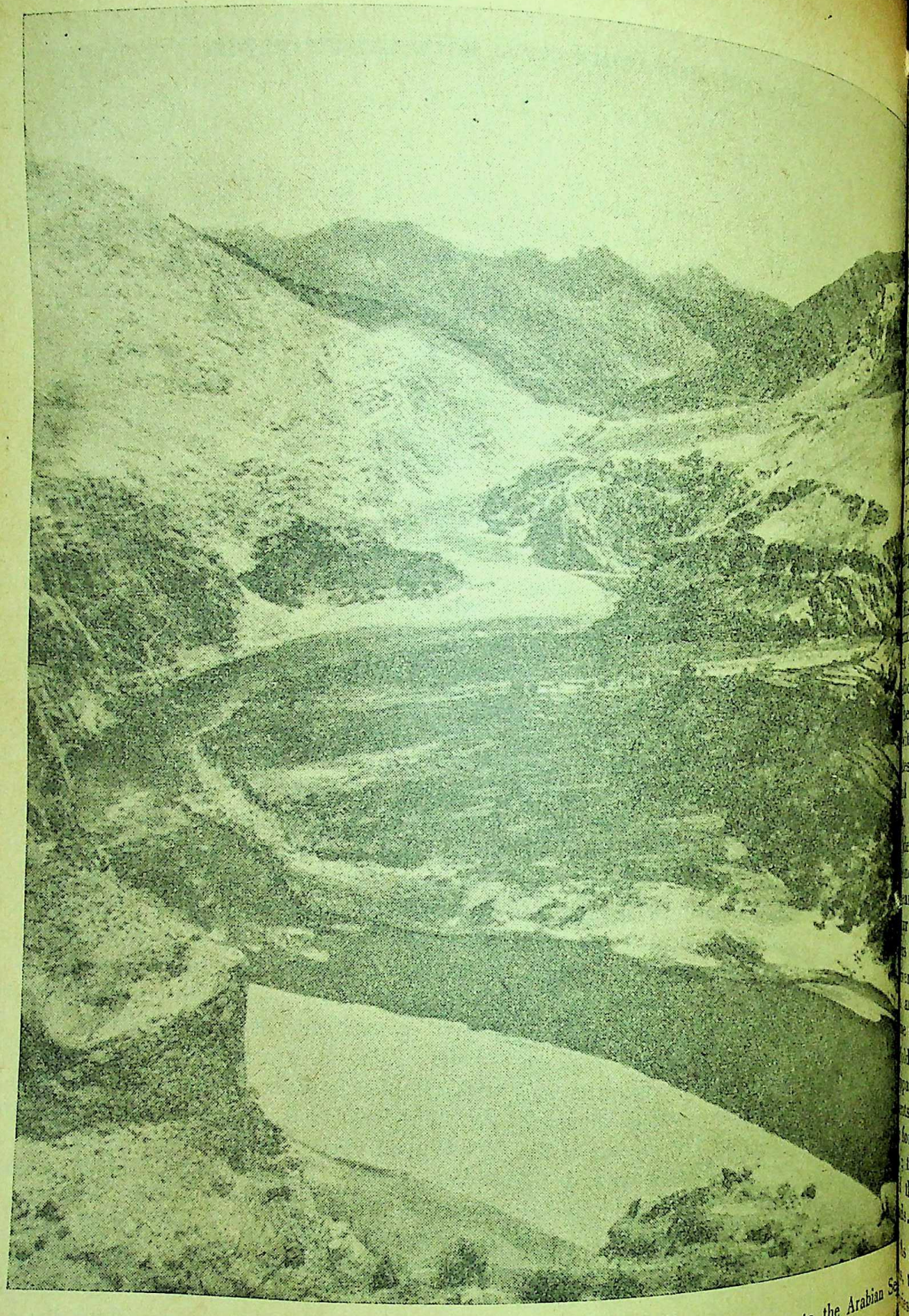
Water—underground or in rivers, lakes and ...s—has for millennia markedly affected the ... of human affairs throughout the world. ... Indus region of southwest Asia, it has ... a vital factor in man's social and economic ...ion. Stretching in a great arc around the ...ern and western flanks of the Indian sub-...ent, this vast region of mountains and ... covers some 350,000 square miles (910,000 ... kilometers), all of which are drained by ...twork of the Indus River and its tributaries. The geologic evolution of the present river ... probably dates back to Early Tertiary time, ... 65 million years ago, and began with ...g and upthrust, first of the mountain chains ... Hindu Kush and Himalaya, north and ...east of the Indus region, and later of the ...r and Sulaiman ranges in the west. ...urrent with these mountain-building move-..., a great trough began to subside in the ...'s crust between these mountain belts and ...dian peninsula to the south. The upbuilding ... mountain chains continued during Tertiary ... through the Pleistocene, and on into the ...t Epoch, until the summits of the higher ... rose to their present heights of 25,000 feet ... meters) or more above sea level. Mean-..., headwater torrents of the Indus and its ...taries cut deeply into the soft rock strata of ...rising mountains and carved an intricate ...rk of intermontane valleys, canyons and ..., many of which are now several thousand ...below the mountain tops. The erosive action ...ed its climax in the Himalaya and the ...u Kush, where weathering and running ... stripped away thousands of cubic miles of ... The eroded debris, transported down-...n by river flow, was laid down as an ...tial fill in the subsiding trough—in fan-...ed aprons of interlocking gravel near the ...ges of the mountains and, farther down-..., in the vast, flat, and seemingly endless plains of the Indus that slope gently southwestward to the Arabian Sea. Ultimately, this aggraded fill of gravel, sand, silt and clay extended across a lateral distance of 200 to 400 miles (320 to 640 kilometers), and almost 1,000 miles (1,600 kilometers) from the Himalayan foothills to the Indus Delta. Near the edges of the trough the fill accumulated to depths of several hundred feet; over its center it attained a thickness of several thousand feet.

Most of the present morphology of the Indus region resulted from the activity of mountain-building forces, weathering and running water. Glacial ice has played an equally important role in the evolution of the existing land forms, particularly in the Himalaya and the Hindu Kush, where upper slopes are scarred everywhere by icework. During the Pleistocene, these mountains bore numerous valley glaciers, some of which coalesced in continuous ice sheets, or piedmont glaciers. At times, ice tongues descended valleys to altitudes as low as 6,000 feet (1,800 meters), whereas present Himalayan glaciers all lie above 13,000 feet (3,900 meters). At least three, and possibly four, glacial episodes left their records in Himalayan valleys and intermontane basins as moraines, till sheets, glacial lake beds and river terrace deposits. These glacial episodes correlate with pluvial cycles of high stream discharge and heavy sedimentation in the Indus Plain. Correspondingly, the interglacial episodes are related to the drier interpluvial cycles, during which streams of the Indus system deeply eroded older alluvial deposits.

Archeologists have discovered evidence of primitive man's occupation of the Indus region in a number of prehistoric sites in Kashmir and Punjab, mainly on river terraces along the Soan River between the Himalayan foothills and the Indus River, and along the Indus itself between Attock and the mouth of the Soan. The oldest

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



The Indus Valley extends for over a thousand miles from the Himalayas to the Arabian Sea

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

culture recorded in the region is the civilization, named for its principal logical site on the Ravi River in Punjab. full flower in the time of Sargon of in Mesopotamia about 2300 B.C., the civilization may have had its beginnings as 4,500 years ago. The Harappans belonged to the same Dravidian stock day forms the population nucleus of the part of the Indian peninsula. After a of decline that was probably the result of ound of man-made and natural disasters. invaders from central Asia finally over- the Harappans about 1500 B.C.

Harappan culture covered a far wider phic range than any other known pre- civilization, for archeological sites have found scattered through the plains of the from near Rupar at the base of the yan foothills to the Indus Delta—a distance ast 1,000 miles (1,600 kilometers). The stribution of the sites and the characteristic ity of arrangement and physical design that the Harappan people built a relatively icated and disciplined socio-economic order. he close association of their town and city ith the river system of the Indus Plain es that the Harappans were essentially l floodplain dwellers and a riverine . Of the more than fifty sites that have dentified, most are located along active or ed channels of the Indus River in Sind ar its tributaries, the Ravi, Sutlej and r in Punjab. The town planners and s probably chose the original sites because ers formed routes for the movement of and for social interchange among the e communities ; they supplied water for the l needs of the sophisticated urbanites of pa and Mohenjo-Daro, as well as for ts of the smaller towns ; they furnished for irrigation of wheat, barley and vegetable they sustained food—fish, game, waterfowl they were defense lines against raiding

s is characteristic of men who occupy flood the Harappans suffered from all the es of the rivers along with they chose to There is evidence, for example, that the ers and artisans of Mohenjo-Daro repeatedly shored up or rebuilt the city walls as a result of the ravages of the Indus as it swung in its channel and cut laterally against its banks. Harappa was apparently no less subject to the whims of the Ravi. The ruins of several large Harappan towns in Sind, along the banks of an abandoned channel of the Indus, are now several miles from the present, active river channel. It has been surmised that the towns declined and died following such shifts in the river. Moreover, gradual accumulation of sediment in river channels and adjacent flood plains near these cities and other Harappan towns necessitated repeated raising of protective walls, dikes and building foundations, and the constant adjustments of municipal sanitary drainage systems. At Mohenjo-Daro there is evidence that the Indus flood plain built up more than 15 feet (4.5 meters) during the occupancy of the city. Concurrent with siltation of the flood plain, capillary water from rising water tables sapped and undermined brick walls and foundations, which, as a result, required the construction and maintenance of protective seepage drains, such as those at Harappa.

Irrigation may not have been generally necessary during the early stages of Harappan history, when rainfall was relatively abundant. Later, however, as the climate grew drier, irrigation was most certainly required to sustain agriculture, and was probably practiced near the rivers of the Indus Plain, although all traces of diversion works, distribution canals and field irrigation systems have been obliterated by subsequent erosion and aggradation of the Indus and its tributaries. However, pictorial representations found on Harappan clay seals show water-lifting devices similar to the Egyptian *shadoof* (a counter-posed sweep), indicating that this method of irrigation was probably used at least locally. The extensive granaries found at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro also suggest that large food storage facilities were needed to provide for shortages during prolonged droughts or seasonal deficiencies in water supply for irrigation.

From the fourth century B.C. until the Mogul period of the 16th to 18th centuries, irrigated agriculture in the Indus Plain was limited largely to the low-lying riverine tracts (active flood plains) where flood irrigation, locally known

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



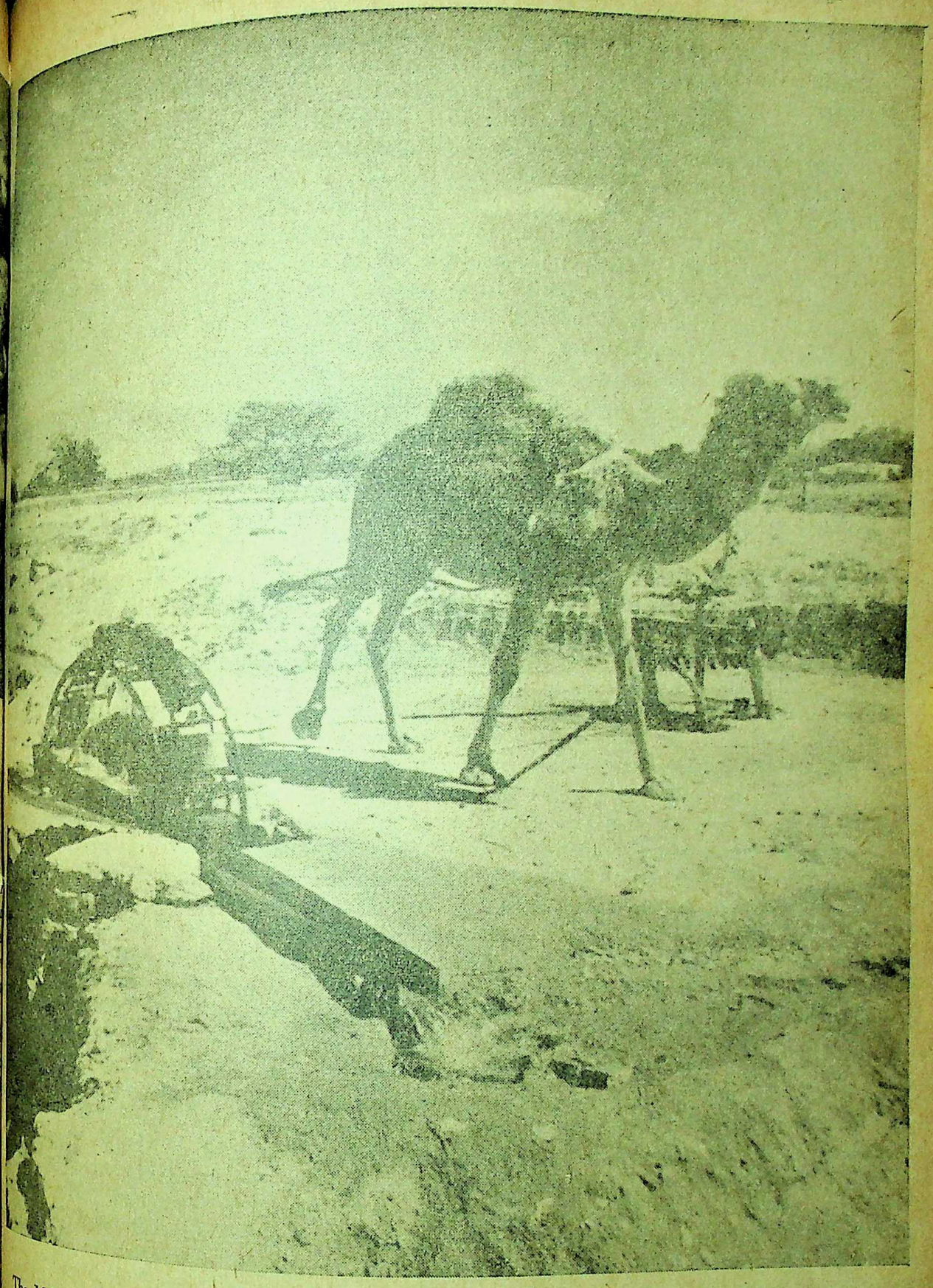
Well inside paved courtyard among ruins of Mohenjo-Daro in Sind : A remnant of Harrapan culture

as *sailab*, was practiced along rivers of the region. Crops, mainly wheat and other cereals, were planted in moist lands exposed by the receding waters of summer floods. Under *sailab* irrigation, cultivated lands maintain their productivity indefinitely, and the method is still practiced in the active flood plains, most of which are not served by canals. Some irrigated agriculture was practiced locally from dug wells in the higher interfluvial tracts known as *doabs*. In pre-Mogul times, however, these areas were reserved chiefly for grazing. A system of permanent land tenure gradually evolved in and near the riverine tracts in Punjab, with peasant proprietors living in closely knit village communities. This system has survived despite successive waves of invaders, including the Jat and Gujar tribes, later Muslim conquerors from central and western Asia, and more recently the Sikh conquest in the pre-British period. Throughout this 2,000-year span, irrigation works were built repeatedly by the occupan the region, only to be destroyed by invade by the ravages of floods and siltation. Du this time, however, there is no substantial evid that the twin problems of waterlogging salinization, such as now exist in Punjab, presented any great threat to irrigated agricult Presumably, the upbuilding or aggradation flood plains in the riverine tracts kept pace w rising water tables, which may have been induc by irrigation, so that soil fertility and favora salt balance were maintained.

Underlying the plains of the Indus is a v ground-water reservoir, which is sustained a recharged largely by infiltration from rivers of t Indus system and by leakage from canal diver sions. This reservoir has figured importantly i the water economy of the Indus region fo 2,000 years or more, as mention is made of th use of wells in the great Hindu epics *Mahabharata*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



The Moguls are credited with having introduced the Camel-driven Persian Water Wheel

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and *Ramayana*, which were presumably composed in the period immediately prior to the beginning of the Christian Era. Wells at some ancient Hindu temples have been used for hundreds of years for ritual ablutions. Many of these wells are essentially large-diameter (50 to 190 feet : 15 to 30 meters) infiltration pits dug down to the water table. They are square or rectangular and are bordered by the stone or brick-terraced slopes, or *ghats*, used by worshippers in their devotions. In the "bar uplands" of the *doabs* remote from the rivers in the Indus Plain, hand-dug wells, with hand lines and buckets, have provided essential water supplies for domestic and livestock use since time immemorial. In areas where the water table is less than 50 feet (15 meters) below the surface, small-scale irrigation is also practiced now, as it has been for centuries. A *mote* (leather bag, commonly of buffalo hide) is attached to a rope that is passed over a pulley, and a yoke of bullocks or a camel raises and lowers it to the water. The quantities of water obtained from single wells by this method of life generally range from about 800 to 2,000 gallons (3,040 to 7,600 liters) per hour, depending on the water level and the activity of the well operator. A second water-lifting device, still widely used in Punjab and Sind, is the Persian water wheel, which reportedly was introduced by the Moguls from Iran. It consists of an endless chain of earthern pots or small metal buckets that are passed over a wheel with a horizontal axis. A camel or bullocks push a horizontal bar around a vertical shaft geared to the wheel, and thus raise the water. Because of its greater efficiency, the water wheel can lift somewhat greater quantities of water than can be obtained by bullocks and *mote*.

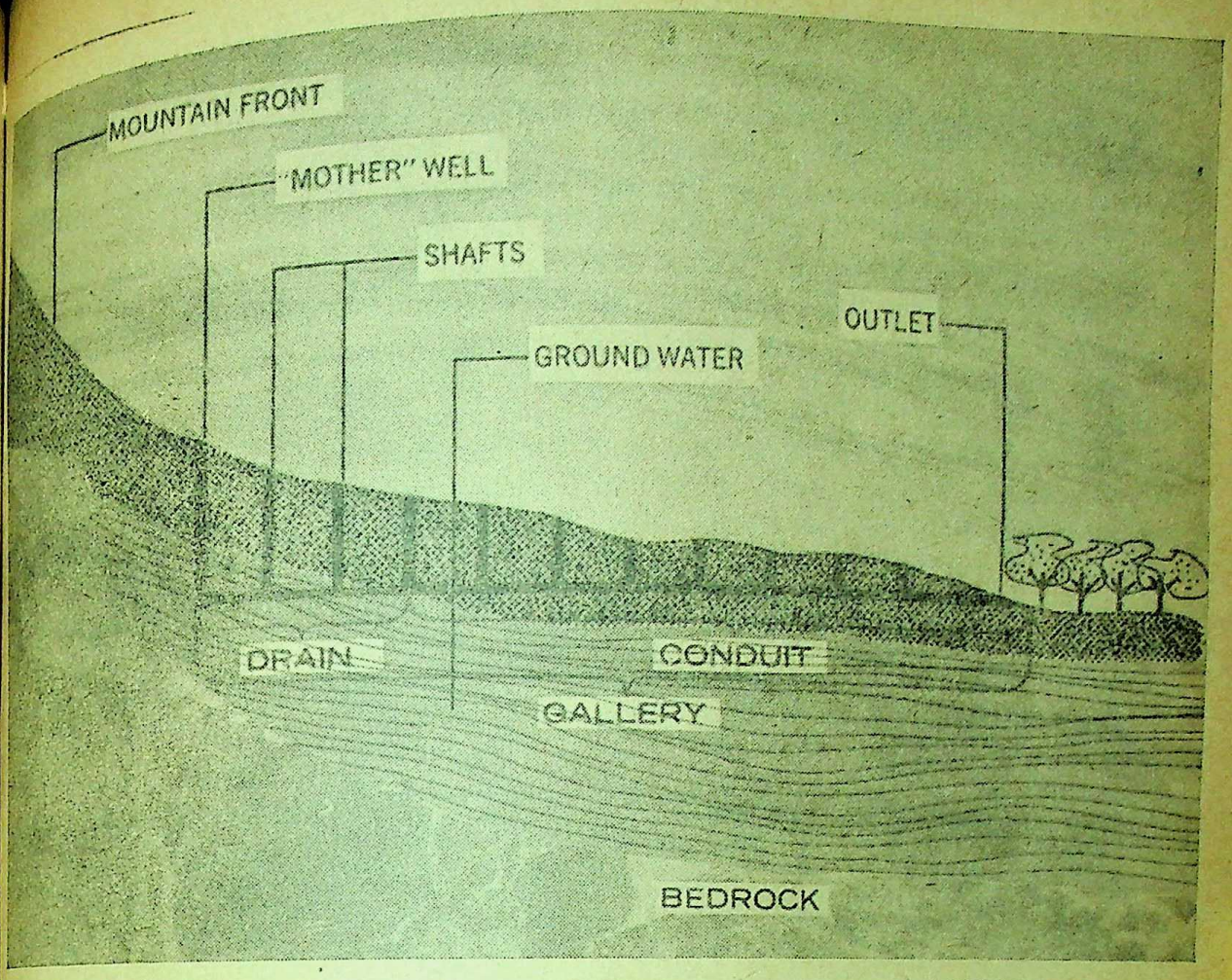
There are still records of ground-water development in the 16th and 17th centuries during the period of Mogul domination. Mogul princes constructed many wells for military, household and irrigation purposes at forts, palaces and mausoleums near Lahore, Srinagar and elsewhere in Punjab and Kashmir. Intricate floral mosaics, faience and carved marble and sandstone decorate the wells and draw works of some of the palace wells. Other wells were used for cooling the air of subterranean living quarters to which Mogul princes and their ladies repaired to escape the scorching heat of the Indian summer. It is reported that in these water-cooled chambers they sipped sherbets made from ice delivered by post horsemen who rode in relays from the glaciers of Kashmir.

The Moguls also are believed to have imported the *kharez*, or *ghanat* (infiltration gallery), from Iran and Afghanistan into the Indus region. The *kharez* is constructed by sinking a series of vertical shafts spaced at intervals of about 100 feet (30 meters) in a line approximately parallel to the slope of the water table and as much as several miles long. Underground and between the shafts, horizontal drifts are excavated and connected to form a gallery whose grade is slightly less than that of the land surface and the water table. The first and deepest shaft, known as the "mother" well, and the next few shafts in the line reach the water table and tap the ground-water body. The up-gradient part of the gallery thus functions as a drain fed by the ground-water body, but the down-gradient part is simply a conduit carrying water by gravity to the land surface for irrigation or other use. Such *kharezes* may develop individual flows of as much as two cubic feet (.056 cubic meters) per second or more, but caving necessitates frequent cleaning to maintain flow. Many of these structures built in alluvial valleys of Baluchistan during the Mogul times are still in operation, but in the plains of the Indus their effective use was apparently impossible, owing to the prevailing flat gradients of both the land surface and the water table.

Until the latter part of the 17th century, the population in the Indus region stayed relatively stable because of repeated decimation by war, by famine and by pestilence. The establishment of Mogul domination, however, brought the beginnings of political order and improved conditions of sanitation and food supply, which were further strengthened under the British "raj" in the 18th and 19th centuries. As a consequence of political stability the population began to increase—slowly at first, but at an accelerated rate during the 19th and 20th centuries. The expanding population required an augmented food supply, which meant the intensification of irrigated agriculture, particularly in Punjab and Sind. The pressure of population on the land is reflected in the types and relative sophistication of the canal systems devised for irrigation.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



The "Kharez" system of water supply which may also have been introduced by the Moguls may yield over 2 cubic feet of water per second, but needs frequent cleaning

Canal irrigation, in a modern sense, did not begin until the 17th century, with the construction of so-called inundation canals in the Punjab. These could divert water from rivers during periods of relatively high stage for distribution to bar-upland areas bordering the flood plains. The first canals of this sype furnished water for the parks and gardens of Mogul princes. Typical are the Shalimar Gardens near Lahore, laid out in 1637 by the order of the Mogul emperor Shah Jehan. Because of the success of these canals, others were constructed for general agricultural purposes. By the middle of the 19th century a rather extensive network of inundation canals was in operation in Punjab, with the maximum development concentrated along the Sutlej and Chenab rivers. During the same period, extensive irrigation development took place in Sind by inundation canals that diverted water from the Indus. Because they could command larger parts of the *doabs*, divert water through a significant range of river states and maintain irrigation deliveries for a considerable part of the year, these canals represented a distinct advance over the ancient *sailab* methods. Such inundation canals could function, however, only during periods of relative high flow, so irrigation was limited to the summer high-water season and to relatively narrow belts near the rivers.

The final stage in the evolution of irrigation systems in the Indus Plain came about the middle of the 19th century with the introduction of "perennial" canals. Permanent diversion works known as barrages, or headworks, were constructed at strategic sites on the rivers to place the inundation canals under weir control. By raising water levels, the barrages allowed larger diversions from the rivers than were possible with the canals, especially during the winter season, when low

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

flows could be exploited. Thus, irrigation was extended into the central parts of the *doabs*, and in many areas the canals operated throughout the year—hence the term perennia. They were carefully designed as to width, depth and downstream slope; the silt-laden water would move just fast enough so that silt would not choke the canal, but not fast enough to cause erosion. Today, the canal systems of the Indus Plain, including distributaries, have an aggregate length of over 10,000 miles (16,000 kilometers).

Each year the Indus River and its principal tributaries—the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej rivers—bring an average of about 170 million acre-feet of water into the Indus Plain. About half of this water flows to the sea, but the rest is diverted into canal systems that now irrigate about 33 million acres (13.2 million hectares) annually. This constitutes what is probably the largest essentially continuous block of irrigation development in the world. It forms the economic base for a population of some 35 million people, of whom 23 million depend directly on agriculture for a livelihood.

As canal irrigation involves diversion and redistribution of surface run-off, some disruption of the natural hydrologic regimen of the Indus Plain was inevitable. Moreover, the 19th century British engineers, concerned with construction of the canal systems, early recognized the potential hazards of salinization and water-logging that could result from irrigation and also saw the ultimate need to provide for adequate subsoil drainage and control of the water table. With these hazards in view, they established, as early as 1870, a program of hydrologic observations—including measurements of stream discharge and canal diversions and, more particularly, of ground-water levels—that have been continued to the present.



An "accursed mockery of snow." Salt incrustation cover the ground in the Rechna Doab near Lahore and is caused by excessive salinization due to insufficient drainage

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

But, in spite of the awareness of salinization and waterlogging, these two dangers were largely ignored in irrigation development planning through the latter part of the 19th century and in the early decades of the present century. This reference was probably the result of a complex of hydrologic, economic and political factors. At that time, for instance, the water table was relatively far below the land surface (as deep as 90 feet: 27 meters in some parts of the Punjab in 1900), which led to procrastination in planning for drainage and water-table control. The problem of a growing population, with the attendant chronic shortages in food grains and the recurrent famines, demanded immediate attention. Consequently, emphasis was placed on intensified agricultural production to be made possible by the construction of new canals and the expansion of lands under irrigation. Political unrest and agitation for independence during the early decades of the 20th century also led the British raj to seek short-term solutions to then current economic difficulties rather than to attack long-term hydrologic problems.

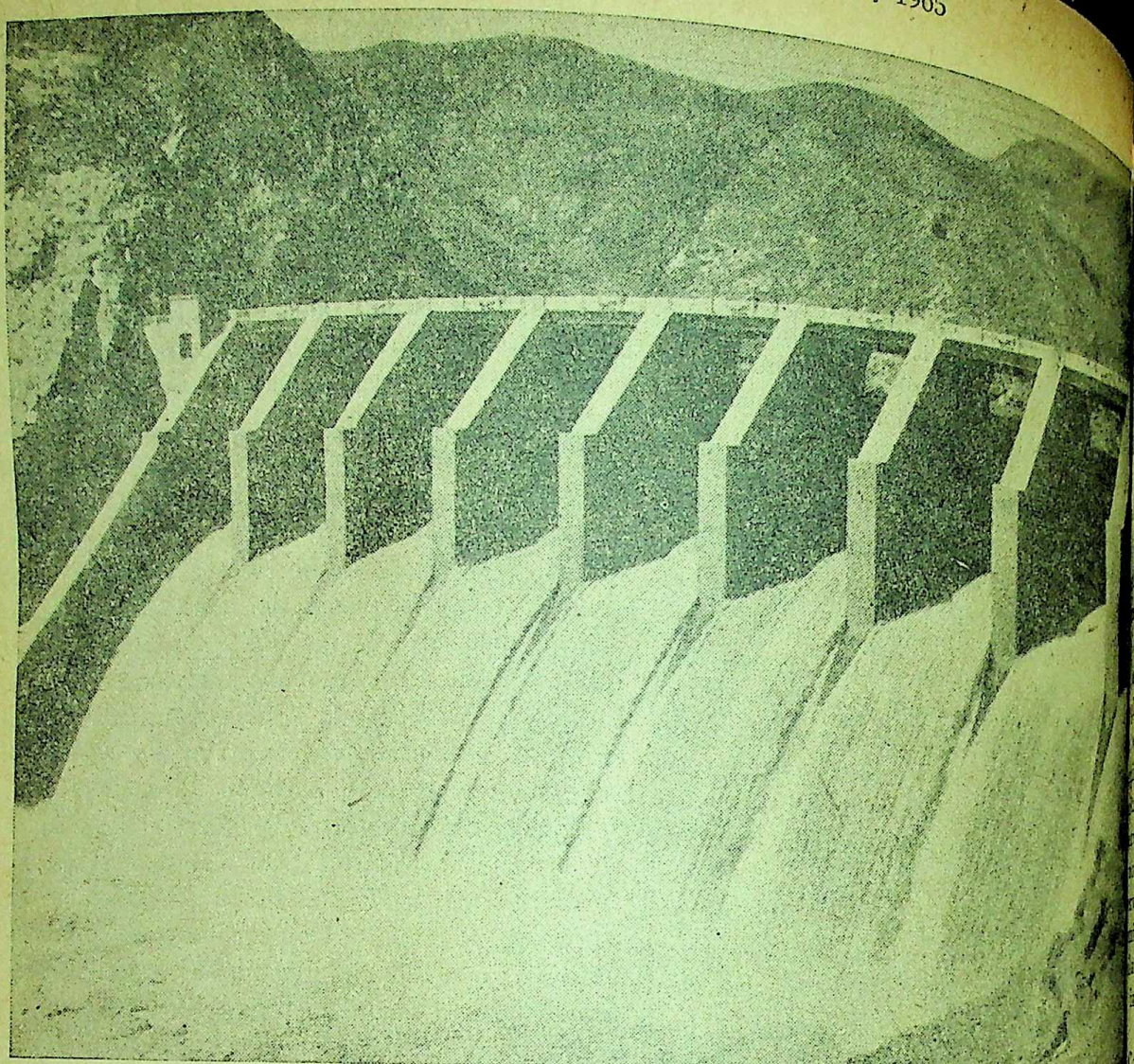
As the first twenty years of the present century passed by, the water table beneath the Indus Plain rose relentlessly closer to the land surface as more and more water leaked underground as a natural concomitant of expanding canal systems and intensified irrigation. By 1925 the grain ravagers, waterlogging and salinization, had already begun to take their toll in diminished agricultural production in several parts of the Punjab. The day of reckoning had finally arrived, and water managers of the Indus irrigation system at last took stock and began to lay plans for drainage and for water-table control. Although the problem was now clearly in focus, engineering officers of the 1920's and 1930's were at first overwhelmed by the magnitude and technical complexity of the task before them and later disheartened by the enormous sums of money that would be required for adequate engineering and control works.

Meanwhile, the inexorable rise of the water table continued, and more and more productive agricultural land was lost to effective use each succeeding year. Between 1930 and 1960, for example, agricultural land went out of productive use, variously estimated at between 50,000 and 100,000 acres (20,000 to 40,000 hectares) per year. During the 1930's attempts were made to control waterlogging by building many miles of artificial drains and by improving the natural drainage channels. These measures proved largely ineffective. In the early 1940's a major reclamation project was undertaken in Chaj and Rechna Doabs, and some 1,600 wells were put down at various intervals along the main canals and their distributaries. Recognizing that leakage from the canals was the major cause of the rising water table, the plan called for intercepting the leakage by pumping from the wells and returning the water to the canals. The project, however, never became effectively operative, largely because of power shortages during World War II. Very shortly thereafter came the vast socio-economic disruption caused by the 1947 partition of British India and the creation of the independent states of India and Pakistan. Aside from the human suffering and privation caused by the shifting of religious minorities, partition brought about a complete realignment of political and economic structures. Most of the British engineers who had formerly managed the Indus irrigation system departed, and their Hindu colleagues opted for citizenship in the new Republic of India. Furthermore, the new frontier between West Pakistan and India, demarcated largely on the basis of religious constituencies, haphazardly bisected the hydrologic basin of the Indus River and thoroughly disorganized the formerly smooth operations of the Indus irrigation system. Consequently, partition set in motion a whole chain of water allocation disputes, leading in some cases to armed border clashes between the two countries. As the bulk of the Indus irrigation system lay in Pakistan, it fell to the lot of a new generation of Pakistani engineers and scientists, directed by a few "old hands" from prepartition days, to cope with the steadily deteriorating agricultural economy brought about largely by waterlogging and salinization, and to reorganize the severed irrigation system.

By 1951 local and international experts recognized that ultimately the waters of the Indus system would have to be adjudicated between India and Pakistan to avert the threat of a full-scale war. An international water commission was appointed to review the problem. After nine years of negotiations, the commission fianlly came

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Wasak Dam across the Kabul river in the northwestern part of Pakistan—the Country's largest

to an agreement, and in 1960 the Indus Water Treaty was signed. The treaty gives India the rights to the waters of the Ravi, Sutlej and Beas rivers, leaving the flow of the Chenab, Jhelum and Indus to Pakistan.

In 1953 the government of Pakistan had signed an agreement with a predecessor of the U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) to make a comprehensive investigation of the cause and effect relationships between irrigation practices and the natural hydrologic situation of the Indus Plain, with particular emphasis on the Punjab region. The work was initially carried on the Pakistani personnel of the Irrigation Branch, West Pakistan Public Works Department, with the assistance of A.I.D. technical advisors. In April, 1960, the technical staff and the work were transferred to the newly established Water and Soils Division of the West Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA). The investigative work done during the past 10 years indicates that virtually all the Indus Plain is underlaid to depths of 1,000 feet (300 meters) or more by alluvial sediments that are saturated with water to within a few feet of the land surface. In the saturated alluvium, which is composed of materials ranging from medium sand to silty clay, large-capacity wells that yield as much as 1,800 gallons (6,840 liters) a minute or more can be developed at almost any site. The ground water in Sind is generally of such poor quality that it is practically unusable for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...tion. Its content of dissolved salts is so ...that the water actually inhibits plant ...th. Beneath about two-thirds of Punjab, ...ver, water of a quality usable for irrigation ...tes the alluvium to a depth of 500 feet (150 ...rs) or more. The volume of usable ground ...in storage is computed to be about 2,000 ...on acre-feet. Studies of water levels indicate ...while canal leakage is the principal cause ...e present subsurface drainage problem, it is ...the major component of ground-water ...ge.

The hydrologic investigations point up the ...ility of utilizing ground-water withdrawals ...tubewells for the dual purpose of providing ...much needed supplemental irrigation supply ...gement presently inadequate surface-water ...ies, and (2) subsurface drainage by lowering ...water table and thus helping to reduce water-...g and salinization. Because of the natural ...tions and inadequacies of sites for surface ...voirs to store summer runoff, most of which ...w wasted to the sea, the vast underground ...voir of the Indus Plain offers the most ...ising storage facility for management of ...able water supplies. By pumping from wells ...irrigation and drainage, ground-water levels are depressed and capacity is created for the underground storage of surplus surface runoff that can be diverted underground by allowing it to leak through the canal system.

Beginning in 1961, two large-scale tubewell irrigation and drainage projects were placed in operation in Chaj and Rechna Doabs, and these have already demonstrated their effectiveness. Between 1961 and mid-1963, for example, the water table was lowered an average of more than three feet (almost one meter) in a 1,350,000-acre (540,000-hectare) project in Rechna Doab. Construction of similar projects in the future is planned at a rate of about 1,000 tubewells per million acres (400,000 hectares) per year. Eventually, about 33,000 wells will be required to serve all the Indus Plain.

As has been the case for millennia, the basic economic and social sructure of the Indus region is largely dependent on irrigated agriculture, and will continue to be so for many years to come. The durability of this structure will depend substantially on the successful solution of the water-logging and salinity problems and on the effective management of the water supplies now available in the Indus Plain.

...opyright by the American Museum of Natural History C. 1965, Reproduced from Natural ...ry).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Defence Bias Of The Fourth Plan

(Contd. from p. 132)

Apart from taxes the other principal source from which additional resources for the Plan are expected to be derived is by stepping up savings which are now estimated to comprise about 10.5 per cent of the national income to 15 per cent by the end of the Fourth Plan so that the investment rate could be correspondingly stepped up from 13 per cent to 17 per cent. If savings are supposed mainly to be derived from consumer surpluses, it is essential that there should be such a surplus for the purpose. Prices would seem to comprise a crucial factor in the process and stepping up the rate of savings to the requisite level would seem to presuppose containing the price level within predetermined limits to conform with those of the peoples' living levels and disposable incomes.

We have been told from time to time by the Union Finance Minister of the several fiscal and monetary expedients which, according to him, should have been able to effectively take care of the problem of continuous and unrelenting inflationary pressures on the price level. All the measures which he has been able to conceive of in this behalf upto date have proved to be wholly impotent and useless and most of which have only had the effect of acting as deterrants against the growth of a healthy and self-sustaining capital market in the country. It was recently, however, that the Finance Minister appears to have been realising the need, especially in the context of a developing national emergency, for the Government to acquire a commanding and dominant control over the supply and distribution of all primary consumption commodities with a view to relieving the continuing and unrelenting pressure on the price level. What, however, he has omitted to admit at the same time, presumably with deliberate intent, is that the over-all taxation structure at present in operation has been mainly inflation-oriented and except within areas of a possible measure of control over the supply and distribution of certain categories of consumption goods which can only be of a limited extent in present circumstances, inflationary pressures on the over-all price-structure are not likely to suffer substantial attenuation without a corresponding revision of the taxation structure. An immediate statutory inquiry into the matter would seem be one of the most urgent needs of the time.

Defence Oriented Economy

In the present context of a national emergency the matter would seem to have acquired an urgency and gravity of which awareness even at the highest Government levels seems be only too feeble at present. Inspite of the cease fire order reported to have been issued by both India and Pakistan by the U.N. Security Council under the mandatory provisions of the relevant Articles of the U.N. Charter as we write, it is yet too early to envisage what course future events will follow with any amount of clarity. India, very much against her declared intentions to the contrary was forced into the very centre of a cold war with two neighbours simultaneously which have been periodically escalating into shapes verging upon a serious shooting war to prevent any relief from the pressures associated with a situation of grave national emergency. A cold war, such as we have been forced into, needs the reinforcement of social and economic resources no less urgent to the hazards of war than an actual shooting engagement. One of the primary requisites of an appropriate defence orientation of the national economy is the need to gear it to appropriate war time measures.

An Object Lesson

An object lesson as to how to do so may be derived from the manner in which the national economy of the U.K. was handled during the grave crisis of world war II. Presenting his war budget to the Commons, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer was reported to have claimed that he had devised his budget in such a manner that while the paramount need for adequate and effective national defence had to be covered, care had also to be taken that the living levels of the average citizen were not "unduly depressed" in the process. From figures available,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

appears that while in 1939 the consumption diture of the average Britisher comprised over 89 per cent of his income, he paid 6 per cent in taxes and saved only about per cent; by the end of 1943 his consumption diture had fallen to only about 56 per cent, ved well over 18 per cent, paid very nearly per cent in taxes and contributed 5 per cent tional defence.

This significant fall in the British people's mption expenditure was achieved in two : first by rationing all articles of primary mption need to ensure that the less affluent not deprived of their consumption by reason superior purchasing power of the more and, secondly, by gearing the taxation re to the needs of the war economy revent conspicuous consumption and to e, as far as possible having especial regard e enormous and sudden rise in public diture, inflationary pressures in the y. It would be untrue to claim that there o inflationary pressures—it was, indeed pable in those circumstances—but it possible to contain its impact within able limits especially by removing all s of primary consumption goods away from influences of market forces. The over-all n structure was streamlined to provide the proportion of tax receipts through direct sily indentifiable imposts, by avoiding any of indirect taxation imposts upon primary mption commodities and by a wisely devised of graduated—and, again, clearly indenti- —system of purchase taxes upon articles of tional demand and, very steeply, upon ies.

All these various measures related to the n system proved effective disinflationary ents and, although the Government's con- tion expenditure had to go up by several and per cent during these years, it was le to contain inflationary pressures upon nomy to practically a bare minimal extent. Stafford Cripps during his very brief in- acy as Chancellor of the Exchequer com- ted the national Government upon its y in this behalf. The ability to contain ionary pressures despite inevitable shortages huge influx of money supply, in very large measure enabled this nation to not merely weather the heavy strains of the War but, more so, the crucial and, in a sense, the immensely more difficult period of reconstruction immediately following the War.

Things, deplorably, have been getting increasingly beyond control during the latter periods of planning and more rapidly with the onset of the national emergency since about the end of 1962. Recently, a graver phase in the continuing national emergency has obtruded upon the economy requiring delicate and expedient handling. There are lessons to be derived from the experience of others in similar circumstances from which we should draw our own guidance. We should be able to clearly see that merely by pouring more and more resources into development projects without taking care to ensure corresponding yields in production on the one hand and by ensuring at the same time a measure of constant absolute values by rigidly containing the price level, we should only enmesh ourselves into a greater difficulties from which it will be difficult to extricate ourselves later when we are more deeply involved. This has become all the more urgent in the context of the present rather widely escalating emergency. It is to this aspect of our immediate problems to which, we feel, the Planning Commission and the Government alike should address themselves as a matter of the highest priority.

This does not suggest that the needs of development with appropriate emphasis upon defence orientation should be ignored. Quite the contrary in fact. But what should be made clear is the establishment of an appropriately stable "price climate" as one of the essential conditions-precedent to development, even more so when development needs must be given a heavy defence orientation.

The Fourth Finance Commission's Award

Although the Fourth Finance Commission were reported to have made their award during the earlier half of last month and the Government of India's decisions thereon communicated to the State Governments with expedition, details so far have been lacking as regards its actual content.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

From newspaper reports, very sketchy as they have so far been, not much can be gathered except that the award, although it appears to have been only slightly more generous to West Bengal than on previous occasions, has nevertheless not been generous enough to take the State wholly out of its financial difficulties.

It is understood that against the previous (Third) Finance Commission's award to West Bengal of Rs. 112 crores the present award has been of the order of altogether Rs. 197 crores. It is estimated that West Bengal's additional revenue expenditure to maintain the Third Plan schemes would be a minimum of Rs. 110 crores. This would leave the State with an immediate deficit of Rs. 25 crores.

This, however, is only a cursory estimate. For with the increase in the growth rate, the State Government's non-plan expenditure will be bound to correspondingly increase and which will, in turn, be bound to widen the visible gap to a commensurate extent. Initially West Bengal estimated that its non-plan expenditure deficit in the Fourth Plan period would be of the size of Rs. 300 crores, including Rs. 39 crores on account of its commitments to pay an additional dearness allowance to employees. Under pressures from the Centre West Bengal subsequently revised this estimate and brought down the figure of anticipated deficit to Rs. 275 crores which was regarded as the very absolute minimum to which the State Government's non-plan expenditure could be cut down. So that, the award of the Fourth Finance Commission, comparatively generous as it is regarded to be, would still leave West Bengal with quite a heavy burden of deficits to carry.

Some satisfaction appears to have been derived from the Commission's recommendations, reported to have been accepted by the Union Government, that the States should be given a share of the revenue yields from Central excise duties on all commodities instead of only the 35 so far allocated for sharing out. From what information has been available, it is not quite clear as to whether the principle of allocation would be a proportion of the revenue derived from the sources concerned from within each respective area or an *ad hoc* share of the gross revenue of the Union fixed by the Finance Commission as in the case of the Income Tax revenues.

It is contended that in making awards to States from the divisible pool of income tax revenues the fundamental principle to be followed is to provide a greater share of assistance to the economically backward states and should not, therefore, be expected to be related to the yield derived from the respective State boundaries. Even if such a contention could be accepted as valid, there would, nevertheless, be a very cogent case for relating the award to a proportion of the revenue derived from each State. While the more progressive States should not mind a certain proportion of additional assistance being provided to a more backward neighbour, the process should yet be conditioned by the need for maintaining the tempo of progress in the more developed State. This salutory principle, we are afraid, has not been accepted by the powers that be in allocating West Bengal's share in the divisible pool of income tax revenues. On the contrary invidious and quite unjust distinctions would appear to have been made so far as West Bengal has been concerned even in comparison with other more progressive states of the Union. From the little that is known about the details of the present award from the sketchy newspaper reports referred to earlier, it would appear that the same process as on earlier occasions has been continued in deciding upon what would be awarded to West Bengal in the present instance.

The Government at the Centre and some of their official agencies are known to frequently talk of "incentives to growth." West Bengal, as one of the industrially most progressive states of the Union has apparently been finding that the Union Government do not appear to be quite so keen on maintaining the incentives to growth in the State. Inspite of being one of the industrially most rapidly developing states of the Union, it lacks social overheads by reason, mainly, of lack of adequate proportions of input, have so far remained in a comparatively more rudimentary state of development. The State's agricultural potentialities have suffered severe truncation by reason of the Partition and it is one of the most densely populated states of the Union. This density of the population is in itself one of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

causes why necessary social overheads
not develop at a faster and more adequate
The State, moreover, has been heavily
ened with a huge load of displaced families
East Bengal and which, inspite of the
al assistance (which has been, in net terms
infinitesimal in proportion to the burden),
een causing a heavy strain on the economy
State. In addition, the demographic
e of the population would indicate that a
large proportion of it while earning
living from occupations provided by
State, do not do anything to contribute
ital formation or investment within the
as almost all of its surplus earnings are
ed to other states of the Union. All these
the truth of which is easily demonstrable
show that West Bengal deserves to be
with more than ordinary measures of
sity in being awarded her share from the
of Central revenues. It is not any narrow
ial sentiment which prompts us to say this,
is a logical claim which, besides, is also
able on grounds of incentives to growth.

s a matter of fact, the methods by which
ards to states from the Central pool of
e tax revenues have been determined by
sive Finance Commissions would appear to
been following certain inexplicable predi-
s. While appreciating the need for a certain
e of necessary adjustments in the final
s to enable a certain equation between the
progressive and the backward states to be
d at, such awards should legitimately follow
ratios to each respective state's pro-
n of contributions to the total pool of
le tax revenues. It is necessary to remember
e scope for progressive widening of the
eipts of the states is necessarily circums-
d within well-defined limits and a share of
entral pool is vital for progress and develop-
. It is equally important to realise that
ions of central taxes within the states will
ry vitally influenced by the interests of the
s concerned in such collections. We are afraid
er the present Finance Commission as much
s predecessors, nor the Union Government
so far demonstrated any imaginative talent
ealing this complicated problem.

India and the Commonwealth

Indo-British relations, ever since Independence, have almost continuously been passing through varying phases of periodical strain. But they had never before assumed the proportions that they are currently found to have acquired over the Labour Government's unashamedly partisan attitude towards Pakistan in the present Indo-Pakistani conflict. The British attitude over Kashmir has never been fair to India, but the posture of partiality in the past had never been known to have assumed the positively offensive content they are now found to have. Mr. Harold Wilson's gratuitiously offensive criticisms of India's counter-operations across the borders of Pakistan, by stubbornly refusing to acknowledge Pakistan's responsibility in initiating the offensive and, especially, by refusing to recognise the fact that India's offensive operations against Pakistan were forced upon her as a minimum measure of self-defence, have made India naturally resentful of British opinion. The fact that the British press as a whole has also been echoing Mr. Wilson's criticisms and comments would seem to add to the growing conviction in India that British *bona fides* so far as India's position in Commonwealth relations are concerned, should be highly suspect. To quote excerpts from only one paper (*The New Statesman* dated September, 10 1965) reputed to be of a liberal view :

> "At any time in the past 18 years, it has been possible to devise a reasonable solution for Kashmir which, granted mutual goodwill, could have been accepted by its inhabitants,—an adjustment of a cease-fire line, a supervised plebiscite or even the creation of a self-governing state guaranteed by both sides was a possible alternative. India always felt that any such resolution must involve surrendering territory, and to this extent she has always determined to oppose one. In an imperfect world, she was content with the *status quo*, and wanted to relegate the U.N.'s role to mere supervision of the cease-fire line. For this reason Pakistan believed, with some justice, that the *status quo* should be altered in her favour, had a *positive incentive to resort to violence* (italics ours) in order to reopen the question *au fond* . . . . . The

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

intervention of China suppplied the ground for necessary Pakistani confidence and India's rearmament made a showdown seem urgent . . . . Late in 1964 India placed Kashmir under Indian Constitutional Law, an infringement of the *status quo* . . . . Pakistan retaliated by vastly increasing the incursions into Indian-controlled Kashmir of armed irregulars. India then exercised the right of of pursuit into Pakistan territory. At this point Pakistan committed her regular forces to a major offensive across the cease-fire line . . . ."

The whole quotation above would seem to be a highly intentional piece of wordy defence of Pakistan's indefensible part in the whole sorry tale composed of a mass of half-truths and innuendoes. For one thing when, in 1949 India agreed at the U.N. to a free and impartial plebiscite under international auspices, it was done on two distinctive conditions ; first that the plebiscite should cover the entire area of the territory formerly under the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir ; secondly, the plebiscite would only be held when the invading Pakistani army had vacated its aggression. The position was quite clear and unambiguous. The Maharaja of Kashmir had legally executed an instrument of accession to India and although the latter was agreeable to allow the people of Kashmir the right of self-determination and to decide for themselves whether they would want to be with Pakistan or India, she could not, in the meanwhile, abrogate her legal and moral obligations to maintain law and order in the territory. This Pakistan has never done and, thereby, forfeited her right to a demand for plebiscite. In the meanwhile the people of Kashmir elected a democratically representative government on the basis of universal adult franchise and on the choice of this freely elected government of Jammu and Kashmir the provisions of the Indian Constitution were extended to the State making it an integral part of the Indian Federation. All these are facts beyond dispute and naturally, at this stage and under the conditions at present prevailing, the question of a plebiscite for the area of Kashmir actively under the control of the State Government of Jammu and Kashmir cannot arise under any conception of legal or moral law. And what Pakistan was unable to acquire by legal means or moral suasion she had put out to gain by the force of arms. But all this is by the way.

To return to a consideration of India's position in the Commonwealth. So long as Britain would continue to head the Commonwealth events during the last 18 years have again been demonstrating, India would remain a member of the *entente* whose rights of equality with other members would always be deliberately eroded by the head of the Commonwealth. As it has already been demonstrated that the principle of perfect neutrality of all of members in the event of a conflict between two members on which the Commonwealth is said to have been built, would be likely to be abrogated as it may suit the head of the Commonwealth. It is true that the Commonwealth is no longer an exclusively British association with a white majority. Nevertheless it is still dominated by a white minority and the practice of discrimination against coloured members of the Commonwealth by the whites has been becoming more widespread and even positively offensive. While Britain was obliged to agree to the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth on account of *apartheid*, Britain herself appears to have been getting into close relations with the expelled member. Her own immigration laws since have been acquiring an offensively discriminatory content especially in the measure they have been further tightened up by the present Labour Government of Britain. And Britain's partisanship against India in the Indo-Pakistani conflict has naturally occasioned further resentment against the country.

While one does not go to the length of advising that India should straightaway quit the Commonwealth, it is time that she should seriously re-examine her own position in the association and decide upon a future course of action which would be more in keeping with both her national interests as well as that of her dignity as an equal member of the association. It should seem quite clear that if the Commonwealth has to survive as an association of nations of all colours on a basis of complete equality with one another, the present British and colonial domination in its counsels must be effectively neutralised. It is not consistent that Britain should be allowed to follow

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

present offensively discriminatory racial ...and current reports from London ...e that they have begun to increasingly ...the common British mind and behaviour ...vitiate relations between whites and the ...ed people all over Britain—and at the same ...ontinue to play a dominating role in the ...onwealth's counsels. It should be clearly ...d that the British gain far more from the ...onwealth by way of widening markets for ...port industries, widening and often fabul- ...lucrative markets for employment of her ...employables and in various other ways, ...the other members, especially the under- ...ed ones, do from association with it. This ...her facts point to the need for redefining ...onwealth relations at least to ensure that ...ains a wholesome organization of common ...qual benefit to all members. India could ...a leading role in the undertaking and if ...d the other coloured members of the ...tion found that inspite of their over- ...ingly large majority they were unable to ... any substantial breach in the white ...ance in its counsels, as there is every ...ension that they may, India could then ...counsel with them as to whether it was not ...e to scuttle the Commonwealth to form ... own separate *entente* independently of ...m.

...l Policy Again

...When only a month ago the Chief Ministers' ...ference in New Delhi under pursuasions from ...Prime Minister virtually sabotaged the week- ...recommendations of the All India Food Sub- ...mittee, we voiced the apprehension in these ...mns that the hope of the emergence of a ...esome and effective national food policy had, ...ey, again receded into the background.

...tional Food Policy

...At the risk of reiterating what we had al- ...y said on the subject in course of earlier ...sions, we would like to, once again, ...state what, in our view should be ...essential elements of a rational and national ...policy. While it is true that increase in cereals production, ever since the beginning of the Second Plan period and throughout the first three years of the Third Plan had failed to keep pace with the accelerated rate of increase in the net population of the country, we have earlier endeavoured to demonstrate that the quantum of cereals production in the measure in which it was reported to have been achieved according to published official statistics, should nevertheless be just enough to cover a daily 16 oz. adult ration for the entire population, although practically no surplus would be left thereafter. This, is by no means, a comfortable position for any country and it is essential that concentrated efforts should have been made and effective measures applied to increase food production to attain a comfortable surplus position in supplies. There is another very important aspect of the matter which should also have engaged serious attention. While the gross production of all cereals taken together would enable an over-all daily 16 oz. adult consumption allocation to be just about covered, the production of the finer grains such as rice and wheat would not be able to bear the stress of the gross demand even by a very substantial margin. With increasing urbanisation in the peoples' outlook and food habits the stress of demand on finer grains was bound to, as it has been proved to have, steadily increase and, thereby, create a climate of actual shortage which would materially distort the food supply position as a whole. With such obvious shortages in the supply position and with something like Rs. 3,000 crores of *unaccounted money* operating in the market, the apprehension of heavy speculative pressures upon the foodgrains market was as they have proved to have been *very real* and which have been having the effect of materially distorting the supply and prices of food. This has been happening every year since 1962-63 and in spite of the very substantial production increases of the last harvest season, which attained an all-time peak, and the very large food imports, food prices have continued to soar higher and higher with the onset of the current year's lean season. The onset of the national emergency derived from the recent Pakistani armed invasion of the country, the situation has considerably aggravated and the retail price level of rice in the free market in areas just outside the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

rationed cordon of Greater Calcutta area, jumped up by something like 33 per cent within the first ten days of September from the level prevailing earlier which, again, was something like 50 per cent higher than what it was at the new year. The difference between the statutory retail price of rice charged by the Government's rationing system and the open market price at the new year, it should be underlined, was something like 31 per cent and today even after the upward readjustment of Government prices for the so-called purpose of "more realistically relating it to the free market price" the difference works out to something like 127 per cent.

A little closer study of the matter would be bound to reveal certain significant facts. First, that by allowing free scope of the over-all consumption demand in the country to heavily concentrate upon the finer grains like rice and wheat, speculative elements with the adequate *unaccounted* finance at their disposal have been given corresponding scope to increasingly distort both the price levels and the supply position in these commodities. Secondly, price fluctuations and supply shortages (for, we have already demonstrated that the supply was only marginally sufficient and was, therefore, extremely sensitive to even the lightest speculative pressure) in the finer grains reacted adversely, as they were bound to do, upon not merely the coarser grains but, generally, upon all articles of primary consumption needs, resulting in an over-all shortage in all varieties of food articles and correspondingly increasing rises in the price level. This is a situation in which very understandably Governmen's ability to exert any considerable influence upon the supply and price elements, depending as they have to mainly upon the trade for the purpose, cannot be of very great moment.

Two conclusions, one a corollary of the other, are an inescapable lesson of the situation; first that the over-all consumption pattern of food cereals must, in the present pattern and quantum of production, be induced to take to a mixed diet of fine and coarse grains to enable consumption demands as a whole to be contained within the gross available supply quantum from home production; and, secondly, in order to be able to do so, Government must acquire a commanding position over both supply and distribution. These were, in effect, the tentative conclusions to which both the Union and the State Governments had arrived during the critical months of last year which appeared to have been relegated to cold storage, if not entirely abandoned later when with the harvest the supply position eased to a more comfortable level. Almost identical recommendations distinguished the labours of the Food Subcommittee late in July last and which appeared to have been sabotaged only the following week when the Chief Ministers of States met to consider the matter finally under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister.

Total Procurement And Rationing—Only Answer

In fact the only effective answer to the food problem in the nature it has been developing over the years of the Third Plan period, can be total procurement and statutory rationing in all urban areas and industrial complexes and modified rationing in rural areas, especially those areas where local production fall short of basic minimal local consumption demand. It is only in this way that a commanding position may be acquired by Government and without such an element of command by Government the heavy speculative pressures on supply and prices whether it be by the traditional trade or by other elements that may have obtruded in the racket, can never be contained. One can easily appreciate Government's reluctance to so heavily commit themselves in the matter having regard firstly, to the many lags in their administrative machinery which they may understandably feel to be so far insufficiently equipped to carry such heavy and basic responsibilities and, secondly, to their reluctance to disturb the present sweet relationship they have with the trade and the whom they may have to go once again in the very near future for assistance to see them through the coming general elections within the next two years.

Imports Of Food Grains

The question that has to be very carefully considered in this connection is whether the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

should continue to import food from abroad. The very crux of the which demands that Government must adequate and wholesome command over supply and distribution of food grains, es that food imports should he continued for such time as the Government have en able to build an adequate buffer stock alone could enable them to maintain their ed over supplies and the corresponding ents relating to distribution for any of time. Although every effort should be cover consumption demand to within the derived from home production,—and seen that during normal seasons they just about met fully—the need for a stock to provide for crop failures in any wn or the sudden emergence of a national cy like the one through which we have rrently passing would appear to be ming. As a matter of fact this would be the most crucial element in successful and in spite of several successive past endations in this behalf, beginning with the Ashoke Mehta Committee, not much achieved so far. And until such an buffer stock has been built up or until e as our home production begins to fficient surplus over basic consumption enable adequate carry forwards from it a buffer stock, imports will continue to escapable necessity.

Approach

the success and wholesomeness of measures Government may devise and deal with the food problem must depend basic and over-all national approach that ght to its solution. The facts that tates are autonomous and must be h a large amount of discretion to deal the matter and, further, that States are known to have only a very and regional approach to the question, with their own deficits or surpluses the case may be, horribly complicates the ation. One of the glaring examples a regional approach was made evident when the question of introducing of rationing will have to be further extended statutory rationing in all urban areas with a certain minimum specified population was first mooted, all those states which were in a comfortably surplus position, stubbornly opposed such a proposal at least so far as their own states were concerned. It is true that also some states which were heavily in deficit in food production also opposed the proposal, but their opposition stemmed mainly from the apprehension that the Union Government or the Governments of the surplus states would be unable to meet their supply commitments to those deficit states. The woeful fact was all too apparent that a national approach to the problem as a whole was lacking and without which any satisfactory solution would be absolutely impossible.

The Vulnerable People

The fact now is beyond any dispute that if the more vulnerable sections of the peoplation who, according to a four year old estimate of the Planning Commission constitute 76 per cent of the total national population and of whose total consumption budget something like 75 per cent was absorbed by the cost of food grains (at price levels then prevailing—wholesale price levels generally have since risen by 37 per cent and of food grains by some 58 per cent), have to be saved from utter starvation and worse, rationing on a nationwide level is the only possible remedy. We would, once again, underline the need for an *integrated national* approach as well as nationally universal measures to deal with the matter as well as to cover all kinds of food grains, fine and coarse, within its measures.

National Emergency And Food

"Out of evil", they say, "cometh good." The explosion of the armed conflict with Pakistan, evil though it is in spite of its being forced upon us, has brought at least one good thing in its devastating wake. It has been very heartening to see that in the context of the emergency the Government have been compelled to decide upon almost immediate introduction of rationing in all urban areas with populations of 100,000 and more. We feel that eventually the machinery

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to all non-agricultural areas in the country and more adequate and elaborate measures will have to be taken to extend modified rationing also to the more vulnerable rural areas in the country. In addition to rice and wheat all cereals of the coarser varieties would have to be brought under the purview of rationed distribution and Government must also acquire an overwhelming command on other subsidiary but essential articles of food such as pulses and gram, edible oils etc. This should not be conceived as a short-term measure but must be regarded as something which will have to stay permanently with us during any foreseeable future. For one reason and another we have been living in the midst of a continuing national emergency and we must reconcile ourselves, by the look of things, to continue to live with it indefinitely in the future. What is now conceived as a measure to meet a temporary national emergency must, therefore, be refurbished and reinforced to operate with developing measures of efficiency indefinitely in the future. We shall have to continue, it looks likely, to fight for our national existence against powerful external aggressors and insidious internal elements at future. And it is a time-honoured adage that not merely an army but also a people as a whole, has to march "on its stomach."

Development And Food

But it is not merely to fight an external aggressor, but even to fight our relentless battle against poverty and sickness, diseas and destitution, adequate machinery must be provided and brought into operation so that our food resources can be utilized to the maximum advantage of the nation. It is only when we have been able to lay a sound foundation of an adequately surplus agriculture that we may hope to ensure a steady, integrated and balanced tempo of industrial development which must be an essential element in our over-all economic development. And among agricultural produce food grains production even now occupies and will always continue to occupy a most crucial place. It may be underlined in this connection that even after a decade of what may, in comparative terms, be regarded, as massive industrialization, agricultural production, by value, continues to account for over one half of the gross national product and of gross agricultural production, food grain production alone accounts for over 67 per cent of the total. In other words food grains production in the country accounts for over 33 per cent or more than a third of the gross national product. This, on the face of it, is a poor index of development along more modern sophisticated lines. But the paradox is unless the incidence of production in agriculture with corresponding emphasis upon food grains production assures a level where the foundations of an adequate surplus over basic consumption demands have been ensured, the conditions of a more rapid and evenly balanced rate of industrial progress cannot be said to have been properly laid down. The history of economic development of all the developed countries would indicate that a formation of an adequate agricultural surplus has always preceded and never followed rapid industrialization. The only exception has been the process of reconstruction of the warshattered economies of Central and Western Europe where agricultural and industrial reconstruction have been induced to follow a simultaneous and mutually complementary process. It should be realized, however, that the cases of the Central and Western European economies have been those of reconstruction and not of building from scratch as it is in the case of India and those of other developed economies as that of the U.S.A. for instance. Prime Minister Shastri demonstrated a measure of basic common sense, even if his pronouncements in this behalf may not have been supported by specific knowledge of the world's economic history, when he counselled concentration of effort, investment and outlay on agriculture during the initial years of the Fourth Plan, even if that may have to mean halting the Plan over a temporary period. Massive concentration upon agricultural production with especial emphasis upon laying down a sound basis of surplus food grains production is the only possible way of meeting not merely the current pressures upon the economy, but also for creating the conditions-precedent for initiating a process of concentric and all-round growth towards a self-generating and self-sustaining take-off.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

(By Ramananda Chatterjee in The Modern Review, Sept., 1908, P. 266)

Seventyfive years ago on the 27th of ember Bristol witnessed the death of a Rammohun Roy, the greatest Indian odern times. With perhaps the excep- of the recent movement of the indus- regeneration of the country, Ram- un Roy laid the foundation of all the cipal modern movements for the ele- n of our people. In one of his works olds up to his countrymen the prospect a possibly independent India and of a the Enlightener of Asia. He believed the people of India "have the same bility of improvement as any other ized people". He did not believe that tics were naturally an inferior race. he course of one of his numerous reli- s controversies, "A Christian" having lged in a tirade about persons being graded by Asiatic effiminacy", the Raja inded him that almost all the ancient hets and patriarchs venerated by stians, nay, even Jesus Christ himself, e Asiatics. Mr. William Adam, a Bap- Missionary whose association with mohun Roy led him to adopt Unitarian ions bears the following testimony to love of liberty :

"He would be free or not be at all..... e of freedom was perhaps the strongest sion of his soul,—freedom not of action ely, but of thought.....This tenacity personal independence, this sensitive ousy of slightest approach to an en- achment on his mental freedom was mpanied with a very nice perfection the equal rights of others, even of those o differed most widely from him."

It is only meet that his countrymen should celebrate the anniversary of his death all over India every year.

In view of the progress recently made by Japan and the probable political emancipation of Persia and China, it may seem improbable that India should be the enlightener of Asia. But we must bear in mind that in this world thought rules supreme; and no nation in Asia has yet arisen to dispute India's paramount position in the realms of thought. In that region what her position was in the past may yet again be hers in the future. We are confident that it will be so.

The estimate of the Raja's personality by his biographer, the late Miss Sophia Dobson Collet, an Englishwoman and a Unitarian Christian, may not be accepted in its entirety by Indians, but is on the whole pretty accurate. It has been quoted before, but will bear quotation once more.

"Rammohun stands in history as the living bridge over which India marches from her unmeasured past to her incalculable future. He was the arch which spanned the gulf that yawned between ancient caste and modern humanity, between superstition and science, between despotism and democracy, between immobile custom and a conservative progress, between a bewildering polytheism and a pure, if vague, Theism. He was the mediator of his people, harmonizing in his own person, often by means of his own solitary sufferings, the conflicting tendencies of immemorial tradition and of inevitable enlightenment. He embodies the new spirit which arises from the compulsory mixture of races and faiths and civilizations,—he embodies its freedom

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of enquiry, its thirst for science, its large human sympathy, its pure and sifted ethics, along with its reverent but not uncritical regard for the past, and prudent, even timid inclination towards revolt. But in the life of Rammohun we see what we hope yet to have shown us in the progress of India, that the secret of the whole movement is religious. Amid all his wanderings Rammohun was saved by his faith..... He was a genuine outgrowth of the old Hindu stock; in a soil watered by new influences, and in an atmosphere charged with unwanted forcing power, but still a true Scion of the old stock. The Raja was no merely occidentalized oriental, no Hindu polished into the doubtful semblance of a European. Just as little was he, if we may use the term without offence a spiritual Eurasian. If we follow the right line of his development we shall find that he leads the way from the orientalism of the past, not to, but through Western Culture, towards a civilization which is neither Western nor Eastern, but something vastly larger and nobler than both. He preserves continuity throughout, by virture of his religion which again supplied the motive force of his progressive movement. The power that connected and restrained as well as widened and impelled, was religion.

"Rammohun thus presents a most instructive and inspiring study for the New India of which he is the type and pioneer. He offers to the new democracy of the West a scarcely less valuable index of what our greatest Eastern dependency may yet become under the Imperial sway of the British commonalty. There can be little doubt that whatever future the destinies may have in store for India, that future will be largely shaped by the life and work of Rammohun Roy. And not the future of India alone. We stand on the eve of an unprecedented intermingling of east and west. The European and Asiatic streams of human development, which have often tinged each other before, are now approaching confluence which bids fair to form the one ocean river of the collective progress of mankind. In the presence of that greater Eastern question,—with its infiinite ramifications industrial, political, moral and religious—the international problems of the passing hour, even the graves of them, seem dwarfed into parochial pettiness. The nearing dawn of these unmeasured possibilities only throws into clearer prominence the figure of the man whose life story we have told. He was if not the prophetic type, at least the precursive hint, of the charge that is to come."

Rammohun Roy was all that he was because he did not knock at the door of the West as an intellectual and spiritual foundling or orphan or beggar. He was an oriental first, who had made his own the best that Hindu and Islamic culture could give him. He then extended the hospitality of his soul to the best that Western culture had in its store. The saying that to him who has, more shall be given, was literally fulfilled in his case. The West can give us its best only if we can meet it on equal terms—to give as well as to receive.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

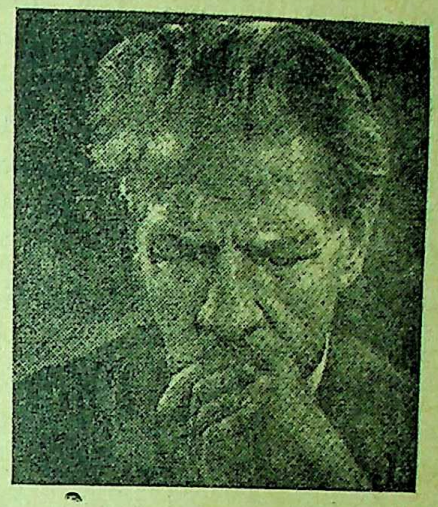
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ALBERT SCHWEITZER

LAKSHMI CHATTERJI

A few days ago, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, ician, missionary, and philosopher, d away in his jungle hospital in harene, where he had lived for the 0 years. Born in Keysersburg, Haute- e, in the year 1875, he was destined one of the greatest humanitarians world has seen. A remarkably talented Dr. Schweitzer's independent and hat unconventional views often ht him into conflict with the more ntional thinkers of his day. From youth, this independence of spirit ind, made life often difficult for him, the young Albert's scholastic and al careers did not prosper, till he teachers who were capable of iating his ways. From this time the steadily displayed both a brilliant as well as unusual talent for music. g the course of his University career, dent Albert showed a great passion quiring knowledge. He read History, ture, Music and the Natural Sciences ously. In fact, during these years, he ed not the slightest signs of persuing ical career. He achieved considerable s an Organist on the other hand, and expounder of Philosophic theories, gh it is recorded that about this time, ceived ideas of devoting himself to service of his fellowmen. This n was due to a sudden awareness of tent of human misery around him he was himself leading a very happy nented life.

was not till the year 1904 however, he was almost 30 years of age, and already acquired a doctorate in Theology, that he decided to become a doctor of medicine. By this time he had held various high positions such as that of Curate of St. Nicholas, Strasbourg (1899),



Albert Schweitzer

Privatdozent at Strasbourg University, (1902-1912), as well as held the additional posts of Principal, Theological College of St. Thomas (1903-1906), and Organist at the Societe J. S. Bach, Paris (1905-1911). His decision to follow a medical career was made after reading an article which emphasized the tremendous toll Leprosy takes of human life in many parts of Africa. A man of considerable determination, Albert Schweitzer persued the medical course for seven long years at the medical faculty of Strasbourg hereafter, over and above his work in various University posts connected with the Humanities. In fact so hard did he strive towards the achievement of his goal, that apart from his medical studies and his work at the University, Dr. Schweitzer lectured widely during

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

these seven years, giving countless organ recitals, the proceeds of which he later used to build his hospital in Africa as well as to meet some of his initial expenses when he arrived in Gabon.

The Schweitzers sailed for Lambarene in 1913, a small development in French Equatorial Africa, and it was here that he built his world famous hospital, where for many years he treated innumerable cases of leprosy. This hospital has been the target of much criticism. To begin with it was a temporary building where the patients lived in thatched huts; sanitation left much to be desired while electricity was introduced much later on. Even when contributions poured in from all parts of the world, Dr. Schweitzer refused to allow many fundamental changes, because he wanted the jungle folk to feel at home when they came to him for treatment. In these surroundings however, he performed countless operations and from this unpretentious hospital almost no sufferer was turned away.

A man of great sincerity and a deeply religious man, Albert Schweitzer's life was guided by his religious and philosophic principles. From his University days, in his quest for the "Universal conception of the ethical", he had read meticulously the philosophies of many Faiths,—Hindu, Jain, Christian and Buddist,—but the desired principle was not apparent in any of these studies. He found it through his own efforts, later, during his early years in Africa, and this principle he defined as the "reverence for life". In his book, "Philosophy of Civilizations", he stresses the fact that civilisation s the reeult of reverence for moving urging will in which all Being is life that man cultivates. Thus, for example, he says, "reverence for life means to be in grasp of the infinite, inexplicable, forward-moving urgeing will in which all Being is grounded.....All living piety flows fro reverence for life and the compulsion to wards ideals which is given on it." Agai "reverence for life demands therefore a the ideal of the material and spiritual bei of man that with the completest possib development of all his faculties, and in t widest possible freedom, he should strug to be honest with himself, and to take sympathetic and helpful interest in all t life that is around him....", because, "rev rence for life will not allow the validi of the purely individualistic and inwa conception of civilisation,.....it is incre ingly compelling him to be concerned ab all the life that is about him, and to fe responsible for it." It was this sense responsibility towards humanity that for ed the guiding principle of Dr. Schweitz life. The urge to preserve life, particula among those who were helpless, such as t disease-riddled and proverty-striken mass of the African jungle, thus became a mora obligation to him.

A man of varied interests, Dr. Schwei zer's depth of knowledge in many fields reflected in his writings. Perhaps his m famous book was "Bach; the Musici Poet". This was published before he le for Africa, and was extensively read at t time of its publication. Later, he enlarg it to twice its original size, and this tw volume biography of the composer, analy ing his mystical genius, is still general acknowledged to be the starting point of t modern Bach revival. Furthermore, he w among the first to state that the clarity Bach's music was obscured by its present tion by oversized orchestras. As a Organist, he was acknowledged as one the leading exponents in the years whe he gave countless performances in man European cities and, in fact, he also had tremendous knowledge of the technique o organ building. He is said to have been responsible for proposing certain general

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...lations for organ builders, which have ...e then been accepted by the Trade.

Apart from his interest in Music, Dr. ...eitzer contributed greatly also in the ... of Theology and Philosophy. His ...istianity and the Religions of the ...d", expressed certain views regarding ...u philosophy which roused a storm of ...est from those who felt he had mis-...erstood the essence of Hindu Theology. ...Schweitzer criticised Indian mysticism ...being "life and world-negating." Thus ...is of the opinion that "the religious ...ers...of India,..do not take a world-...life-affirming, but a world-and life-...ing, view of it. Their world-view is ...mistic-ethical, and contains, therefore, ...tives only to inward civilisation of the ..., not to outward civilisation as well." ..., "the philosophy of the Indians.... ...ars in a three-fold shape : as ethics of ...mation, as ethics of universal pity, and ...ethics of world-renunciation." With ...viewpoint he then contrasts the opti...c-ethical view of the West, which is a ...ribution of many forces, though funda...ally these are all derived from some ...tian principle or other. Dr. S. Radha...nan, in his book entitled "Eastern ...gions and Western Thought", while ...ing Dr. Schweitzer's above mentioned ..., has expressed the opinion that the ...ction that Hindu thought is world-...life-negating and Christian thought is ...d-and life-affirming cannot be histo...y sustained. Furthermore he is of the ...on that the contrast is really between ...on and a self-sufficient humanism.

Dr. Schweitzer's "Quest of the Histori...Jesus" was considered to be a milestone ...odern theology, while among his other ...known works are his autobiography ..."Life and Thoughts" ; "On the Edge of ...Primeval Forest" ; "From my African ...Book", as well as innumerable lectures on both philosophic and musical subjects. Among the various lectures Dr. Schweitzer delivered until 1955 when he remained permanently in Lambarene, were the Hibbert Lectures delivered at Oxford in 1934, and the Gifford Lectures at Edinborough University in 1934 and 1935. He was shown great honour by many nations among whom were the French for he was elected to the French Academy in 1915, while he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1952.

By his decision to serve humanity in Africa, Albert Schweitzer gave up the opportunity to establish himself in Europe as both a speculative philosopher, and a greater exponent of music. His friends had discouraged him from taking this step, but he would not change his mind. Albert Schweitzer was absolutely convinced of the rightness of his decision. Success dissociated from spiritual satisfaction was not enough for him. Had this been so, then he would not have left the comforts of his University life, full of honours, and material satisfaction, and furthermore in a secure European background. Instead he chose to spend his life in the jungles of Africa, carving out a life satisfactory to him and fulfilling his spiritual and moral needs. Deeply aware of the needs of humanity, which only man can satisfy, Dr. Schweitzer declares that "feeling ourselves responsible to the civilised way of thinking, we look beyond peoples and states, to humanity as a whole. To anyone who has devoted himself to ethical world-and life-affirmation, the future of men and of mankind is a subject of anxiety and of hope. To become free from this anxiety and hope is poverty, to be wholly surrendered to it, is riches." Albert Schweitzer's life was a testament to this ideal, and was therefore undoubtedly "wholly surrendered to this anxiety and hope," and so "full of riches".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDO-PAKISTANI CONFLICT

A Diary of Diverse World Views and Comments

U.S.A.,—**Time**, September 10, 1965.

Kashmir

It began after dawn with a thunderous artillery barrage that sent the villagers of Chhamb and Dewa in the southwestern tip of Kashmir scurrying for shelter. As the sun rose higher over the semidesert land—flat, dotted with brush, a low mountain range to the north—Indian troops peered anxiously towards the border. What they saw sent them in a hasty retreat to the mountains: over the arid earth came 70 U.S. built Patton tanks and, in the dust cloud behind the lumbering giants, a full brigade of Pakistani infantrymen.

No Contest

Dewa and Chhamb were swiftly captured by the armored column, which rolled forward some eight miles against light resistance and halted by the banks of the shallow Munwar Tawi River. The Indian counterattack came from the sky—28 British made Vampire jets bombed and strafed the armored force, destroying an estimated ten tanks before Pakistani supersonic F86 Sabres streaked to the rescue. It was no contest: four of the slower Indian planes were shot down, and the rest scattered.

The air-tank battle last week abruptly escalated the Kashmir trouble from a border skirmish to the brink of all-out war. The contending Asian powers are evenly matched. India's army is the larger (867,000 to 253,000), but the Pakistanis are much better equipped. In a contest of quantity versus quality, India could probably overrun populous but poorly defended East Pakistan in a matter of weeks but might meet disaster in the arid uplands of West Pakistan.

Bloody Welter

The struggle has been 18 years in the making, and the basic issue is religious. After the British left the subcontinent in 1947, Pakistan and India emerged as independent nations in a welter of blood. An estimated half a million people were slain in the Hindu-Moslem riots, and hordes of panicky refugees fled toward the nearest friendly border. Each princely state could supposedly choose which nation it wanted to adhere to. But when the Moslem ruler of the predominantly Hindu Hyderabad opted for Pakistan, Indian troops marched in and reversed his decision. When the Hindu ruler of the predominantly Moslem Kashmir chose India, Pakistan also sent in troops. The result was a 14-month war that was finally brought to an end under United Nations auspices, with India holding two-thirds of Kashmir and Pakistan the remainder.

Since then the opposing armies have been glowering at each other across the cease-fire line, and have occasionally exchanged shots. The U.N. peace-keeping force under Australia's General Robert Nimmo has neither the authority nor the men to prevent outbreaks and is barely tolerated by both sides. The U.N. has four times ordered a plebiscite in Kashmir in order to determine the wishes of its inhabitants. India has always refused and,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1957, a handpicked, Kashmiri puppet
gislature declared the state an "integral"
t of India. Kashmir's Sheilk Abdullah,
o belatedly objected to Indian domina-
n and also called for a plebiscite, has
ent most of his time in an Indian jail.

ry Pass

Last month when guerrilla warfare
oke out in Kashmir, India announced to
e world that the guerrillas were actually
filtrators from Pakistan. Just as loudly,
kistan insisted that they were native
shmiri "freedom fighters." Whatever
eir indentity, the Indians have killed or
ptured more than a third of the estimated
00 "infiltrators." Deciding that this was
enough, India then moved to strike
the "infiltration routes" themselves.
dian troops crossed the U.N. cease-fire
and occupied half a dozen abandoned
kistani outposts. Seemingly encouraged
the silence of Pakistan's President,
hammed Ayub Khan, India stepped up
tempo. In the Poonch-Uri area, the
dians advanced fully 25 miles. Toward
end of August, four battalions of crack
dian troops drove the Pakistanis from
vital passes and claimed to have killed
and captured 14 of the enemy.

India became delirious with victory.
ws of the Indian advances was wildly
ered in Parliament. The Government
o announced the "liberation" of 5,000
ople and the establishment of Indian
il administration in the "liberated"
eas. While they were at it, Indian troops
ided to "correct" the cease-fire line
ere it bulged toward the Kashmir capital
Srinagar: the salient was reduced from
out 80 miles to 16. In New Delhi a top
icial announced: "The United Nations
s not been able to see to it that the
ease-fire line is observed. India has taken
e task upon itself."

Question of Objectives

The open seizure of Pakistan-controlled territory left Ayub Khan almost no choice. Either Pakistan would hit back or be exposed to the world as a paper tiger. Last week Pakistan made its military answer and also chose the ground on which it would fight. Its 70 tanks were deployed on the favourable flatlands of Chhamb rather than in the rugged mountain country near Srinagar.

It was not yet clear whether the Pakistani drive had the limited objective of smashing Indian forces in the immediate area around Chhamb, or whether it had the far graver purpose of crossing India's international boundary itself to strike at the vital road that connects Jammu to Srinagar. In New Delhi, Defence Minister Y. B. Chavan declared flatly that Pakistan had invaded Indian territory, and officials spoke ominously of a nearby Indian armored division capable of moving into the Chhamb area within 24 hours. It might well move with caution, since India's armored equipment consists mostly of aged British Centurions and U.S. World War II Shermans—no match for Pakistan's Patton tanks.

It is this disparity that brought a stiff Indian protest to Washington last week, complaining that Pakistan's modern planes and armor were supplied by the U.S. with the explicit understanding that they would never be used against India.* (*Pakistan has received some $5 billion in U.S. aid, about $1.5 billion of it in military hardware. Of the $5.2 billion India has received from the U.S., virtually none has been of a military nature.) Ayub Khan responded that "we will spend our time dealing with the enemy rather than putting the American weapons in cotton wool." Uncertain just what was happening in the Chhamb area,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

U.S. military officers flew to the fighting scene to investigate the charges.

Talk of Honor

Ayub Khan ignored the angry howls from New Delhi, warning that Indian aggression "cannot and shall not be allowed to go unchallenged." Dissmissing charges of infiltration, he said bitterly. "We are doing no more than what we have always pledged ourselves to do, which is to support the people of Kashmir in exercising their right of self-determination as pledged to them by the United Nations and Pakistan as well as India. India has dishonored her pledge. Pakistan shall honor it."

With both sides openly contemptuous of the U.N., Secretary-General U. Thant abandoned as useless his month-long "quiet diplomacy" by which he hoped to achieve behind-the-scenes mediation. He publicly called for a return to old positions and mutual respect for the cease-fire line. It was obvious last week that no one was listening, and observers could only reflect that when nations begin talking about their honor, they are in a mood for a long fight.

BRITAIN

THE ECONOMIST, September 4, 1965.

PAKISTAN CAN'T WIN

What do they do now? The Pakistanis have spent 18 years trying to get a settlement in Kashmir of the kind which, by and large, they have a right to, one satisfactory to themselves. At the start they very foolishly tried a tribal invasion which first threw the Maharaja of Kashmir into India's arms and then was beaten back. They tried the United Nations and a plebiscite; no plebistite was ever held because the United Nations could not get the two countries to agree on the condi... for one. They tried a military alliance ... Britain and the United States, which ... Indians thumbed their noses at. T... tried direct talks with India, and discove... unsurprisingly that India was not inte... ed in working out solutions satisfactory ... Pakistan. They tried a flirtation ... China, and found that, even when ... Indians were reeling from one Chi... attack and in deadly fear of another, ... Nehru was not going to safeguard his ... frontiers by making concessions, ho... hard Mr. Duncan Sandys twisted his ... They tried to use the popular appe... Sheik Abdullah for their own purp... which are not his, and saw him rearre... Last month they tried force.

And again they will probably fail. ... guerrillas from across the cease-fire ... have taken a beating. The Pakistanis ... have expected nothing else; they know ... dispositions of the Indian army well enou... and can surely not have believed that ... guerrillas would be aided by a popular ... rising against 100,000 Indian troops con... trated in a valley about the size of Su... It is more likely that the Pakistanis, ... still claim to have nothing to do with ... original violence, intended it mainly to ... activate the dispute. That, inde... has been achieved, but with what ... sult? By Thursday it looked as if the ... sult might be outright war, a war wh... Pakistan would probably lose. Even if ... fighting halts short of that, the Indians ... now totally determined not to negotiate, ... alone compromise; Kashmir, they say, ... Indian and that's that.

Assuming, hopefully, that a big ... can be avoided, President Ayub Khan th... has four choices. He can mount furth... guerrilla operations on his own. He c... look to world opinion to cajole India in... talks. He can invite the Chinese to wa... their big stick on his behalf. Or, as far ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kashmir is concerned, he can shut up shop. The last solution is not as impossible as it sounds. President Ayub, after all, in seven years has achieved exactly nothing for the Kashmiris, whatever he may have attempted, and yet he has survived in power in Pakistan. It would be politically possible for him—so long as no one spotted what was going on—to let the whole matter drift. But it is not a solution he is very likely to accept.

What about more guerrilla operations? Here he would face the constant risk of retaliation against Pakistan itself. The Kashmir valley is small, snow-bound in winter, heavily occupied by Indian troops and not notoriously inhabited by militantly pro-Indian heroes. The best the Pakistanis could seriously hope for would be a series of pin-prick intrusions across the cease-fire line rather than a sustained guerrilla movement.

World opinion? If that means the United Nations, the Pakistanis must be permitted a bitter laugh. India has international commitments, now ageing, to the United Nations; yet even when these commitments were fresh it was essentially Indian reluctance that aborted every attempt to arrange a settlement in Kashmir. The Indians cannot now rely as securely as they once did on a Russian veto to prevent any disagreeable decision in the Security Council. But let the United Nations say what it will, and assume for the sake of argument that it is something entirely satisfactory to Pakistan, who will enforce its decisions? Not certainly a conscience-stricken Indian Government. The Pakistanis would undoubtedly like to use this forum and any others available (the Conference of New Emerging Forces, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, and Uncle Tom Cobley's Peace Foundation, and all) to belabour India. They may have a limited success. But by itself that would not get them very far.

Who else will help? Not the Americans, who are now as vexed with President Ayub as they once were with Mr. Nehru. Not the Russians, who could only lose by throwing over India in favour of Pakistan, even if they were so minded. Not the British; even if they were as biased as the dimmer citizens of New Delhi chose to hint, their economic influence over India is not worth a row of beans (whereas the economic hostages they have given India are at least pumpkin-sized).

And so back to China, the one world power that is not only in a position to harm India but would not mind doing so. Here President Ayub has two questions to ask. How far can he afford to go along with China? And how far the Chinese will go along with him? The answer to the second question is not nearly as obvious as it might seem. When the Indians and Chinese were fighting in 1962, President Ayub went out of his way to make it possible for the Indians to switch troops from the Pakistani frontier to the Chinese one. Most people have forgotten this. Have the Chinese?

Conversely, though there is often talk in New Delhi of Sino-Pakistani plots, on the first of the two occasions this year when India and Pakistan have been at each other's throats—the fight in the Rann of Cutch—the Indians felt able to move troops from the Chinese border towards Pakistan. The Pakistanis say they are doing the same this time. The Chinese have been making some threatening noises about alleged Indian intrusions from Sikkim, though these began long before the Kashmir trouble. But they have remained conspicuously silent about Kashmir. Fighting there broke out on August 9th. Of the 1,200 odd news stories the New China News Agency has put out in London since then, several have been about India. Exactly one, five days

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

late, described the Kashmir fighting, without overt comment, while others ostentatiously avoided mentioning the topic. The Chinese long ago endorsed Pakistan's support for Kashmiri self-determination. But it hardly looks as if they, any more than anybody else, are going to rush in to do anything about it.

The Chinese may of course be preparing to attack or threaten India on their own account. But if they are not, President Ayub, if he wants their active support, must presumably pay a price for it. Whatever it was, this would almost automatically be a price that further alienated the Americans; and for all his brave response to recent American pressure, he is not in a very good position to alienate them. The Chinese may have offered Pakistan one loan of $60 million; the Americans, military aid excluded, provide nearly six times as much every year. Economic arguments apart, President Ayub has wisely never shown any enthusiasm for cutting his links with the West, however interested he is in acquiring new ones with the communist powers.

Pakistan's president also has to consider the hidden risks of supping with the Chinese. His is a Moslem country, largely run, with some signs of success recently, by capitalists and landowners. This might survive an alliance with China, but it might very well not. At least in East Pakistan, communism though banned, has some influence. How would President Ayub respond to an Indian warning that a grab at Kashmir might mean an Indian grab at East Pakistan? (By inviting Chinese armies to march to its defence across India's north-east frontier and stay there? (Heaven knows what India would want with East Pakistan, but that is another story). Suppose the Chinese army took another crack at India. Left on their own, the Indians would—probably—be defeated; the natural result if India survived at all in its present form, would be a more nationalist Indian government than ever. More likely, India would not be left on its own. Does Pakistan want a great-power war on its doorstep? And would it be left at liberty to grab Kashmir while everyone looked the other way?

Yet short of grabbing it militarily while India is tied up elsewhere, what chance has Pakistan of getting any Indian government ever to relax its hold on Kashmir? The mere fear of China did not do the trick in 1963. Why should it work now when the Indian army is stronger and the Indian Prime Minister, whoever he may be, politically weaker? With one-quarter of India's population, a divided country, weaker armed forces and a far weaker economy, the Pakistanis can do nothing likely to weaken India's resolution except without appalling risks. However just their cause, and on balance it is just, a Pakistani president must ask whether the risks are worth taking.

The only other hope of an agreed settlement appears to be a spontaneous outbreak of good will. The **Eastern Economist** will cease to speak of "Pakistan, the [illegible] state"; **Dawn** will delete its far more numerous references to Indian "imperialism", "atrocities" and 'genocide.' The fundamental common interests which periodically enthuse Whitehall (and which do exist) will enthuse Rawalpindi and New Delhi too. Is it impossible? After all, both quite often say, Indians and Pakistanis are brothers. So they are. So were Cain and Abel.

The Observer, September 5, 1965

Kashmir Vultures At Work

Despatch from Kashmir dated Sept.

by Patrick Seale

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Zulfikar Bhutto, said in a fiery broadcast last night

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

100 million people of Pakistan have a solemn pledge to the people of Kashmir. This pledge they will redeem." The route of the war lies through open, fully populated farming country. Tall Sabi women are harvesting maize. The in their noses catches the sun and between the stalks. Every few miles red-brick village waves the soldiers by. ild boys splash about with water-lilies in the green slime of stagnant

But at the cease-fire line the smiling turn suddenly into a no-man's land scrub and grass. No one has ploughed crow here or grazed a cow for 17

ded Prisoners

But one's attention is soon returned to by a huddle of Indian prisoners squatt- blindfolded beneath a tree by the tail- a plane lying in a vegetable plot.

Then the Pakistan task-force raced s the cease-fire line last Wednesday ng, it aimed for the small town of mb, India's principal strong point e the Punjab plain. Chhamb was a e locality defended by India's 191st ry Brigade, supported by a squadron ks, a regiment of field artillery, a m of battery and a company of ne guns. Pakistan infantry went in wn supported by tanks. It is, indeed country, firm and open, protected on ght flank by treacherous rice paddies n the left by foothills which Azad mir irregulars secured.

Within six hours Chhamb's concrete es were overwhelmed. The Indians back leaving behind 15 French AMX and 13 guns.

Four Indian Vampires called up by the ered garrison were brought down by Pakistan F-86's in the first air battle of the war.

Sept 4. By first light this morning Pakistan's bold swoop into Kashmir was still unchek- ed. The mobile task-force which burst across the cease-fire line before dawn last Wednesday was, to-day, 20 miles inside Indian territory. It is still advancing.

Just 30 miles ahead lies the glittering prize of the new all-weather Jammu-Poonch road, the main life-line for India's armies in Kashmir.

And India has not yet counter-attacked. Her troops caught off-balance by the speed and suddenness of the Pakistan thrust are still falling back. Pakistan's morale is high and the staff is jubilant. But this week-end could be deceptive.

To threaten Jammu, Pakistan must take Akhnur, where Indian defences are strong. All night Pakistani reinforcements have been roaring up through dense dust-clouds towards the battle area and the sound of artillery.

This is no frontier skirmish but, per- haps, the opening engagement in an all-out war.

Pakistan has attacked where India least expected her to—in the extreme south-west corner of Kashmir where the great Punjab plain meets the foothills.

It is a massive retort to India's three sallies across the cease-fire line last month at Kargil, Tithwal and Haji Pir Pass. But the objective this time is not just the capture of an isolated eagle's-nest fort.

Challenge to India's Whole Position in Kashmir

Pakistan has mounted a sophisticated text-book exercise in mobile warfare, Her striking force on Wednesday was small—little more than a brigade—supported with tanks and artillery. But it was hard-hitting and fast-moving.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

classified them as stalks and bulbs—exactly like the visual ones. It would seem that the receptors of the signals are the same though the senses are different. It would seem, too, that nature has been chary here, trying to use as little of its highly varied "construction" elements as it can. This precisely is the riddle, and perhaps its solution as well.

Here is one of the experiments made: On a laboratory table we see a frog with surprised popping eyes. A very fine microelectrode protrudes from its head: it has been ushered into the sphere of the olfactory epithelia. A simple device stands nearby: a dosimetre releasing equal portions of volatile substance—of butanol. The oscillograph screen each time records a slowly rising signal: a vivid line reluctantly rises and subsides as unhurriedly. This is irrefutable proof that electrical impulses appear in the olfactory epithelia of the frog under the effects of the butanol. The experiments can produce those impulses to any desired extent at any moment. The dosimetre-frog-oscillograph system functions as smoothly as a well tuned mechanism.

Demirchoglyan and his assistants V. Ogandjanyan and E. Avetisyan noticed that the tension of the "olfactory" biocurrents was far greater than in the similar experiment with the optic retina, for the instruments then had registered only a fraction of a millivolt, instead of several millivolts as now. It is difficult, as yet, to say whether this implies that the processes are far stronger in the olfactory apparatus than in the optic, or whether the processes in the former are simply cruder. That does not really matter here. The chief thing is that Professor Demirchoglyan's premise about the kinship of the inner structure of the senses seems to have been confirmed.

There was yet another remarkable confirmation. The olfactory epithelia consist mainly of albuminous substances whose chief component is the "sulfhydryl gro... Working on these groups, the researc... learned to change their quantity in ... epithelia. Much to their surprise the sig... on the oscillograph screen was also cha... ed. The less there was of the sulfhyd... group, the weaker was the signal. ... scientists achieved such precise control ... the biocurrent that they could reduce ... signal to zero if they wished. There was ... reaction to the irritant then: only a ... luminous dot ran accross the screen of ... oscillograph.

From this one could deduce both ... thing: the sulfhydryl group was the ... link in the structure of the olfactory cel... Professor Demirchoglyan's premise was ... firmed by the fact that similar albumin... groups were also responsible for vision. ... no sooner were they blocked in the re... than sight partially failed. Had nat... really built the senses with the sa... "bricks?"

The sulfhydryl group evidently pla... the chief role. But where isn't there a... other, equally important substances? ... determine this Villi Ogandjanyan made ... following experiment. He extracted ... frog's epithelium and prepared an ext... with it—something like a solution. Af... this, he determined the concentration ... "sulfhydryl groups", free the "Jiin smel... from a bottle and switched on the dosime... of butanol. Then he measured the conce... tration again and found that the molecu... of the sulfhydryl group had sharply ... creased in number. The same thing ha... pened every time: these albuminous ma... rials grew in quantity when affected ... odorous substances. Which meant that ... sulfhydryl group molecules were linke... with other substances and were simply ... leased when exposed to a smell. As for ... the other substances of the epithelium ... these did not change in quantity. Thu... there was another, this time quantitativ...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mation that the sulfhydryl group was
y responsible for the sense of smell.

iments to Continue

Yerevan I asked Demirchoglyan
experiments his laboratory proposed
ke in the near future.

We would like to compile something
chart of odours to determine which
f the olfactory epithelium reacts to
ent smells. It is possible that they do
fil such specific functions. These sup-
ns have cropped up before. To clear
e matter we shall attach an external
de to each group of receptors. There
e fifty in all. Each electrode will register the sum of the reactions of all the receptors. I think we shall learn much that is interesting. After this, and that's a matter of the very near future, we intend to make a similar experiment with a human being. The experiment was far more complicated where vision was concerned. The olfactory experiment is absolutely safe and painless. This, for all we know, may be the method that will help doctors to examine a patient's sense of smell quickly and accurately. We will first see what the experiments will show. Then we will continue with the next phase of our research—the study of the hypersensitive hemoreceptors of insects. The prospect of creating instruments with such an olfactory sense is highly attractive."

—•—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LADY ABALA BOSE
A Tribute

SOBHONA NANDI
Nari Siksha Samity

It is a matter of great privilege that I should have this present opportunity of paying my tribute of respect to the memory of the Late Lady Abala Bose, whose birth centenary has only recently been celebrated. My feeble powers of both assessment and expression may not, I am deeply conscious, be adequate enough for presenting a comprehensive picture of the incomparably versatile interests and the many and varied contributions tto diverse fields of human endeavour that distinguished her life of great achievements. Mine will, therefore, have to be more in the nature of a personal anecdote, for she has been like unto a mother to me from as early as when I was only a little slip of a motherless child, a relation which remained unaffected throughout the long decades that followed and the many and varied vicissitudes through which life has taken me.

Among those great pathmakers who had helped to bring about an epochal transformation in the position and status of Indian womanhood in contemporary society, enabling it to claim perfect equality of rights and privileges with man in every field of human activity, the late Lady Abala Bose must be regarded to have been a most distinguished one. Her contributions to organising institutional relief to distressed and helpless Bengalee women have been informed by an equal measure of heartfelt compassion and great foresight, balanced judgment and unusual organizational talents. She was both a great educationist and a devoted worker for the cause of social welfare.

The position of women in Society in t days was really very distressing, especia among that large class of illiterates w when widowed or orphaned, were completely helpless and without any equipment to face life. With characte compassion tempered with an u measure of realism, Lady Bose cl visualized that education was the pri requisite which alone could rescue helpless women from their most unenv and, often, most humiliating plight. such a scheme of education must also for one of its basic objectives the busi of equipping them eventually with ability to support themselves. This alo would awaken their sense of self-respe self-reliance and contribute to their lar social usefulness. Instead of remai helplessly and humiliatingly depe upon family or social charity, they c thus be transformed into active and us members of a progressive society.

To conceive of such a scheme was, w Lady Bose, to launch heart and soul i the arduous task of planning to give practical shape. She was fortunate that s had, in the late Krishnaprasad Bysack, loyal, devoted and an indefatigable wor for the cause. Under Lady Bose's inspir leadership and Krishnaprasad Bysac devoted labours, the Nari Siksha Sam was born. Within a very short while number of primary schools were establish in and around Calcutta and in many of t outlying villages of the country.

But a difficult problem soon raised it head ; the schools were there, but where

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



LADY ABALA BOSE

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...from would they draw their teaching staff? ...with most people this might easily have ...roved such an insuperable problem that ...e whole enterprise might well have been ...bandoned in sheer frustration. Not so ...ith Lady Bose. She often used to admonish ...er despairing fellow workers with the ...ge that "problems were made to be ...ercome" and this one she did overcome ...ith characteristic purposefulness. She had ...band of raw recruits for her schools ...loted through the Junior Teachership ...raining Course and thus had a nucleus ...aff as a sort of initial jumping-off ground. ...hose who constituted the nucleus of the ...aff found in the process a message of hope, ...sort of meaningfulness in their hitherto ...eaningless and debasing existence. Those ...numerable women condemned by illiter-...cy, child-marriage, the purdah system ...d widowhood etc., to a position of humilia-...ng serfdom found in this institution a new ...ght of hope; theirs was not a wholly ...seless existence as they had so long been ...d to believe it was, but could be a self-...staining, useful one and they also could, ...ith a little courage and effort, earn the ...ght not merely of self-reliance but also ...e respect and regard of society as a ...hole. The whole thing started such a ...ain-reaction that the womanhood of ...engal as a whole, even in remote villages, ...n a new poise and a new meaning in ...fe.

Education, Lady Bose realised with ...er characteristic clarity of thinking and ...ision, was a basic requisite. But an equally ...rgent and eventual requirement for the ...conomically helpless woman was to set up ...e necessary institutional measures for ...quipping her with the qualities that would ...nable her to earn her living. The residen-...al Vidysagar Bani Bhabana she established ...lfilled just such a purpose. Away from ...alcutta also she established similar insti-...tions in a number of mofussil centres where training in various crafts were provided. This helped a large number of women to find a self-reliant footing in society and which eventually spread to wider areas of self-sustaining endeavour. Daughter of an eminent and affluent family and the wife of one of the world's most eminent creative scientists, Lady Bose's infinite fund of compassion for the suppressed and the underprivileged womanhood of the country led her to exert herself unremittingly in these fields of endeavour to the very last days of her amazingly full life.

Brahmo Balika Shikshalaya

And, on top of all these varied and onerous responsibilities, there was her constant concern for the Brahmo Balika Shikshalaya of which her father the late Durgamohan Das, was one of the founders. It would seem to be obvious that all her endeavours in diverse fields of women's welfare stemmed from an abiding faith that the future of the womanhood of the country had to be built upon the solid foundations of a wide-based education. She firmly believed that with an appropriately firm foundation of education to sustain them, our women would acquire that measure of self-confidence and courage which alone would enable them to assume their rightful position in society.

While applying herself to the cause of women's education, Lady Bose's attention was inevitably turned towards necessary reforms in the methods of children's education. She was deeply concerned with the need for reorganising children's education on modern scientific lines for she believed that the future of the nation would depend on the measure in which the child was educated to think and act for itself. It was with this end in view that she introduced the modern methods evolved

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

by Madam Maria Montessori in the kindergarten sections of the Brahmo Balika Shikshalaya. It was no easy task she had set herself, for any change in traditional methods always calls into being a great deal of opposition; but with characteristic determination and with her unfailing courtesy and sweetness of disposition she was able to overcome all such opposition. She believed, and believed with all her heart and soul, that it was the right kind and method of education alone that could induce that element of self-reliance, self-discipline and that innate sense of courtesy and good manners, into the child, without which no race could earn greatness. All her endeavours in the field of education was sustained and nurtured by this invincible faith.

Sense of Patriotism

Lady Bose epitomised in her life and her unremitting activities in diverse fields of endeavour her abiding faith in the glorious history of India, her ideals and traditions, and a true sense of patriotism. Her endeavours in the especial fields of women's welfare were not motivated by any narrow concern for members only of her own sex, but stemmed from that larger conviction that an illiterate, unreliant womanhood would pull the whole nation backwards. With woman holding her own alongside of men alone would ensure that balanced progress which could lead to eventual national emanicapation. It is this sense of the woman's role in the nation's development and progress that led her to concentrate her efforts in this field of endeavour. Even until the very last stages of her existence on arth, hers remained a completely dedicated life. Only a few days before she passed away she told me that there was so much more to be done for the women of the country and deplored that her time was fast running out and she was no longer able to apply herself to the cause with her wonted vigour and energy. What would especially underline her greatness of soul and the measure of her wholehearted dedication is that she never desired nor looked for any encomiums or public appro bation for all that she did and endeavoured ed to achieve. She was the soul of integrity and honour and was a complete stranger to any sense of conceit or vanity a very rare quality in any human being.

Family Background

But to speak about her public activities alone would not present another and a no less distinguishd aspect of her life and character. Daughter of the late Durgamohan Das, eminent advocate and social reformer of his times, Lady Bose inherited in very large measure the wide catholicity and progressive outlook of her distinguished father. It was mainly due to the abiding faith in the woman's appropriate role in social progress of Durgamohan, Dwarakanath Ganguly. Pandit Shivnath Shastri and others, and as a result mainly of their unremitting ffort, that the doors of the Indian Universities—among which the Calcutta University naturally played the role of the earliest pioneer—were thrown open to women for the first time in the world's history of university education. Lady Bose had not acquired any formal university degree—her career as a medical student was cut short by her marriage with Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose—but the kind of education which brings forth the innate humanity of a person, she had imbibed in large measure from her illustrious father. Her elder sister Sarala Roy, wife of the late Dr. P. K. Roy, was the founder of the reputed educational institution, the Gokhale Memorial School for girls. Deshabandhu Chittaranjan was a first cousin. It

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

was from such a background that Lady Bose came and it was small wonder that she should, in the living of her own life, endeavour to carry forward the ideals and patriotic fervour of her own people.

Wife And Helpmeet

While a medical student in Madras, Lady Bose was married to Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose, then a young professor in the Presidency College, Calcutta. She took her responsibilities as a wife and mistress of a family with characteristic seriousness and devotion. Those who have known the late Acharya Bose, know how Lady Bose unfailingly stood firm and immovable between her husband and the demands of a worrying world. The creative genius in Jagadish Chandra might never have reached the zenith of its great achievements if his wife had not so devotedly tended him—almost as a mother tends her helpless child—and afforded him absolute protection from all the many worries and distractions of life. She was a most devoted wife and helpmeet to her eminent husband in the real sense and would always be at his beck and call so that her husband may give his undivided attention to the great and creative work upon which he was engaged. Those who had known Lady Bose and the numerous calls upon her time so that her great husband could bestow his singleminded and devoted attention to his scientific investigations, often wondered how she could find the time to do so much for her people and her country. Truly, she was a living example of absolute devotion to all that she undertook to do, both as a wife of a constantly demanding savant and as a dedicated social welfare worker and educationist.

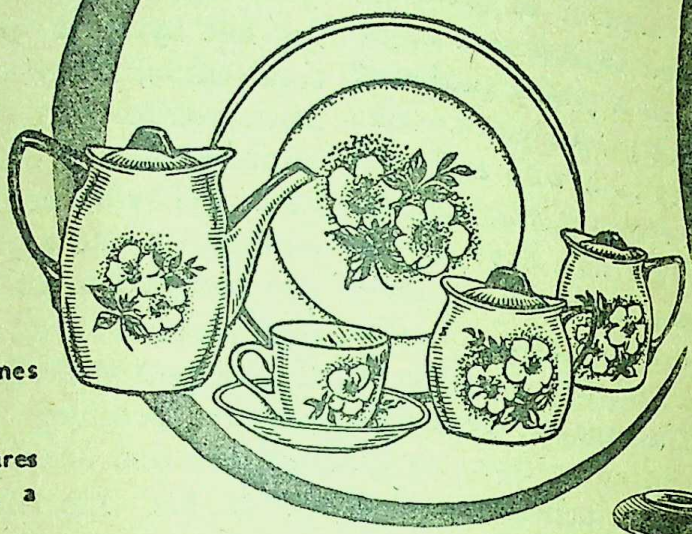
But even in the midst of so much to occupy herself, she invariably found time to devote to duties of a more intimate and personal nature. A sick friend or a bereaved family could always depend upon finding her by their side bringing solace and consolation, affection and heartfelt concern, in ample measure in their hour of need. Needless to say that she was most fortunate in having her great husband's unstinted support and approbation in all that she endeavoured to do both in respect of her public activities as well as in her more intimate personal relationships. I have personally received in abundant measure her affection and kindness.

In her life Lady Bose epitomized an amazing synthesis between traditional heritages of her own country and her history and the elements of a modern progressive outlook. The thinking of the ancient saints and seers of her own land deeply inspird her. But to that was added her attachment to all that was progressive and beneficial in modern thinking. And all her thoughts, all her endeavours in diverse fields of human activity were all converged upon service to country and to humanity. Her devoted service to the cause of social progress and for carving out for the womanhood of the country her rightful place in the process, will always remain engraved in indelible letters in the history of our times.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

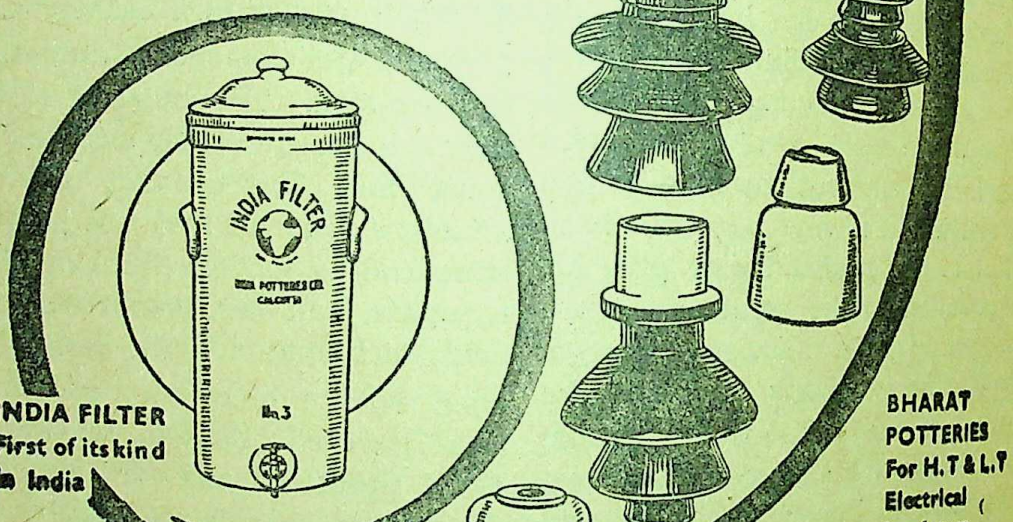
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In the Service of the Nation



for Hotels & Homes

Best Fine
Tea & Tablewares
Hand Painting a
Speciality



INDIA FILTER
First of its kind
in India

BHARAT
POTTERIES
For H.T & L.T
Electrical
Insulators

Manufacturers & Exporters

INDIA POTTERIES LIMITED

91, DHARAMTALLA STREET, CALCUTTA-13

Sole Sellig Agent :

COMMERCIAL CONCERN

17, Old China Bazar Street, Calcutta-1

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

THE INNER PATH TO GOD (Two housand and one Thought Jewels)— By wami Premananda. Published by Vantage ress Inc., 120 West 31st Street, New York-N.Y. First Edition 1964 Price $3-50 Pp. 8.

Swami Premananda, born in Calcutta d a graduate of the Calcutta University, ent to the United States of America in 8 to assume the duties of the self-reve-ion Church of Absolute monism of ashington, D.C., is author of several oks on Vedic and Oriental Philosophy hich includes the Dharmapada, the path the Eternal Law. He has lectured ex-ensively at Universities, before service, vic and educational groups, as also at hristian Churches of almost every deno-ination. Writing, Work, Service and asonic activities (he is a 33rd degree ason, a shriner, a proficient ritualist in igher Masonic degrees and is the one and ly Swami to receive the distinction with hich he has been honoured by a Masonic dy) are his abiding interests.

The work under notice, written in eightened prose—which is at once elo-quent and poetic,—outlines the step-by-step process by which the self comes into ultimate awareness of self-less oneness and absolute freedom.

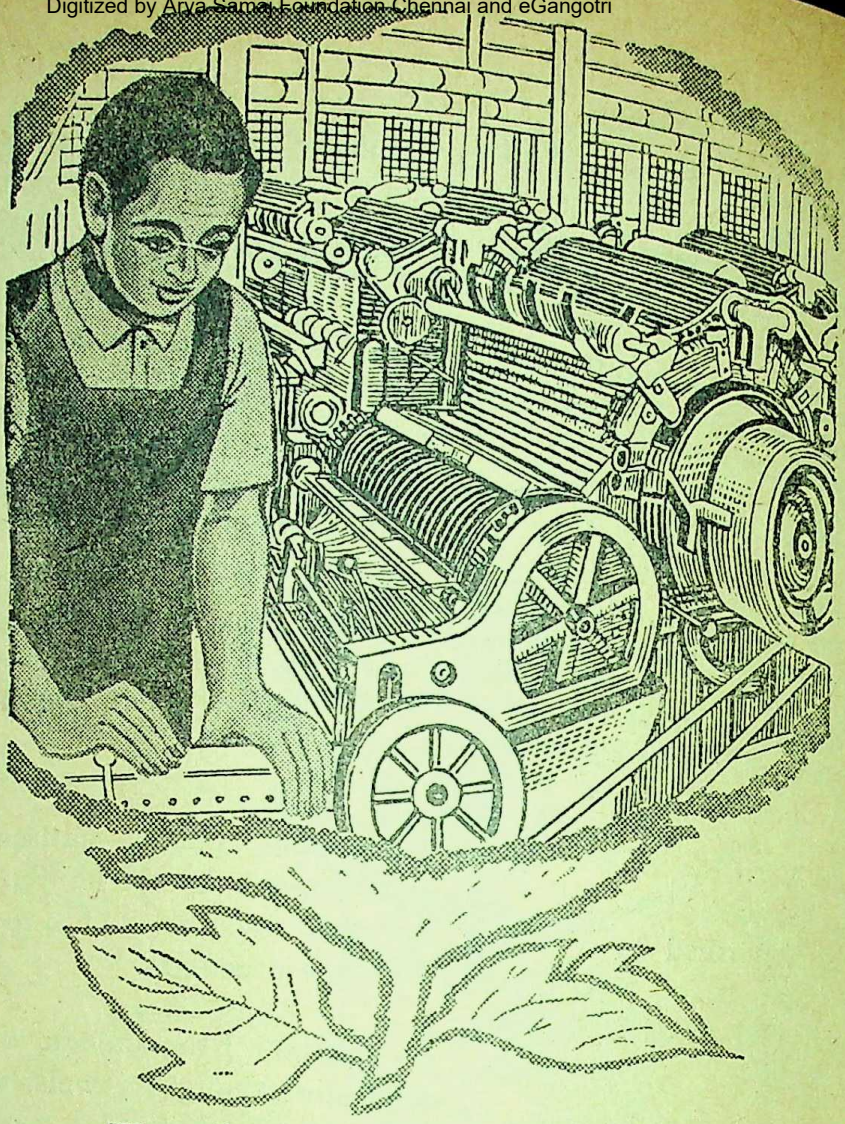
Swami Premananda, in his simple but profound thought jewels, reveals the inner path by which mortal man can attain immortality, pointing out the path that leads from misery and sorrow and pettiness to the ultimate peace and supreme job of self-realization. Some quotations from the book will not be out of place here.

Of **Awakening** he says: "I was alone on the lonely mountain when I heard Thy voice in the Song of a spring bird. I opened my eyes and beheld Thy form. I looked within and found Thee in my heart. The Light of the New Dawn has touched my soul and I am awakened with the vision of Thy all pervading Universality and Thy transcendental Infinity".

Of *Beauty* he writes—"Thou dost stand before me in the light of the dawn, in the loftiness of the mountain and in the vastness of the shoreless sea. Thou speakest unto me through the song of the bird and the silent music of the wavering

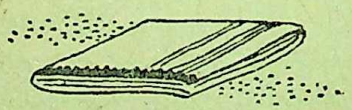
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Tradition Built on Continuous Progress

Bangaluxmi occupies a proud place in the textile industry of West Bengal. This reputation of excellence is built on their continuous endeavour for over half a century to serve their patrons with only the best. Today it has modernised and expanded its productive capacity by the installation of improved machinery to meet the ever-growing needs for textiles in the country.



THE BENGAL LUXMI COTTON MILLS LTD.

7, Chowringhee Road, Calcutta-13

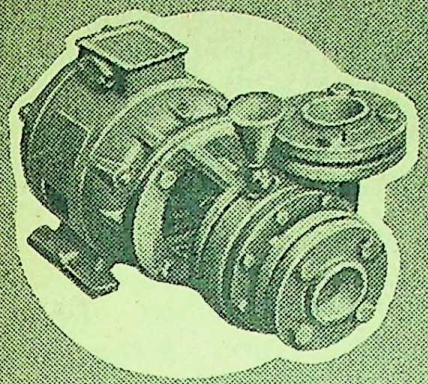
KALPANA.BL.7b

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

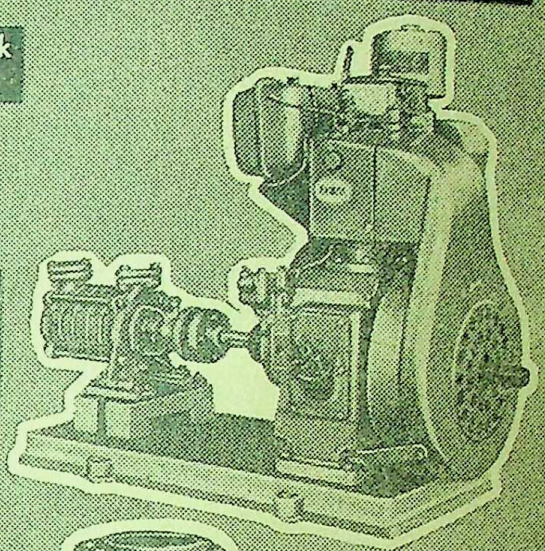
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

B.E. PUMPS

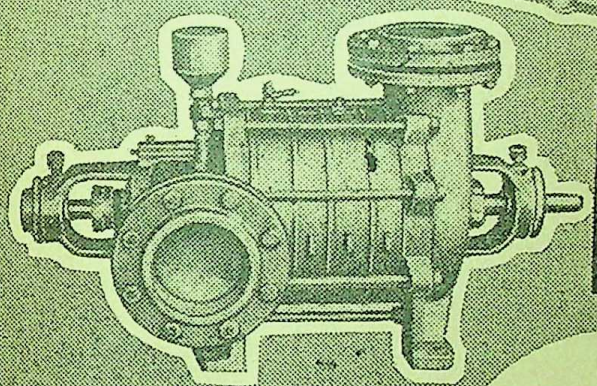
BRITISH ELECTRICAL & PUMPS (PVT.) LTD.
4, Dalhousie Square East,
Calcutta-1.
Phone: 22-7826.



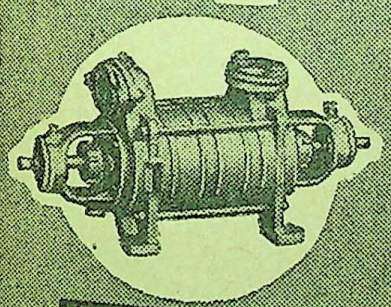
B.E.—GEC Monoblock for agriculture.

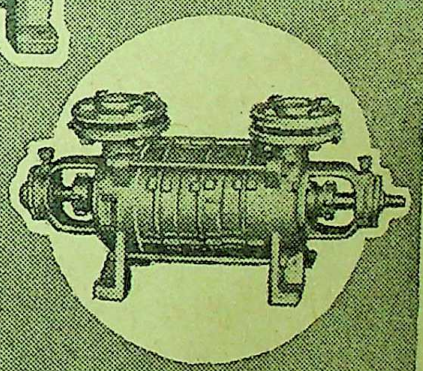


B.E.—Sihi Engine driven self-priming pump for General duties.



BE'M' Multistage Centrifugal Pump for Mining Irrigation and Boosting Pressure in Water Mains.





B.E. D self priming pump for domestic water supply.

B.E.—Sihi Multistage self priming pump for Industry & Boiler-feed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

leaves. Thy voice comes to me through the cosmic vibration of the universe. Thou art ever near to my being. Let me draw my soul close to Thee".

Of *Death* he thinks :—". . . . My adoration of Thee is only the fulfillment of Thy love for me. When I leave this world of light and shadow, my Lord, only one thing will I take with me : it is Thy love enshrined in my soul. As the river flows to the mighty sea, even so with all my being, my body, mind, heart and soul, let me reach out for Thy love, peace and perfection. As the river flows to the mighty sea,, even so life leads the soul to immortality."

Of *Truth*, the Swami writes :—"Man's first responsibility is to God and to truth. Only that life is unrighteous which is not built upon truth. Wisely speak the truth but with pure and loving heart. Noble words from an unrighteous [illegible] are the worst sacrilege. Obedience to truth is [illegible] attainment of self-liberation ; only a man [illegible] truth is really free. Identification with truth [illegible] the invincible shield against fear. Fear is [illegible] inherent weakness of the sensory mind as courage is the innate power of the Soul."

The reader will find enough [illegible] and beauty, and may be—he will also get some vision of the ancient wisdom of the East in this book as these 'thought Jewels' embody the basic principles of Jnana or 'wisdom Yoga'. One feels happy to see such a book in today's utterly materialistic world—when human values and love of truth have become things of contempt.

C.K.R.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE
Printed and Published by Kalyan Das Gupta, Prabasi Press Private Limited,
77/2/1, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CITY BOOK SOCIETY

THE PIONEER PUBLISHERS OF ILLUSTRATED JUVENILE LITERATURE

Books of Late Jogendra Nath Sircar entertained and enlightened the Children of Bengal
&
Enthused Lakhs of Non-Bengali Children to learn Bengali.

Hasi Khusi I
99th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Hasi Khusi II
38th Edn. — Re. 0.80
(The two most outstanding books to learn Bengali)

Mojar Galpa
25th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Asare Swapna
18th Edn. — Re. 0.65

Ranga Chhabi
31st Edn. — Re. 0.80

Khelar Sathi
27th Edn. — Re. 0.75

Chhabir Bai
25th Edn. — Re. 0.70

Bane Jangale
9th Edn. — Rs. 5.00

Galpa Sanchaya
5th Edn. — Rs. 4.50

Khukumanir Chhara
17th Edn. — Rs. 3.50

Chhabi -O- Galpa
19th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

Chhotoder Chiriakhana
7th Edn. — Re. 1.87

Hasi Rasi
33rd Edn. — Re. 1.40

Chhotoder Ramayana
36th Edn. — Re. 1.12

Chhotoder Mahabharat
36th Edn. — Rs. 2.00

CITY BOOK SOCIETY

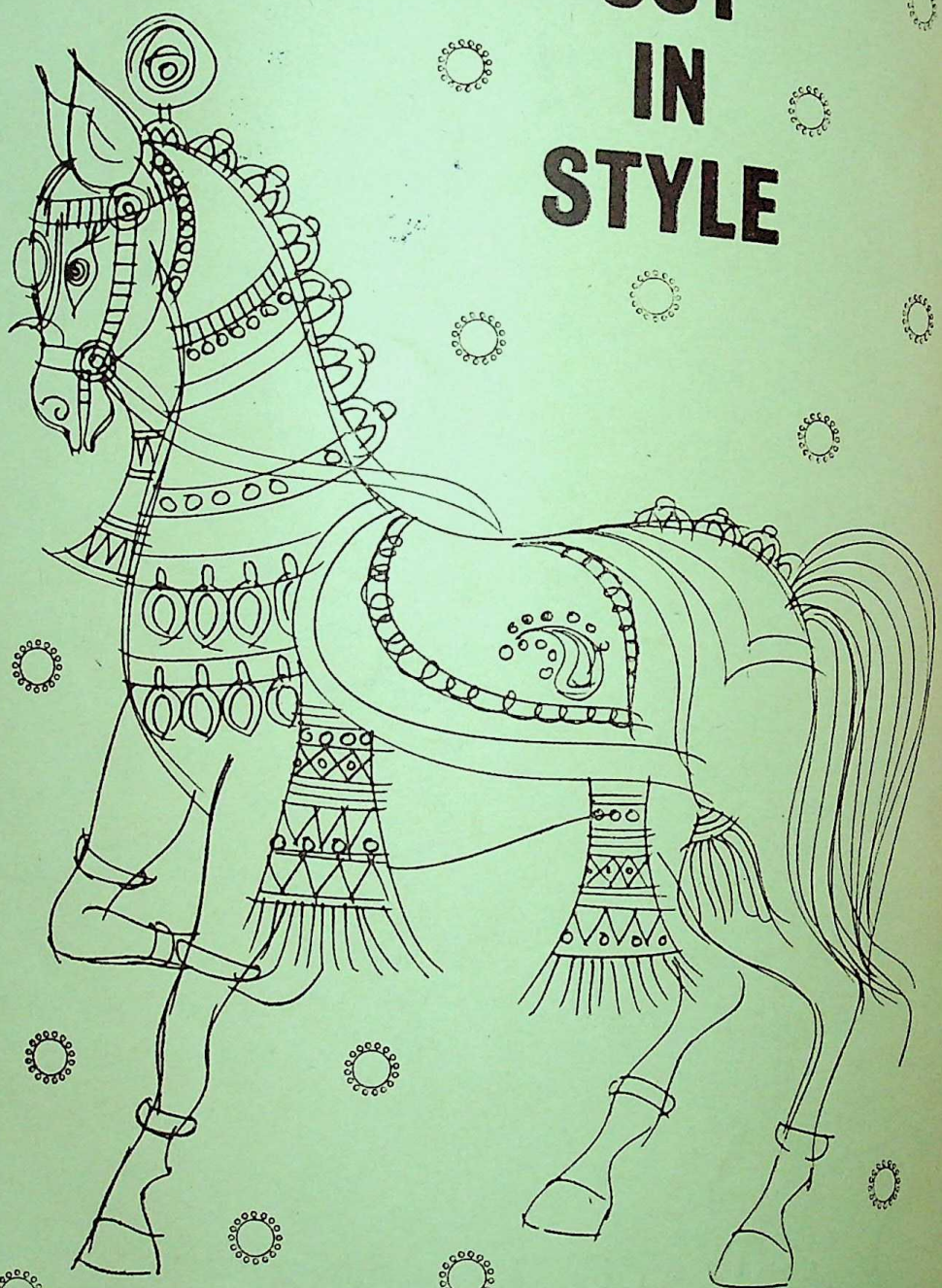
64, College Street
Calcutta—12.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW Price : India and Pakistan Re. 1.25 P. Registered No. C-5
Subscription—Ind. & Pak. Rs. 15.00, Foreign Rs. 24.00, Single copy Rs.2.00 or equivalent
Phone : 24-5520

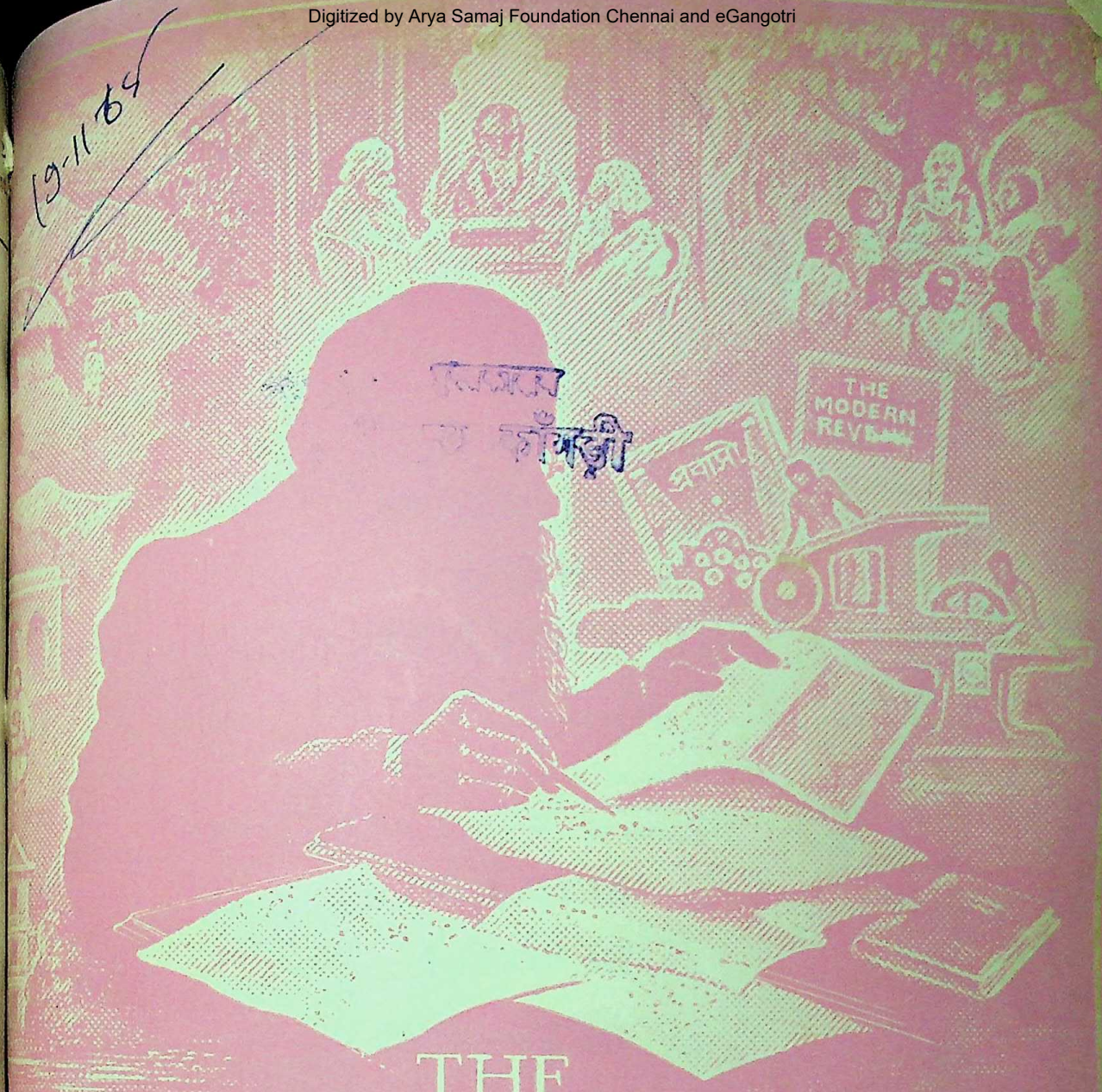
STEP
OUT
IN
STYLE



Bata

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER : 1965



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOR

PRINTING

WITH A DISTINCTION.

Contact the

PRABASI
PRESS
PRIVATE LD.

We print in 3 LANGUAGES

ENGLISH

BENGALI

DEVNAGRI

for more details—Contact the

MANAGER

PRABASI PRESS PRIVATE LD.

77-2-1 Dharamtala Street,

CALCUTTA—13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

511

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THESE 3 FOR YOUR HOUSEHOLD





Alcid gives quick relief from headache, cold, flue, feverishness and muscular pain.
Just two tablets of Alcid make a complete adult dose.



Antol prevents infection—kills the germs before they have a chance to do harm. A powerful but soothing antiseptic Antol gives protection in open cuts and insect bites.
As a mouthwash and gargle Antol prevents throat infection and colds.



Acriment is a non-staining all-purpose antiseptic healing ointment for burns, scalds, wounds, abrasions, and infective skin conditions.
Keeps wound aseptic.
Helps in natural healing.

ALWAYS KEEP HANDY ■ ALCID ■ ANTOL ■ ACRIMENT

BENGAL IMMUNITY PRODUCTS

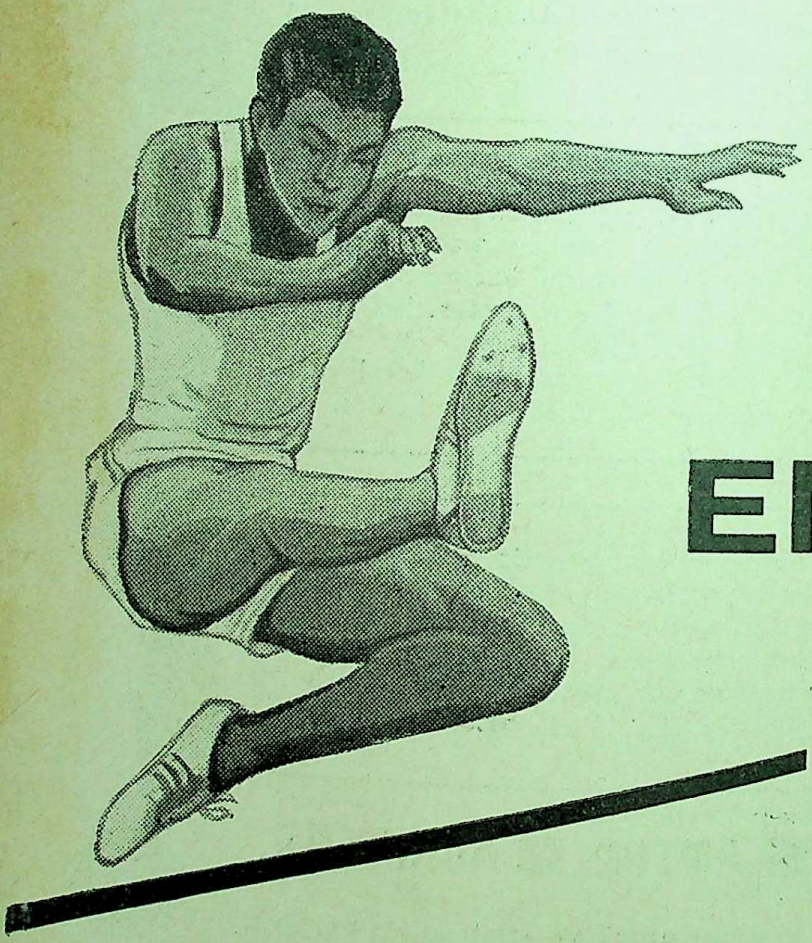
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. CXVIII. No. 5 CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER, 1965 WHOLE No. 707

	Page
NOTES	365
A SCENE FROM THE BIBLE—I. J. Das	373
CURRENT AFFAIRS—Karuna K. Nandi	376
THE INDO-GERMAN CONSPIRACY : BEGINNING OF THE END—Kalyan Kumar Banerjee	381
INDIAN HISTORICAL RELATIONS WITH SOUTHEAST ASIA—S. Swarup	387
OPIUM INDUSTRY AND SMUGGLING IN INDIA—J. C. Varshney	393
THE POETRY OF JAMES JOYCE—Mihir Kumar Sen	399



A RAPID PICK-ME-UP FOR WORN-OUT ENERGY



ENERGON

Energon is a palatable restorative tonic for persons of all ages and in all seasons. It increases appetite, aids digestion, stimulates the nervous system, removes physical and mental exhaustion and restores health.

BENGAL CHEMICAL
CALCUTTA BOMBAY KANPUR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONTENTS—(Continued)

	PAGE
ALFRED NOBEL—Nanda Mookerjee	407
THE PROFESSION OF ENGINEERING—P. C. Ghosh, Dr.-Ing	409
RECENT TRENDS IN INDIAN ADMINISTRATION —Bharat Bhusan Gupta	412
INDUSTRIAL FINANCE CORPORATION'S SIXTEEN YEARS—Mali Ram and R. K. Purohit	418
I BALED OUT IN ENEMY TERRITORY (*Illust*)—D. P. Chinoy	424
THE 33RD CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEN-CLUB ORGANISATION—Feliks Pasic	429
NATIONAL SAVINGS AND NATIONAL DEFENCE—Ila Palchoudhuri	431
IN A DEFENSIVE MOOD—A. K. Moitra	433
THE STORY OF LOK BHARATI—Gladys Eby	438
BOOK REVIEWS—	444
INDIAN PERIODICALS—	445
FOREIGN PERIODICALS—	450

ADVERTISE IN THE

PRABASI

India's Leading Bengali Monthly

For details—contact

Manager

Prabasi Press Private Limited

77/2/1, Dharamtala Street,

Calcutta-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MODERN REVIEW

—Advertisement Rates—

ORDINARY POSITION

	Rs. P.
Full Page	150.00
Half-page or one column	80.00
Quarter page or half-column	50.00
One-eighth page	30.00
One-eighth column	20.00
Page next to and or opposite contents	180.00
Ditto half-page	100.00
Ditto quarter-page	60.00
Ditto one-eighth page	40.00
Ditto one-eighth cloumn	30.00

SPECIAL POSITIONS

Full Page facing second page of the cover	200.00
„ Page facing third page of the cover	190.00
„ Page facing last page of the reading matter	195.00
„ Page facing back of the Frontispiece	210.00
Ditto half-page	110.00

POSITION WITHIN READING MATTER

Full Page	220.00
Half-page	120.00
Quarter page	70.00
„ col.	50.00

Space within reading matter available only at the end pages of the Magazine

COVER PAGES

Second page of the cover	220.00
Third page of the cover	200.00
Fourth page of the (*One-colour*)	250.00
(*Bi-colour*)	300.00
(*Tri-colour*)	350.00

SUPPLEMENT size 8½″ × 6″ (to be printed and supplied by the advertiser)

8 pages (or 4 slips) ..	450.00
4 pages (or 2 slips) ..	300.00
2 pages (or 1 slip) ..	225.00

MECHANICAL DETAILS, Etc.

Type area of a full page	8″ × 6″
„ „ „ half page	4″ × 6″
Number of columns to a page	2
Length of a column	8″
Breadth of a column	3″
Type area of half-column	4″ × 3″
„ „ „ quarter-column	2″ × 3″

Only Mounted Stereos & coarse screen blocks (65 screen) are accepted.

Subscription Rates 1 year Rs. 15.00. Half yearly Rs. 8.00

Single copy Rs. 1.25P. including postage.

Prabasi Press Private Limited

77/2/1 DHARAMTALA STREET,

CALCUTTA-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Nanda:

"What makes you so happy Aunty?"



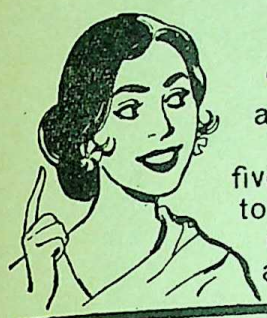
Aunty:

"Oh! I am so pleased. From the day that Kamala started working she had planned to take a long holiday in Kashmir. Now, that dream is coming true. She leaves next week."



Nanda:

"Doesn't it cost a lot of money?"



Aunty:

"It does—but she tells me that she has a wonderful insurance policy which gives her enough money at the end of three five-year periods. This policy has helped her to save regularly and provides useful sums of money when she needs them most—as, for example, in the case of this trip."



Nanda:

"How exciting! Tell me more."



Aunty:

"Five years hence she is to receive another equal amount with which she plans to refurnish her house—another dream fulfilled. And lastly she will receive an even larger sum which will come in handy for many other plans she has. An LIC Agent drew up this plan for her."



Nanda:

"I must go and talk to him. I thought life insurance moneys were payable only on death."



L.I.C. Agent:

"This type of policy is called an Anticipated Endowment Policy. It is a good plan particularly for young working women. It helps them to save and make their dreams come true."



Life Insurance Corporation of India

CMLIC-17

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

MODERN REVIEW

GOES TO PEOPLE
WHO COUNT
AND
ARE YOUR
BEST BUYERS

ADVERTISE IN THE MODERN REVIEW

and Reap
the Best of
RESULTS

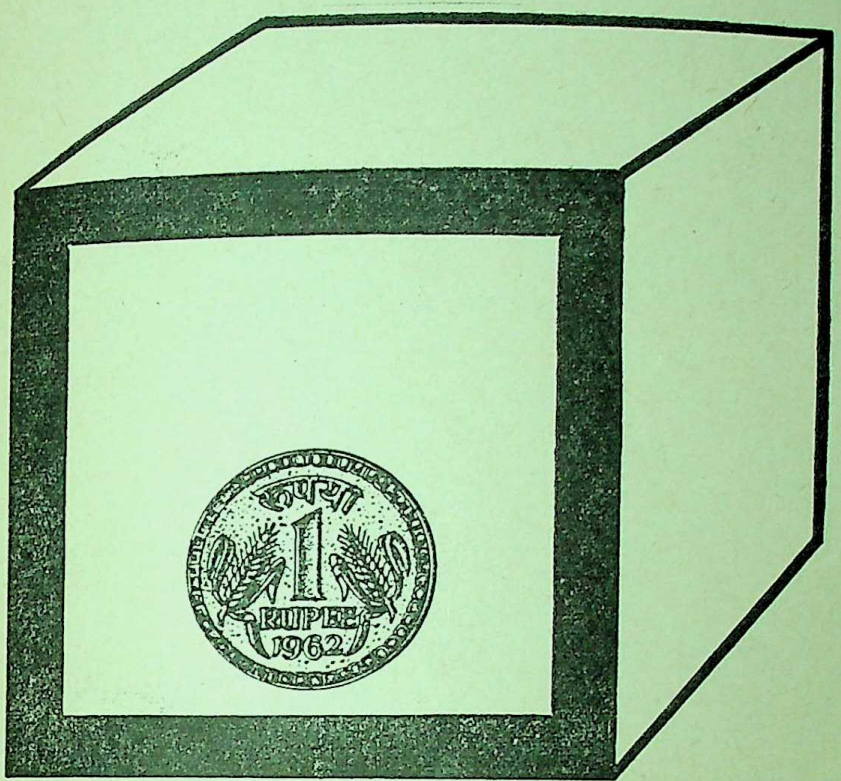
For particulars:

Contact — **The Manager**

77/2/1 DHARAMTALA STREET, CALCUTTA - 13

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



YOUR MONEY
IS GUARDED, DEFENDED,
SECURE IN

PUNJAB NATIONAL BANK

PR. 6527/Ad/1

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

OUR DUTY

"The Country has to prepare itself for hard days ahead. Everyone must perform his duty fully and faithfully."

PRIME MINISTER

* JOIN THE CIVIL DEFENCE ORGANISATION IN THE SPIRIT OF A SOLDIER AT HIS POST

* JOIN THE HOME GUARDS IN LARGE NUMBERS

* MAXIMISE PRODUCTION IN FIELDS AND FACTORIES

* MAINTAIN INDUSTRIAL PEACE

* MAXIMISE EFFICIENCY OF COMMUNICATIONS, HARBOUR AND SUPPLY LINES

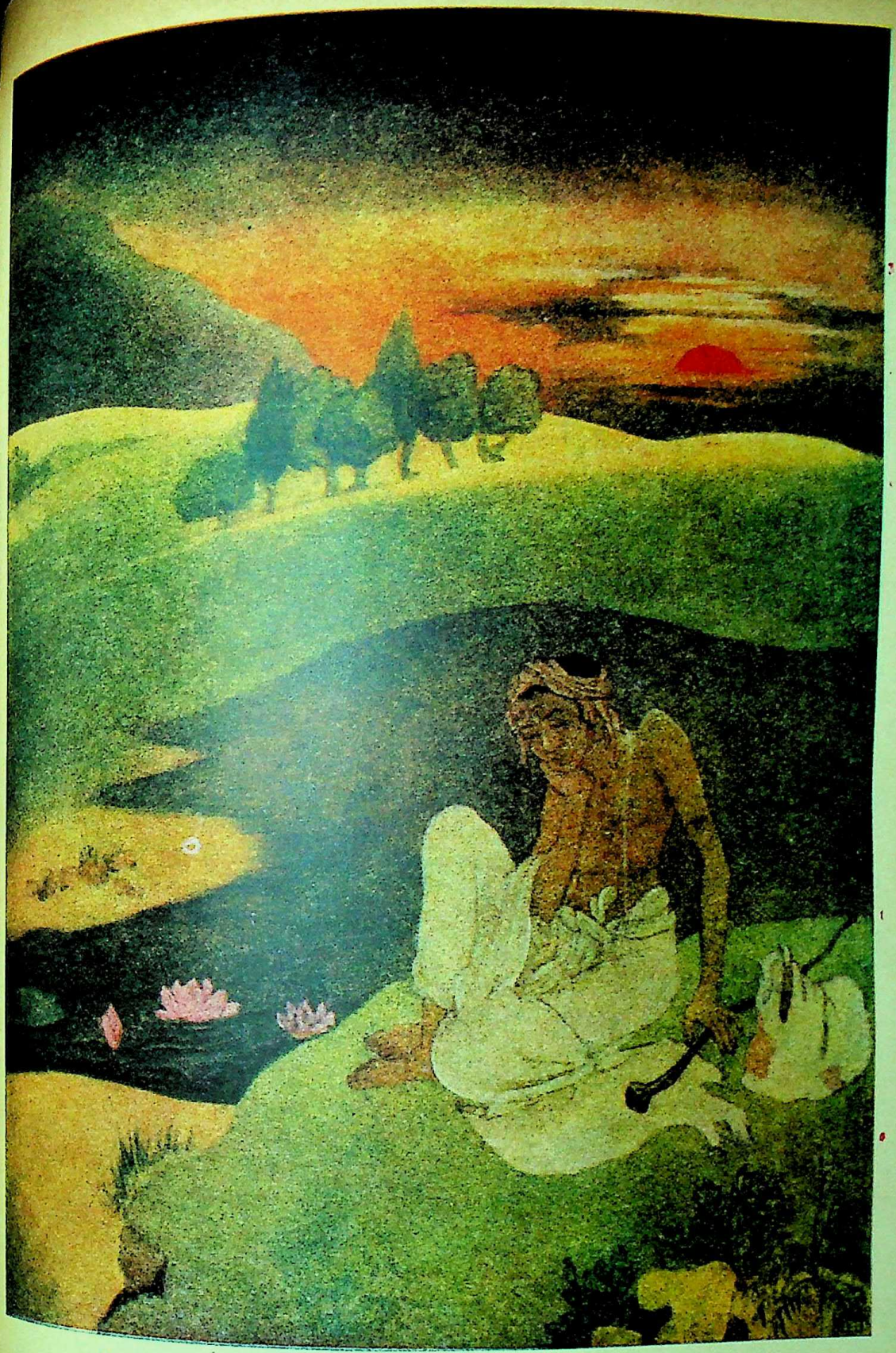
* MAINTAIN SUPPLY OF ESSENTIAL CONSUMER GOODS TO THE COMMUNITY

* NOT ONLY HOLD THE PRICE LINE BUT BRING IT DOWN

W. B. (I & P. R.) AD-D 6776/65

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



HIS HERITAGE

Artist : Asitkumar Haldar

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOUNDED BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER 1965

Vol. CXVIII, No. 5 WHOLE No. 707

NOTES

Civilising Indians

A statement made by a blustering liar needs no answer, yet if such lies give rise to doubts and questions in the minds of persons who are not very well informed about the subject matter of the lies, it will serve a useful human purpose to clear up such probable doubts. There was a time when the British, in order to justify their plunder of militarily weaker lands, talked at length about civilising the looted countries. And they also published false accounts of the culture and civilisation of their victims with a view to create contempt for these poor sufferers in all those who came to know of Britain's aggressions upon other nations. Very recently the Chinese have been "liberating" and probably "civilising" too, their political and military victims in Tibet. So that this story of carrying civilisation at the sword point is as old as the hills and there is nothing new in finding a justification for one's marauding adventures in one's alleged longing for carrying the light of true knowledge etc., to the darkest corners of the earth. The fact that these darkest corners always have the largest quantities of gold too, need not worry those who listen to these colourful lies.

It is nice to be told by all kinds of people that they are and have been making efforts to civilise you. If they did not try to filch your purse too in the process of carrying out their noble work, it would be better for you. A purer heart with a fuller pocket somehow appeals, to one's plans for self-improvement. But pick pockets are believers in a give and take method of carrying civilisation to empty souls. They try to put something in the souls as they take more things out of the pockets, that are associated with the souls. We find in history that certain tribes have excelled in warfare and making ferocious inroads into other lands. While their ferocity and military might lasted they looted palaces and temples, razed cities to the ground and burnt down great libraries and centres of learning and culture. The great library of Alexandria, and the University of Nalanda can be cited as examples. In India thousands of temples have been destroyed with their untold wealth of art and manuscripts by marauders who thought they were the store house of the only true wisdom that humanity had. In fact they only looted, destroyed and committed every low crime men were capable of, and had virtually no knowledge or culture of any kind. After centuries of domicile in India and constant mixture of blood, knowledge and culture the descendants of these marauders became 99 per cent Indian physically and developed a synthesised culture which was, again,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

99 per cent Indian. Whatever came from outside was mainly Persian and developed in that country in spite of and contrary to the teaching and preaching of fanatical priests of a vigorous cult.

The UNESCO are now trying to bring back into circulation the Sacred Books of the East which were first published by the Oxford University Press in 1891. Great names are associated with these books. Max Mueller, Georg Buhler, Julius Jolly, Rhys Davids, Hermann Oldenberg, Hermann Jacobi, G. Thibaut and M. Winternitz are names which cannot be turned down by dollars or knocked out by Patton Tanks. These greatest scholars that humanity has known in recent times give us these fifty volumes among which the Indian Texts are all much more than 1000 years old. These books are land marks in the field of human civilisation which cannot be uprooted by force or by the combined effort of all the liars in Pakistan. We are giving the list of these books below.

The Upanisads	Vols. I and 15	in the Series	Translated by F. Max Mueller
The Sacred Laws of the Aryas	Vols. 2 and 14	" " "	" " Georg Buhler
The Sacred Books of China	Vols. 3, 16, 27, 28, 39 and 40	"	" " J. Legge
The Zend Avesta	Vols. 4, 23 and 31	"	" " J. Darmesteter and L. H. M
Pahlavi Texts	Vols. 5, 18, 24, 37 and 47	"	" E. W. West
The Quran	Vols. 6 and 9	"	" E. H. Palmer
The Institutes of Vishnu	Vol. 7	"	" Julius Jolly
The Bhagavadgita	Vol. 8	"	" K. T. Telang
The Dhammapada and Sutta Nipata	Vol. 10	"	" Max Mueller and Fausboll
Buddhist Suttas	Vol. 11	"	" Rhys Davids
The Satapatha Brahmana	Vols. 12, 26, 41, 43 and 44	"	" J. Eggeling
Vinaya Texts	Vols. 13, 17 and 20	"	" Rhys Davids and Oldenberg
The Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King	Vol. 19	"	" S. Beal
The Saddharma-Pundirika	Vol. 21	"	" H. Kern
Jaina Sutras	Vols. 22 and 45	"	" H. Jacobi
Manu	Vol. 25	"	" G. Buhler
The Grihya-Sutras	Vols. 29 and 30	"	" Oldenberg and Max Mueller
Vedic Hymns	Vols. 32 and 46	"	" Max Mueller and Oldenberg
The Minor Law-Books	Vol. 33	"	" Julius Jolly
The Vedanta-Sutras	Vols. 34 and 38	"	" G. Thibaut
The Questions of King Milinda	Vols. 35 and 36	"	" Rhys Davids
Hymns of the Atharva-Veda	Vol. 42	"	" M. Bloomfield
The Vedanta-Sutras	Vol. 48	"	" G. Thibaut
Buddhist Mahayana Texts	Vol. 49	"	" Cowell, Max Mueller and Takakusu
Index	Vol. 50	"	" M. Winternitz

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Seven books have reference to the civilisation China, eight to that of ancient pre-Islamic sia, two to Islamic religion and thirtytwo to philosophy and religion of India. It would ear from this that the intellectual world appre- ed Indian civilisation to a greater degree than of any other nation of Asia. The reason for is will be found in the complex and many sided ure of Indian civilisation. Apart from philo- hy and religion, India achieved rare distinc- in various other fields of culture. Art, archi- ture, town planning, engineering, music, diete- s, animal husbandry, agriculture, economics, metal work can be mentioned off hand to ve the versatility of Indians. Civilisation ans the way of life and the thoughts and pre- nces of human beings. Rapaciousness, how- r successfully practised, cannot be called civi- ation. India developed her languages, thoughts, ts and crafts in a manner which attracted the miration of the scholars of all nations. It es not therefore really matter if some low and graded types speak ill of India in order to achieve riminal purpose. India has also been receptive. e has absorbed the culture of other nations h a grace and skill of creative synthesis which not found in other civilisations of a similar el of development. This synthesis has always n more creative than imitative and anyone o tries to belittle India for her receptiveness the field of culture merely parades his sinful orance and stark malice. The three great guls, Akbar, Jehangir and Shajehan, who been the most prominent patrons of Indo- sian collaboration in the field of art and cul- e, were Indians in an outright fashion. They er thought they belonged to some other nation e some unworthy sons of mother India of ay whose fake ancestry so easily bemuse ir witless minds.

Those who think that they or their fore- hers had civilised India by their temporary quests of various areas of this vast sub-conti- nt, really have no knowledge or understanding the subject they try to discuss. In fact the rious nomadic and semi-barbarous tribes and rdes that entered India from time to time er influenced India culturally to any extent. ather, they soon developed newer ways of life d changed their own cultural outlook quite pro- foundly. That is, they themselves became civi- lised by settling down in this ancient land of *Rishis* and *Ashramas*.

Certain types of apparently cultured per- sons with a slavish mentality, whom we have al- ready referred to, like to think that they are not- Indians and therefore of a superior breed. This is an entirely wrong idea. Anthropologically, there is not much to choose between Indians of different types including those who call themselves Pakis- tanis. The same racial, linguistic, cultural and religious communities are found all over this sub- continent. There are even as many followers of Islam in India as there are in Pakistan. The Pakistanis owe a special debt of gratitude to the British for the latter created Pakistan by their in- trigues and by their open support of the two nation theory which was of their own manufacture. Even the word Pakistan was "made in England". It is therefore, with a view to give the Pakistanis confidence in true knowledge, that we quote from Dr. A. L. Basham's book "The Wonder that was India (A Survey of the Culture of the Indian Sub-continent before the coming of the Muslims)". Dr. Basham is Reader in the History of India in the University of London. He is an authority on Indian culture and civilisation and his book has run into several editions. He begins his book by quoting from the Syrian astronomer-monk Severus Sebokht, who wrote in A.D. 662:

"I shall not now speak of the knowledge of the Hindus.... of their subtle discoveries in the science of astronomy—discoveries even more ingenious than those of the Greeks and Baby- lonians—of their rational system of mathematics, or of their method of calculation which no word can praise strongly enough—I mean the system using nine symbols. If these things were known by the people who think that they alone have mastered the sciences because they speak Greek they would perhaps be convinced, though a little late in the day, that other folk, not only Greeks, but men of a different tongue, know something as well as they." This idea of monopoly of knowledge, civilisation and culture have obsessed other communities too after the Greeks. The best known sufferers have been some European lin- guistic groups. The Arabs were very highly civi- lised; but they never displayed that type of in- tellectual arrogance. They borrowed from the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Hindus and acknowledged their debts unhesitatingly. But certain pseudo-Arabs living in one part of this sub-continent like to think that they have been civilising India for about a thousand years or so. The fact that more than 90 per cent of their own people are on the lowest rungs of civilisation does not worry them. "We do not know, but we can teach" is their motto.

Dr. Basham says, "The whole of South-East Asia received most of its culture from India.... by the 4th Century A.D. Sanskrit was the official language of the region, and there arose great civilisations, capable of organizing large maritime empires, and of building such wonderful memorials to their greatness as the Buddhist Stupa of Borobodur in Java, or the Saivite Temples of Angkor in Cambodia.....Northwards Indian cultural influence spread through Central Asia to China..... The whole of the Far East is in India's debt for Buddhism, which helped to mould the distinctive civilizations of China, Korea, Japan and Tibet.

"From Goethe onwards most of the great German philosophers knew something of Indian philosophy. Schopenhauer, whose influence on literature and psychology has been so considerable, indeed openly admitted his debt, and his outlook was virtually that of Buddhism. The monism of Fichte and Hegel might never have taken the forms they did if it had not been for Anquetil-Duperron's translation of the *Upanisads* and the work of other pioneer indologists.... Emerson, Thoreau and other New England writers avidly studied much Indian religious literature in translation, and exerted immense influence on their contemporaries and successors, notably Walt Whitman.....

"The Sages who meditated in the jungles of the Ganges Valley six hundred years or more before Christ are still forces in the world."

Helplessness of U.N.

The Security Council of the United Nations is apparently quite powerless to maintain its own prestige and dignity. If a representative of a member State behaves in a filthy and offensive manner during the sessions of the Council and the person is neither reprimanded nor punished for his crime against that highly placed international body of accredited agents of Sovereign States, things must be bad indeed for the council. Any parliamentary body has statutory arrangements for protecting its dignity and honour. In one can go unpunished after violating the rules of conduct and behaviour in Parliament. If a man offends the rules of behaviour in a Court of Law, he is hauled up for contempt. There are rules of conduct in embassies, in the Councils of all lawfully formed bodies, in schools and colleges and even in a club. But only in the Security Council of the United Nations Organization an appointed representative of a Member State can get up and use abusive language without being sent out or punished for breach of etiquette. The U.N. can surely afford to make changes in its rules and regulations so that its sessions are held in a manner befitting its honourable position?

Kashmir is India

When India was partitioned by the British they demarcated different areas to form Pakistan and the rest remained India. They could only allot such areas to Pakistan and India as were entirely and totally under British rule. The various Indian States were not dealt with for allocation to Pakistan and India in this manner for the reason that the British had no unqualified sovereignty over these States. These had treaty relations with the British Crown which did not give the suzerain power the right to give away territory to other States. The British therefore left the Indian States as they were and arranged that the States could accede to Pakistan or India according to their choice, subject to certain basic considerations. Whether the British had the right to even arrange things in that manner could be questioned. One may certainly assume that when the British gave up their sovereign rights over British India; they immediately ceased to have any powers over Indian India. So that the Indian States became free to do what they liked, and Pakistan and India too acquired a freedom to negotiate with the States as to their future relations with the new-born nations. But neither Pakistan nor India earned the right to make any insidious attacks upon the peoples of these States who had their human rights

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

protect which they could call upon any power
chose to. Pakistan always believed in un-
ful attacks upon the rights of others. So,
organized Razakars in Hyderabad, and
walis in Kashmir and launched attacks upon
people of these States in order to conquer
m and make them slaves of Pakistan. The
am of Hyderabad said nothing while his
jects suffered pillage and rapine, until the
ian police action restored to them their human
ts. In Kashmir the Maharaja called in the
ians and his Muslim Minister, Shaikh Abdulla,
endorsed his action. So that while Pakistan
d to capture Kashmir by conquest, the Indian
ers lawfully defended the State against forcible
exation by Pakistan. Her intentions were
clearly shown up when Pakistan managed
ang on to a portion of Kashmir by arranging
ease fire through the U.N. She never allowed
people of the so-called Azad Kashmir any
edom or the right of self-determination. This
t of Kashmir is under Pakistan's dictatorship
that in spite of all Pakistan's cries for a
biscite in Kashmir which is democratically
erned as an integral part of India. Pakistan's
ude towards Kashmir is further clarified by
gift of 2000 square miles of Azad Kashmir
China. Did Pakistan hold a plebiscite in Azad
shmir before she made a gift of this vast area
China? There are many Muslim countries
the world. But nowhere are religious mino-
s treated in the manner that Pakistan has
ed her Christian, Buddhist and Hindu
nals. Murder, dishonour and expropriation
been their share of Pakistani Islamic
racy. For sheer fanatical savagery no State
ever surpassed Pakistan. A state which has
wn no respect to any moral standards at any
e can only be declared outlaw by all civilized
tries. Yet Pakistan gets support and aid
m U.S.A. and U.K. because these nations
t for themselves the freedom of Kashmir for
ategic reasons. Pakistan must go out of
shmir entirely. We cannot sacrifice our
itorial rights to provide military bases to
er nations.

m to Believe ?

It is difficult to believe anybody or anything
the modern world. Not very long ago Sm. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit went to France to meet the French Dictator Gen. de Gaulle. She came back after a "very successful meeting" with the General and we were told how well she had impressed the French leader and that we could be absolutely sure of French support to India's stand in the Security Council regarding discussion by the Council of the political situation in Kashmir as apart from the cease fire and withdrawal of armed personnel from the various areas where India and Pakistan were fighting. But later we found France was not supporting India at all. Rather she was supporting the opposite camp, which wanted to force a plebiscite in Kashmir. Now, did we misunderstand Sm. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit's report of her talks with Gen. de Gaulle? Or did she misunderstand Gen. de Gaulle?

Next comes the matter of this Afro-Asian Conference. For weaks now we have been listening to what was going to happen in Algiers on Nov. the 5th and how that was going to destroy China's power and position in Africa and Asia. Now we know China has successfully induced a majority of the members of the A-A Conference to postpone the meeting as desired by China! Many "friendly" nations have turned perfidious suddenly and torpedoed India's solid position in the society of Afro-Asian Nations. Why must India hawk international fellowship through fairly inefficient agents, when she gains nothing by it? She lost much by this kind of activity in the days of Pandit Nehru. She should give it up now and learn to stay at home for strength, stay at home for supplies and stay at home for self-respect.

Guardian of the Muslims

Whether Pakistan serves Islam or not is a matter for speculation. Some say Islam is not practised by Pakistani Muslims with that devotion and ardour which we find in Indian Muslims. We do not know if this is true. But we do know that Pakistan serves and obeys the Non-Muslim powers which help her, aid her and sustain her in all her poverty and in all her misdeeds. These powers are not very much interested in Islam; so, we presume, they demand that Pakistan should occasionally

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

engage in some nefarious activities which are not in keeping with the tenets of Islam (or of any religion). Plunder, looting, arson, rape, etc., are all prohibited by Islam. Pakistan appears to thrive in an atmosphere of rapine. Then there is the question of Communism and China. Pakistan's fellowship with a non-godly power surely does not put that Islamic dictatorship high up among the Muslim communities of the world. The fact that Pakistan has handed over 2000 sq. miles of Muslim occupied territory to China and the fact that she is entertaining numbers of pig-eating non-believers in her pure and holy *darbars* cannot, again, endear her to her Muslim brethren. So that when Pakistan claims guardianship over all Muslims with special reference to Kashmir Muslims, one has to point out how unsuitable Pakistan is for such morally responsible work. If she got control of Kashmir, she would probably hand over large areas of the state to Communists and Non-Muslims. She would also appoint *Ansars* to loot and rape non-muslim minorities. She has, in the past, killed thousands of Ahmedias and burnt to death thousands of Shias who were all Muslims. Pakistan's treatment of Baluchis, Pakhtoons and the East Bengal Muslims has not been Islamic, to say the least about it. For Islam observes complete equality and brotherhood among all Muslims. Pakistan on the other hand packs up East Bengal with Punjabis and other types of Muslims to the exclusion of Bengalis. In Baluch and Pakhtoon countries, the *Emirs* and *Omraos* of Anglo-American Pakistan are always of a reliable breed which can be trusted to obey and follow the paymasters.

The point therefore is that Pakistan is not an Islamic Republic. It is therefore not entitled to claim any guardianship over Muslim populations of any area. It cannot even carry the confidence of the Pakhtoon, Baluch, Bengali, Ahmedia and Shia Muslims. When Pakistan says she wants to rule over certain countries in order to establish an Islamic form of government there, she really means that she wants to hand over the government of those areas to the Anglo-Americans; and, perhaps, partly, to Communist China. She has already done so in Azad Kashmir and West Pakistan where there are American Military bases and where the Chinese have been allowed to occupy forcibly [illegible] Indian territory. Pakistan was created by the British in order to carry on a shadow imperialism over this sub-continent. She was aided in this work by America, because the latter country wanted bases against Russia. China was permitted to occupy Tibet and Parts of North-West Kashmir so that she could be a counter to Russia. But the dragon cannot be tamed and trusted. It may attack a friend as it can a foe. But a stronger China would make a problem for Russia. Anglo-American Pakistan is only catalytic in the chemistry of power politics.

Soekarno

We have already pointed out that President Soekarno of Indonesia was one of those unprincipled men who were in power in the political world of today. He takes help from persons and parties and then shamelessly discards his friends and supporters. In the present case political parties in Indonesia are not very sure of their President, and each party has some Pro-Soekarno leaders. So that the unprincipled President can play a double game and play off the parties against each other very successfully. He can also have China and, may be, the U.S.A. on a string upto a point and neither break with link up with them. These powers also are quite capable of playing a quadruple game. As we are placed we have done wisely in not sending any defunct Indian politicians to impress or win over Soekarno. For he cannot be won over by any one. Neither by any Indonesian leaders or political groups, nor by any foreign powers. He is by nature a true diplomat who never says "no" to anybody or to any proposal and never means "yes", really and truly, for any length of time about any subject that he chooses to discuss. In fact, had his nation been powerful he would have been a real danger to the world. No one can predict what will happen in Indonesia. And, surely, we do not wish to.

Rationing

It has now been decided to introduce statutory rationing in all cities with populations of a million or more by Jan. 1966 and in all cities

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of one hundred thousand inhabitants or (upto 1 million) by May 1966. By ration- our government understand the supply of als only and the undertaking will be to supply oz of cereals per head per day. This quan- of food is neither adequate in calories nor in etic constituents. The assumption therefore at the people will buy other food materials in market to supplement the cereals. These will vegetables, pulses, oils, sugar, milk, fruits, fish, meat, etc., etc. Poor people in India live on rice, wheat, pulses, maize, etc., usu- eat much more than 16 oz of these per day. some families in Calcutta a servant usually s up the rations of three or more persons y day. The reason being the fact that the ant is not given meat, fish, eggs or milk. se articles of food are very costly and have limited supplies. If therefore large num- of people are expected to live on 16 oz of als which they will not be able to supplement meat, fish, eggs, milk etc., on account poverty, the people will be undernourished and fall ill after some months of semi-starvation. ioning must always keep in view the problem balanced diet. This problem has not so far me a live one because of the limited number he persons who live on rationed food. The er application of rationing will make things rent.

ts of Civilisation

Truly civilised people do not impose their upon their neighbours. The Rhodesian es are claiming the right to rule over the population by virtue of their superior civi- ion. The Africans, they say, are not civi- d. We cannot discuss what civilisation is, the reason that there are all sorts of civilisa- in all sorts of places and the relative merits he civilisations are not measurable. But we certainly say that people who think they are erior in civilisation to others are usually not and even if they were superior, that would give them the right to rule over their less ised but more numerous neighbours. For such rights were conceded, then minority rule become the established thing in all countries. ocracy as opposed to aristocracy guarantees the human rights of the peoples of the earth. Aristocracy restricted these rights to the few who could display greater wealth, more expensive ways of living, superior manners and other spectacular qualities.

Azad Kashmir

When Pakistan invaded Kashmir in 1947, she had no territorial rights to justify her action. Kashmir was not British India and the British could not decide the future of Kashmir. The Maharaja of Kashmir could or those who ruled Kashmir lawfully. Both the Maharaja and the Government of Kashmir acceded to India, when Pakistan infiltrators started their invasion of Kashmir. The Indians pushed the Pakistanis out ; but the U.N. stepped in to save Pakistan. They allowed Pakistan to occupy a part of Kashmir in the name of cease fire. Pakistan must be made to get out of this part of Kashmir. For they have no right to be there. They have even sliced little pieces out of this area to hand over the same to the Chinese. The Chinese, must, also hand back those areas to India

Human Element in a Crisis

How important the human element is whenever any work requires to be done at double speed or with half the usual number of workers or absolutely flawlessly, has been proved during the recent fight with Pakistan. The men who fought were as nearly perfect fighters as can be expected. They had weapons, transport and other supplies which could not be, as they should have been for the reason that Pakistan's invasion of India was premeditated and planned over a long period; but India had to fight back when attacked by a more numerous soldiery armed with superior weapons. The Indian Jawans and their officers proved their merit by individual effort, valour and staunchness unequalled by anything seen on the battle-field so far. The men in the army and air force have shown by their co-ordinated acts of valour that the human element is more important in a crisis than weapons or instruments. These example must be emulated by the political party members, the Government servants and the lay public in order to solve all

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

those national problems which beset our economy at the present time.

On the food front, the Government servants can do a lot of work by getting out of their chairs and personally supervising the cultivation of all available land. The men who are called Chowkidars, the men who act as V.I.Ps of the Panchayats, the men who are Circle Inspectors, O.C.s of Police Stations, incharge of Thanas, Sub-divisional Officers, District Magistrates, Commissioners or anybody else who can do a bit of field work, must be made to go out, move about and use their personal influence and weight to see that every inch of cultivable soil is put under cultivation immediately. They can also do their bit to encourage fish culture, poultry farming, market gardening etc. There are wide areas, even now, completely under water hyacinth which may be reclaimed for fish culture if the villagers put in organised *shramdan*. In this work all those who call themselves congressmen and bask in the glory of political power, may make some useful contribution to the nation's economy and welfare. The members of the public too, among whom may be included the businessmen, shopkeepers, moneylenders, professional persons, religious teachers and other important men and women, should organise themselves to improve the economy by man power as far as possible. Outside aid should not be sought unless found absolutely necessary. In fact, everybody must do something personally apart from inducing and encouraging others to do things.

Those who are in no position to help food production can do work to improve the nation's foreign exchange position. Gold collection is going on and should be helped. But not many people have any gold to lend or give. There are other things which, have a ready international market. Silver, copper, brass or bronze, waste zinc, lead or other metals, particularly scrap iron and steel can be collected and sold abroad to get foreign exchange. There are endless [illegible] copper and brass utensils which can be turned to money. Small quantities of other scrap [illegible] be given to Central Committees set up for the purpose. These may yield more foreign exchange than the gold bonds.

Study of Soil for Food Growing

There are millions of acres of land in India which the Indian cultivators avoid because the favourite crops do not grow on those lands. This however does not mean that those lands are no good at all for anything worth growing. In this world of ours there are various kinds of fruits, grains, oil seeds, nuts, vegetables and other edibles which can be grown on soils which are not good for paddy, wheat, maize, sugarcane, potatoes and the other favourites of our countrymen. There are yams which grow in the driest sandy soils and we have seen quite successful yams growing in apparently impossible stretches of desert-like land in West Bengal. A Committee of experts should visit dry and arid places in various parts of the world to see what can grow in the "cultivable but not cultivated" lands in India. Lands which are not cultivable can also produce edible stuff. Enquiry and study will soon enable us to discover what we can grow on our arid and non-productive lands. The French grow thousands of tons of edible mushroom in the sewers of Paris. Mushroom is a delicacy and its cultivation should be studied. The Himalayan area can be used for fruit growing on an extensive scale. Groundnut and soyabean can be grown in many places where nothing is grown now. And where nothing can be grown, shrubs of a thorny variety of berries can be planted which provide food for goats. Jungle fowl and patridges live well in such bush country. Efforts must be made to utilise all resources.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A SCENE FROM THE BIBLE

I. J. DAS

Few stories in the Bible perhaps are arly so touching as that of Joseph. With e exception of chapter 38, it occupies the thirteen chapters in the Book of nesis. Coming at the very end of nesis, it presents a worthy picture of the of the patriarchs and forms a logical with the ensuing Book of Exodus.

What is more natural than that a father uld shower on a son born in his old age, of a most beloved wife, to win whose , he had slaved for fourteen years, ery mark of his tenderest affection? ob's love for his other sons, though uine, is a love in common, his love of eph is one of preference. But this very e of preference rouses the fiendish ousy of his ten brothers. Joseph's ration of his dream, moreover, fans into a fury. "Shalt thou be our king? shall we be subject to thy dominion?" The ter of his dreams and words ministered rishment to their envy and hatred. y would go to the extent of even mur- ng their brother. "Behold the dreamer eth. Come, let us kill him!" But how they report it to their father? Is love enious to find or make ways of getting to thing loved? Then so is its opposite, ed, in striking at its object. "We will 'Some wild beast hath devoured him.'"

If the fire of hatred burns fiercely in hearts of them all, the flame of love ns brighter still in Ruben. He is moved the prospect of a fratricidal crime, and a mind to restore Joseph safely to his er. Hence his plea with his brother, to defile their hands with the blood of rother. Let them leave him in a deep pit re he may die a natural death.

Juda is a true pragmatist. What would it profit them to let Joseph die? Why not sell him to the caravan of merchants who were just going into Egypt? So it is done. And the merchants in turn, sell him to Puthiphare, General of Egyptian army.

Now begins a romance, ancient in its seduction, but strange in its onesidedness and failure. "For Joseph was of a beautiful countenance and comely to behold." Puthiphare's wife is weak and capricious, and an easy prey to every pretty face. In her seduction of Joseph, however, she meets with rebuff. But with her, every rebuff will have its revenge. She falsely accuses him to her husband—of lusting after her!—and Joseph pays for his purity and innocence with fetters and prison.

Now, Joseph is a dreamer in a nation of dreamers. Not only does he dream himself, but reads a meaning into the dreams of others. The butler's dream, for instance, prefigures release; the baker's vision presages death, and the Pharao's dream, plenty and famine. It is as a seer, and an interpreter of dreams that he gains access to the royal presence, and wins over the King's grace. Where other divines had failed, Joseph succeeds, and is made Governor over all Egypt.

Poverty and plenty is the lot of us humans. Abundance and depletion come to us in succession. But when did we hear of such opulence and such dire necessity? And where of such a provident saviour as Joseph? He has brimmed the barns of Egypt with corn enough for the seven years of famine. For "the thoughts of his heart are from generation to generation, in order that he may snatch their souls from death,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and feed them in time of famine." Rightly then does the Pharao direct the famished peoples to "go to Joseph."

So universal is the famine, and so consuming its rapacity, that all the world looks for corn to the graneries of Egypt. Joseph's brothers too must go to Egypt, if they are to have the wherewithal to live. And this is where the most touching part of the story begins.

Whereas Joseph recognises them, they do not recognise him. He therefore puts on a masterly pretence of a stranger's harshness and suspicion, talking to them through an interpreter. "You are spies. You are come to view the weaker parts of the land." He examines and cross-examines them concerning their pedigree, and requires them, under pain of death, to bring their youngest brother. They, least suspecting him for Joseph, indulge in self-recrimination for having dealt so cruelly with their brother. "We spilt the blood of our brother, and behold, blood is required of us." Now this is too much for Joseph to bear. His tender heart melts into tears, and he cannot restrain them. So "he turned himself away a little while and wept." Who will not be moved at the tears of Joseph ?

Joseph must needs employ a strategem to take his Benjamin to himself—Simean will be held a hostage until they bring their youngest brother, and thus prove the innocence of their motives. But how much that parting would cost to the old man their father ! "You would bring down my grey hairs in sorrow to hell." Plead as Juda might, Jacob would not let them take his Benjamin to Egypt. In time, however, all their corn is consumed, and they have to go to Egypt, if they are to survive. But Jacob's sons would not set out, unless it be with Benjamin. So Jacob must let them have their way.

Princely hospitality awaits them ; but it is too great for them to understand. Their minds are too gross to rise above their littleness. They fear that some harm [illegible] intended for them. When Joseph [illegible] his entry, they bow down to the earth [illegible] offer him their obeisance. Then is fulfilled the content of his dream for which he was sold into slavery ; and it will be fulfilled more than once hereafter. His pretended inquiry of their father and their younger brother stimulates the reader to a mournful smile. "Is the old man, your father, in good health ? Is that your younger brother of whom you spoke to me ? God be gracious to thee, my son." But soon that smile scalds into tears. For, once again, Joseph is brimming with emotion. However, it is not yet time to reveal his indentity. So he goes out and weeps in secret. Joseph weeps—and which of us can hold back his own tears ?

Yet another strategem must be employed in order to retain Benjamin with himself—putting his silver-cup in Benjamin's corn-sack. So he could be searched, convicted and withheld. When they are on their way home, they are overtaken, and examined. Where else could the cup be, if not with Benjamin ? And what foul ingratitude for such generous treatment ! They return, prostrate themselves before Joseph and beg his clemency—Juda most of all. May he accept Juda as a bondsman and let Benjamin go ; else, their poor father would die of grief.

Joseph can contain himself no longer. He sends out all the Egyptians. They have no place at the brothers' knowing one another. "Then lifting up his voice with weeping, he said 'I am Joseph your brother whom you sold into Egypt. Is my father yet living' ?....And falling upon the neck of his brother Benjamin, he embraced him and wept ; and Benjamin in like manner wept also on his neck. Joseph kissed all his brethren and wept upon every one of them. 'Be not afraid ; let it not seem to you a hard thing that you sold me into this country ; for God sent me before you into

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

pt for your preservation. Not by your
unsel was I sold here, but by the will of
d.....Make haste, go to my father and
him: Thus says thy son Joseph: God
s made me lord of the whole land of
pt; come down to me; do not delay.'
What joy that message brought into the old man's life! At first he could not believe it. He thought, he was waking from a dream or a deep slumber. But when he saw the wagons that Joseph had sent, his response was truly paternal. "It is enough for me, if Joseph my son is yet living. I will go and see him before I die."

IMPORTANCE OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Though the history of the tariff in India that the Report of the Commission contains is extremely meagre and defective and the survey of the present economic position of India that the Commission have made is wholly misleading, it has to be admitted that the conclusion to which they have arrived after a consideration of the particular advantages which an increased development of industries in India may be likely to bring appear to be attuned to a different key. The Fiscal Commission hold that the industrial development of India has not been commensurate with the size of the country, its population and its natural resources. They accept without hesitation the conclusion drawn by the Indian Industrial Commission that

"The industrial system is unevenly and in most cases inadequately developed; and the capitalists of the country, with a few notable exceptions, have till now left to other nations the work and the profit of manufacturing her valuable raw materials, or have allowed them to remain unutilised,"

and fully endorse the observation made by the authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms that

"The economics of a country which depends to a great extent on agriculture must be unstable."

The Fiscal Commission sum up their conclusions in the following words:

"We have no hesitation in holding that such a development (a considerable development of Indian industries) would be very much to the advantage of the country as a whole, creating new sources of wealth, encouraging the accumulation of capital, enlarging the public revenue, providing more profitable employment for labour, reducing the excessive dependence of the country on the unstable profits of agriculture and finally stimulating the national life and developing the national character."

Ramananda Chatterjee in *The Modern Review* for February 1923, Page—266.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

FOOD SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND DEFENCE EMERGENCY

Recurring crises in foodgrains supply and prices in the country have become practically an endemic feature of the Indian economy ever since the end of 1962. The position appears to ease somewhat with the new harvest every year and deteriorates with the onset of the lean season, developing the attributes of a crisis during the months immediately preceding each new harvest. Official thinking on the problem has consistently been marked by a measure of complacency leavened with indifference to the basic implications of the problem. It has been seeking to explain away these recurring crises by the plea that increase in food grains production, ever since the end of the First Five Year Plan period, had been failing to keep pace with the rate of increase in the country's population. Platitudinous *shibbobeths* have, of course, had to be uttered alongside of such explanations, that the hight priorities would have to be accorded to agricultural production and its necessary producer bases, such as fertilizers and irrigation potentials etc. These have so far remained largely wishful and not much progress has been evinced in the matter during very nearly the last one decade or so.

The 1962-63 Food Crisis

It was only with the onset of the rather more than normally severe crisis in both prices and supply that made its appearance almost immediately following the 1962-63 rice harvest and the rather sorry tale of the failures of the Third Plan that the matter was subjected to a ceratain measure of examination in the course of the reappraisal of Plan progress. Faced with the rather akward question as to why and how agricultural priorities came to be neglected in both Plan formulation and implementation, the Late Jawaharlal Nehru was reported to have come out with the rather extraordinary defence that as he liked the feel of large machinery, he somehow allowed these to have precedence over basic agricultural requirements, or words to the same effect, to a meeting of the Planning subcommittee of the Congress Parliamentary Party. At the Bhubaneshwar session of the Congress the matter again came to the fore and pious resolutions to accord agricultural production, especially food grains production, the highest priority in developmental efforts were adopted. But, again, matters were allowed to slide back to the limbos of indifference and neglect until last year's severest ever crisis developed.

Last Year's Crisis And Government Policy

It was under the compulsion of this crisis and, presumably, because the pressure on food grains prices has been laying corresponding stresses upon all primary consumption commodities and which, in turn, have been creating vital distortions in the economy as a whole, that the Union Government were obliged to turn their thoughts upon the vital need to evolve an integrated and national food policy for the country. Certain tentative decisions were announced, the most important of them being the setting up of a statutory distributive machinery covering the major urban and industrial areas and, with a view to containing the developing speculative pressures upon the supply and price structure of food grains, to evolve necessary machinery enabling Government to acquire a dominant position over supplies. It was in this context that the constituton of the Food Grains

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

poration of India was conceived and it was being contemplated that the Government ld enter the field of the food processing ustry, especially the rice milling industry, in a e way. The States did not seem to welcome of these decisions with any measure of enthu- n; the surplus producing States felt that they not need to bother and most of the deficit es with the sole exception of West Bengal under i Prafulla Sen's leadership, felt that in the ence of an adequate buffer stock at the dis- al of the Centre on which they would have to rely to cover their supply deficits, it might e worse than foolhardy to assume the respon- ities of statutory distribution. While these sions and speculations were in the process of ination, the new rice harvest came in, which ed to have been the largest during the last de and longer, and which had the effect of ing the crisis to almost near normalcy ; supplies ing become quite plentiful and open market es having slumped with the new harvest by al- t 53.3 per cent of the pre-harvest level it had ched. With the easing of the crisis the sense of ency which had compelled official thinking to need to enunciate an integrated national food y also receded into the background. Except the West Bengal Government who stubbornly to the decision to introduce statutory ration- in the Greater Calcutta metropolis immediately eventually to certain selected urban areas and strial complexes, the thought of rationing ared to have been wholly discarded; the n Government likewise appeared to have ped their earlier decision to partially national- the rice milling industry. The decision, how- to make Central levies upon the surplus es with a view to covering the needs of the it areas as well as to build up the initial eus of a Central buffer stock against future years were not discarded and a programme of sive imports of wheat and also some rice from oad was drawn up with the same end in view. on the whole matter of food the earlier sense urgency appeared to have been more or less flowing, presumably, from the complacent fidence, especially when, later, the new wheat proved to be an all-time bumper one, that worst of the crisis had been passed over, at for some time to come.

The Current Season

Such confidence, however, proved to have been prematurely generated when, even as early, as during the initial weeks of the onset of the normal lean season, foodgrains supplies began to become scarce and prices to steeply shoot up again. Within a very few weeks the situation became so acute that despite massive imports,—the Food Grains Corporation was wholly unable to even begin to lay by the initial nucleus of a buffer stock. As confessed some time ago by the Corporations. Chairman, imported grains had to be straightway transported from the ships' holds to the consumers' kitchens,—the pressure has been so intense. This led to some public clamour, especially within the party echelons of the Congress and the matter occasioned something of a near storm at the last Bangalore Session of the Party Plenary Conference. An All-India Food Sub-committee manned by some Chief Ministers of States and others met soon after Bangalore in New Delhi and made certain recommendations, the most important of which was the one advising the introduction of statutory rationing in all urban areas and townships with populations of 300,000 and more immediately and for the eventual and gradual extension of the area covered by rationing to include all towns with populations of upto 100,000. The Sub-committee had reportedly failed to arrive at any consensus on the question of procurement and left the matter to be decided by the States concerned ; Central purchases from surplus States, it was recommended, should be handled by the Food Grains Corporation alone, by mutual agreement between itself and each State concerned. Only five days after the Food Sub-committee made its recommendations, at the Chief Ministers' Conference held in New Delhi to ratify them, the very corner-stone of these recommendations, that is introduction of statutory rationing in all urban areas with populations of upto 300,000 immediately and 100,000 eventually, and the formulation of some sort of official procurement machinery at States' levels, would appear to have been *deliberately sabotaged* by the Prime Minister himself when he counselled that rationing should be confined to cities with populations of over 1,000,000 (of which there are only eight in the whole of India covering a gross population of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

17,000,000) and recommended that the initiative in the foodgrains market should be mainly left with the open market trade, the State only assuming a comparatively small share so as to contain speculative pressures upon supplies and prices.

Indo-Pakistani Armed Conflict And Food Crisis

It was in such a context in the food situation in the country that Indo-Pakistani relations exploded into a violent armed conflict. Although a cease-fire has been effected for the time being, it looks likely to be an uneasy and, at least, an unstable one. Food assumes a significance in the context the implications of which should be unmistakable to even the least discerning. It is encouraging that two vital matters have, at long last, come to be acknowledged by the Government; firstly, the need to reach a level of self-sufficiency with the least possible delay and, consequently, to accord food production the highest possible priorities in Plan formulations and financial allocations as part of the necessary defence orientation of Planning in the context of the national emergency; secondly, to realize the urgency of the need to obviate the country's dependence upon imported food grains. The latter need may become increasingly urgent as the attitude of the country from which we mainly derive our imports of food grains under especially favourable terms and conditions becomes clearer. In the U.N. and elsewhere, the tendency of the country concerned to accord more favoured treatment to Pakistan, despite the latter's violations of the conditions under which arms assistance was being given to it by the former, may make the continuance of food exports to India dependent upon certain political conditions unacceptable to us. In that event we may have to allocate foreign exchange for imports from elsewhere which, if the need for imports could not be obviated by a rapid and wholesome advance in home production, could only be made available in our present balance of payments and reserves position by diverting the same from vital defence priorities. The need, at the same time, to extend the area of statutory rationing to all urban regions with populations exceeding 300,000 in the immediate future, also happily appears to have been recognized. It must be realized that even while all towns in the country with populations of upto 300,000 have been brought under statutory rationing, it will take care of only about 43,000,000 persons or less than 10 per cent of the country's population. Of the rest very nearly 95 per cent or over per cent of the total population of the country belong to agricultural households. Of these per cent or a little more are landless labourers who have to depend on the open market for their consumption requirements; 12 per cent own holdings of less than one acre and are able to produce no more than their own consumption requirements for 3 months in the year; 31 per cent own less than 2.5 acres and are able to produce only enough to cover their own consumption requirements from 3 to 9 months in the year. Assuming that of the two latter categories consumption purchases of foodgrains cover, on an average, half a year's requirements, it would appear that on the whole 26.2 per cent of the national population among rural agricultural households are dependent entirely on market supplies for their food grains consumption requirements and 20 per cent of urban households are equally so dependent. The present scheme of covering 43,000,000 persons by rationing would take care of the needs of only less than 10 per cent of the national population. The rest would be left to the tender mercies of the speculators and the profiteers unless Government were able to evolve some kind of an effective machinery to acquire a dominant position over supplies and ensure a stability and reasonableness in the price level.

Priority for Procurement

One of the dominant priorities of the situation should, accordingly, be a wholesome and effective machinery for procurement; in fact there should be a basic logic of statutory rationing for urban and modified rationing for suburban and rural areas. On this issue the Union Government does not appear so far to have any clearly enunciated policy, although it is assumed that the Union Food & Agriculture Minister, Shri C. Subramaniam, has long been urging the wholesale nationalization of the food trade as being one of the fundamental expedients towards a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...some and enduring solution of the food ...blem. It is not clearly known what may have ...holding his hands from taking and imple...ing such a decision; possibly the States and, ...ially the Party at the States level, may have ...generating pressures to prevent such a deci... It is generally assumed that the bulk of ...election finances of the ruling Party are ...ved from the food grains trade which, it is ...al to assume, also accounts for the largest ...of what our Union Finance Minister insists ...describing as *unaccounted money* in the ...try. It is, perhaps, natural for the Party at ...States level to feel reluctant to encourage any ...ss of expropriation that would adversely ...this small but very affluent sector in the ...unity for, in the ultimate analysis, it is at ...evel that election successes are mainly ...ed. It may also be, at least in part, that ...Subramanium's colleagues in the Union ...net have been trying to hold his hands from ...ing the area of the prerogatives and, conse...ly, the responsibilities of the Ministry and, of ...se, the area of food and agriculture being ...primary responsibility of the State the latter ...have been refusing to fall in line with ...Subramanium's wishes and points of view ...e matter.

But events have been repeatedly demonstrat...hat without an effective procurement system, ...for meeting current consumption demands ...ll as for building up an adequate storage of ...stocks against future lean years and other ...r emergencies, it is physically impossible ...intain any kind of control over either dis...tion or prices of food grains for direct and ...ary consumption purposes. It becomes all ...more an inescapable necessity when, as now, ...Government have had to decide upon ex...g statutory rationing to cover an increasing ...of the national urban population. We have ...ady demonstrated above that apart from the ...,000 urban dwellers who are proposed to ...mediately brought under statutory rationing ...the further 51,000,900 million urban ...ers who may be eventually and in gradual ...e brought under a similar distributive sys...there are at least another 150,000,000 people ...e country who have to depend for the basic ...mption of food grains entirely upon market supplies. Part of this huge population comprising very nearly 200,000,000 persons, or well over 40 per cent of the national population, have been ineffectually sought to be covered by a system of modified rationing in certain selected regions which has, from time to time, failed either wholly or partially simply because Government did not have that measure of command over supplies which alone might have enabled this system of distribution to be effectively sustained.

West Bengal's Bold Enterprise

All these—an obvious mixed bag of economic and political and, primarily, political factors —would seem to have been surrounding the basic core of the food problem in the country which has been recurring with almost clockwork periodicity every year in crisis proportions. That the problem in fairly large proportions has also been of the Government's own making to the extent that they could not—or, to be more truthful, would not—devise any effective measures to inhibit the trades' speculative pressures upon its supply and prices nor would they, in the alternative,—and this could be the only alternative—assume direct command over supplies and distribution, is a self-evident and indisputable fact. It is idle to speculate upon Government's reasons for their policies in this behalf,—they are there for all to see and, perhaps, wonder.

It was, in the circumstances, considered extraordinarily bold on the part of Shri Prafulla Sen on behalf of his Government of the State of West Bengal, to have assumed the responsibilities of clamping down statutory rationing in the Greater Calcutta area and to have declared that in gradual stages other urban concentrations would also be similarly covered. At the same time he decided to cover the fringe areas surrounding the periphery of the statutorily rationed area in the metropolitan city, by a system of modified rationing. This principal reliance was upon a 50 per cent levy upon all mills' production, (to yield 400,000 tonnes of rice, agreements with some rice-surplus States on a Government to Government basis to purchase some 400,000 tonnes of rice and the Centre's undertaking to further supply another 350,000 tonnes. Shri Sen must be congratulated upon the boldness

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized By Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and imagination with which he decided upon his new enterprise and against the dire and inevitable consequences that were prophesied of its ultimate fate by friends and detractors alike. There have been difficulties without doubt, as was only to be expected. There will, perhaps, be even worse difficulties ahead in the future. But on the whole, within the limited area of its application, his enterprise must be pronounced to have proved an unqualified success.

An Integrated National Policy Needed

It will, no doubt, be pointed out that, as we write the system of modified rationing appears to have, at least for the time being, wholly broken down. This breakdown, we feel sure, has been a valuable object lesson to Shri Sen and from this lesson, we presume, must have stemmed his yet bolder and more courageous decision, recently announced, to wholly replace private trade in food grains by State enterprise and to launch into wholesale and total procurement for the purpose which, on the face of it, is the only rational method by which a system of statutory distribution can be adequately sustained. Shri Subramanium, during his recent conferences in Calcutta, also complimented Shri Sen on his bold and imaginative decision in this behalf and was reported to have stated that he would like other States to emulate West Bengal's lead in this behalf. What he does not appear to have made clear at the same time, a matter which is crucial to the problem as a whole, is whether the Government of India are yet ready to treat the problem of food on an integrated notional basis and by eliminating the present regionalism that has been one of the principal weaknesses of Government policies in this behalf.

Regionalism Must Go

To examine West Bengal's problems in this connection would provide a clue to the fundamental weaknesses of the present policies of regionalism in food administration. West Bengal, a deficit State, is primarily a rice-consuming area although, during the last 3 years, in the urban areas at least, wheat has been covering a good 50 per cent of consumption. In the State as a whole the average consumption of wheat has during the last 3 years been well over 25 per cent of total cereals consumption. The consumption of other cereals of the coarser varieties like, for instance, jowar, bajra, maize etc., is normally only microscopic here. West Bengal's minimum consumption requirements of cereals have been computed at 6.4 million tonnes and by habit all of it is being computed in terms of rice which is only what the State produces. The average annual production of paddy in terms of rice during the last 4 years has been of the order of approximately 4.5 million tonnes; the quantum of deficit being 1.9 million tonnes. In a latest assessment of the prospects for next year, Shri P. C. Sen apprehends that in the possible absence of PL480 imports, the State may have to depend entirely upon her own production of cereals and a more than 40 per cent deficit is neither easy to cover nor possible to ignore. What would be exceptionally galling, if that were so, is the fact that on the basis of All-India cereals production, it is possible to cover the whole of a 16 oz. adult ration for the entire country through a mixed ration of coarse and finer grains. But to enable one to do so, an essential condition-precedent would have to be the enunciation and enforcement of an integrated national food policy by a wholesale elimination of the presently operating regionalism in this behalf. There has been no indication, so far, that the Union Government are yet prepared to begin to think in these lines and to follow such a bold and courageous policy which, if need be, must be reinforced by eliminating the States' independent initiative, unless they are ready to conform in the administration of the ministries of food.

A Clear Understanding of The Situation

Let us, for the sake of a clearer understanding of the basic issues involved, restate the position; on the basis of a 16 oz. daily diet, the total quantity of cereals required for actual consumption would be approximately 65 million tonnes. Of this, the quantity normally produced in an average year, on the basis of the last five years' production figures, would be a little over 71 million tonnes. The production of the finer

(Contd. on page 421)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE INDO-GERMAN CONSPIRACY : BEGINNING OF THE END

Prof. KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE

The story of the Gadar programme to
p men and arms to India in aid of the
olutionists at home has been narrated.**
was an ambitious programme which, for
me reason or the other, could not be
equately executed and thus failed in its
ective. Some men, we have seen, were
pped to India only to be arrested. Late
1914 arrangements were started in
erica by the German agents and the
lar leaders with the help of their
erican friends to ship arms to India.
is venture also, as we know, produced no
sult although its futility was not fully
ealed before the year 1915 had run part
its course. It appears, however, that
e leaders of the Indo-German Cons-
acy in Germany had been thinking
reshuffling the organizational set up in
United States for some time past.

This is evident from the contents of a
ded cable No. 449, sent on December 27,
4 by Zimmermann, Germany's Foreign
cretary, to Count Von Bernstorff, the
rman Ambassador in Washington.[1] It
d, "A confidential agent of the Berlin
mmittee, Heramba Lal Gupta,[2] is shortly
aving for America in order to organize
importation of arms and the conveyance
Indians (plotters) now resident in the
ited States to India. He is provided with
finite instructions. You should place at
disposal the sum which he requires for
purpose in America, Shanghai and
avia, viz., 150,000 marks....." A subse-
ent cable dated December 31, 1914 direct-
Bernstorff to take steps in conjunction
with Gupta to have such Indians as are suitable for this purpose instructed in the use of explosives by some suitable person. It is clear from the first cable that the representatives of the German Government and the Berlin India Committee wanted a nominee of theirs to guide the conspiracy from America. His main responsibility was to send arms and men to India.

Gupta spent some time in Berlin prior to 1914. He was, according to newspaper reports, about 28 years old when called upon to play an important role in the Indo-German Conspiracy movement late in 1914. M. N. Roy puts him at about 40.[3] Gupta received considerable financial help from German Government officials in New York. His primary purpose was to buy arms from China and Japan. The Indian leader first tried his luck with the Chinese Government. Negotiations were started in San Francisco with James Deitrick, who held power of attorney for Sun-Yat-Sen. But the Germans did not approve of it.[4] Subsequently, Gupta left for Japan to try to get assistance there. It appears that before leaving for Japan he frequently visited a building on Wall Street. This was the building in which Captain Von Papen, German Military Attache and 'plot pay master' in America held his offices. Gupta was reported to have received between $40,000 and $50,999 to defray the expenses of his work. As indicated earlier, his principal mission in Japan was to have guns and ammunition sent from there to India.[5]

Gupta arrived in Japan during the

** Please see the *Modern Review* for August, 1965.

1. Landau, *op. cit.*, p. 29 ff.
2. *The Modern Review*, May, 1965, p. 340
3. M. N. Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
4. Giles T. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 301.
5. *The New York Times*, March 12, 1917, 2 : 5.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Japanese Coronation festivities early in the winter of 1915, and was met there by many Indians, "all of them said to have been prominent in the organization known as the Indian National Society, through which Germany has worked in efforts to start a rebellion in India." But his mission did not thrive in the land of the Rising Sun. It did not take the Japanese Secret Service long to get scent of the Indian revolutionary. He ran the risk of being deported to India. Gupta and another Indian managed to escape to the house of a friend, where they hid from November 1915 to May 1916—"during which period they never once left the house." The house was once searched but they hid in a secret room. They were somehow smuggled out of the country, got to Honolulu and eventually came back to the U.S.[6]

Some more information about Heramba Lal Gupta may be gleaned from a newspaper report[7] of a trial of some conspirators at Chicago. One Sukumar Chatterji, presumably a Government witness, deposed that he had come to the U.S.A. in 1912 to study journalism, but later was induced to take part in the alleged plot by Gupta, one of the defendants in this (Chicago) trial. He told of meetings in San Francisco in 1915 at which "revolutionary plans were discussed and of going to Manila with the men named as conspirators." Chatterji was arrested at Bangkok and made a statement to Brigadier-General Dudley Ridout, who commanded the British troops in the Straits Settlements. Chatterji met Gupta who had just come from Germany, at Sacramento in California. Gupta told Chatterji that Bhupendra Nath Dutt had been sent to Egypt in connection with the revolutionary work and that there were people doing propaganda work in Persia and Afghanistan. Chatterji agreed "to go to Siam and aid in the revolution, and was provided with $700 by a confederate of Gupta named Sanyal...." He also deposed that the Gadar party had its emissaries working in China, the Shan States, Siam, Java, Sumatra and other places and "the minds of the people were being carefully poisoned." Sanyal informed Chatterji that a shipload of munitions had already been sent to Bangkok where it was arranged that these two and a German called Boehm should proceed. Chatterji came to Bangkok towards the end of June 1915 having sailed from San Francisco to Manila on the 25th of May.[8]

Capt. Thomas J. Tunney of the Neutrality Bureau of Investigation of the New York Police Department testified that Heramba Lal Gupta had told him in New York on March 10, 1917 that Captain Von Papen the Military Attache of the German Embassy in the United States paid him between $15,000 and $16,000, in six or seven instalments, in a suite of offices in lower Broadway and that "it was to be used in making a trip to the Orient." According to Tunney's testimony Gupta went to China and Japan and purchased firearms and ammunition for use in the revolution in India. "Gupta told me that Von Papen said he would buy additional firearms and ammunition in the United States and ship it to the Orient by way of the South Seas. Gupta told me he returned to this country in June 1916, after having been followed by detectives all over China and Japan."

Tunney's testimony which was corroborated by George C. Barnet, a New York Detective Sergeant, is in general agreement with the story of Gupta which has already been collected from the March issues of the New York Times. It should be pointed out that on March 10, 1917, Gupta, "a young Hindu student at Columbia University, is one of those taken to Head-

6. *Ibid.*, March 13, 1917, 4 : 6.
7. *Ibid.*, October 19, 1917, 13 : 3.
8. Sperry, *op. cit.*, Pp. 48-49.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

quarters. He lives in Livingston Hall, a Columbia dormitory...."[9] The New York Times in its issue of March 8, 1917 while giving additional information on two arrests made on March 6, said that according to Government sources a third arrest in the plot might be made within the next 24 hours, and that he might prove to be "one of the most important persons concerned in the conspiracy." One is tempted to conclude that the Government sources had Gupta in view. We shall refer to the other two arrests later.

One of the persons that Gupta met in Japan was Naren Bhattacharyya, better known as M. N. Roy subsequently. According to Roy, Gupta "called himself representative of the Indian Revolutionary Committee of Berlin," and lived in secret with the distinguished revolutionary leader Rash Behari Bose. Roy's account of Gupta written years after their meetings in 1915-1916 is generally in agreement with the information gleaned by us. Roy confirms that the Japanese Government was unsympathetic to H. L. Gupta and his mission. While in Japan, Gupta had told Roy that without him (Gupta) nothing could be done in America and that his recommendation would be required by any Indian wishing to see the German Ambassador in Washington. The situation had certainly changed when some months later Roy met Gupta in New York. By then Gupta had been removed by the Berlin Committee from his position of authority in the United States and he felt sore about it.[10]

It may be recalled here that an important American newspaper in a news item issued from Washington on March 7, 1917 said, "It was learned today that the chief Indian conspirator in America had left the country. Officials declined to divulge his name."[11] This brief notice read along with Roy's account of his arrest "in the campus of the Columbia University while returning one evening from a meeting addressed by Lala Lajpat Rai" almost simultaneously with the two arrests of March 6 (to which we have already referred) and the account of his flight to Mexico, leads to a very plausible inference.[12] "The chief Indian conspirator" who had fled the United States was M. N. Roy.

To return to the main current of the story. It may be reasonably concluded that the failure of Heramba Lal Gupta's mission in Japan went against the continuance of his leadership. Intrigues within the Berlin Committee and misunderstandings with his colleagues in the United States may also have contributed to Gupta's eclipse. Anyway, that Gupta's leadership was disowned by the Germans and the Berlin Committee when he was away on his arms mission is proved by the following cable dated Berlin, 4th February, 1916, from Zimmermann to the German Embassy, Washington :—In future all Indian affairs are to be handled through the Committee to be formed by Dr. Chakravarty. Dhirendra Sarkar and Heramba Lal Gupta, who has meanwhile been expelled from Japan, will cease to be independent representatives of the Indian Independence Committee existing here.[13] This change in leadership was commented upon by Preston, the Dis-

9. *The New York Times*, March 11, 1917, 2:2.

10. M. N. Roy, *op. cit.*, Pp. 30-31. "He was fed up with intrigues and accused the Berlin Committee of having let him down when he was risking his life in the front lines of the Far East. Gupta pleaded inability to help me. On my enquiry as to who had taken his place in the revolutionary organization, he had shrugged his shoulders and, apparently with no relevance, made some disparaging remarks about one Dr. Chakravarty."

11. *The New York Times*, March 8, 1917, 2 : 7.

12. M. N. Roy, *op. cit.*, Pp. 37-44.

13. Sperry, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

trict Attorney at the San Francisco trial. "We will show you," he said, "this man Sarkar and Gupta held the reins together with Ram Chandra, until some time in the year 1916, when the matter not coming out to the satisfaction of the Berlin Committee, they requested Dr. Chakravarty to come to Berlin to receive his formal instructions as to how this matter should be carried on." The District Attorney then proceeds to tell us that Chakravarty sailed under the name of Reza Vager, a Persian merchant and subsequently "adopted a code system of communication between himself and the Berlin Foreign Office through this Committee" (Berlin Committee).[14]

Dr. Chandra Kanta Chakravarty who thus came to be the accredited nominee of the Berlin Committee (which by that time was unmistakably brought under the control of the German Foreign Office), had been in the United States for several years with the exception of a few months in 1916, when presumably he had visited Berlin.[15] Chakravarty who was a chemist was born in Calcutta, and arrived in the U.S.A. on the steamship Adriatic about February 25, 1910. He was about 31 years old when he assumed his new responsibility. The revolutionist weighed less than 90 pounds and was 5ft. and 2 inches tall.[16] During his visit to Berlin, he conferred, among others, with the Foreign Minister Zimmermann.[17] Chakravarty who was a school teacher and journalist in India, had three warrants issued against his name when he left for the United States.

The new leader was faced with an uneasy situation. The programme of aiding the revolution in India tangibly and materially from America had failed. The revolutionary organization in the United States was not as well-knit as it should have been. We have enough indication to assume that cracks in the organization had appeared. Team work had suffered considerably. There were rifts in the ranks of the revolutionaries themselves. The circumstances demanded that the new leader should be a man of consummate ability and tact and of absolute integrity. It was necessary that he should be on good terms with Ram Chandra and the Gadar Organization at San Francisco, and be able to satisfy the expectations of the Berlin India Committee and the German financiers. Chakravarty was saddled with a heavy responsibility. Moreover, the Germans were worried about the leakage of information to the British. This is borne out by the following letter dated March 21, 1916 of one Haniel of the German Embassy at Washington to Ambassador Von Bernstorff and Von Igel, head of the Military Information Bureau maintained by Germany in New York. "The Imperial German Consul at Manila writes me 'the English are thoroughly informed of all individual movements and the whereabouts at various times of the Hindu revolutionists.' Please inform Chakravarty."[18]

The information that may be culled from the not too adequate materials in our hand does not give a satisfying picture of the revolutionary organization that was set up in America for the cause of India. Somehow or other, things did not move satisfactorily, and even genuine and honest efforts did not produce the expected results. We hear of complaints that sufficient funds were not forthcoming; and it appears that whatever money was available was not properly and wisely utilized. Preston produced a letter sent in "a cipher message which purports to be incomplete that was found in the basement of Chakravarty's

14. *Trial records*, p. 19.
15. *The New York Times*, March 8, 1917, 1 : 4.
16. *Ibid.*, March 9, 1917, 2 : 7.
17. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1917, 1 : 1.
18. *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 12, 1917, p. 11.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ause, our contention being that it was a ...aft of a letter to the Berlin Committee ...ter he had been appointed by Zimmer-...ann." Sent sometime in May 1916,[19] the ...essage runs as follows:—I believe you ...ve received seven consecutive reports ...nt through Embassy. If you have not, ...ease inform in duplicate. Everything ...ell organized now except two members ...om Pacific Coast..... Rutgers sent to ...gan and Armu Adam to Trinidad. He ...s sent from there four score men to India. ...rty are ready..... We arranged every-...ing to control Japanese dailies for four ...re thousand dollars, but Embassy says no ...ney—The message is a little incoherent ...d the concluding part provides an anti-...imax.

That Chakravarty was not in an envi-...le position will be evident from another ...tter[20] dated August 16, 1916, "contended ...be the work of Dr. Chakravarty." It was ...nt per the S.S. "Oscar 11" and addressed ...a man named H. Eisenhut, Stationswej ... Gentofte, pr. Copenhagen. The letter ...ntained the following message.—Received ...ur note and valuable instructions. We ...ually send you reports every week. Sorry ...u do not get them in full and regularly. ...quest Foreign Office to (tell) their Con-...ulate here to accelerate service.

The correspondent then mentions the ...embers of the Committee in the United ...ates and gives the heartening news that ...am Chandra is willing to conform to our ...rty policy, he and any of his nominees." ...e writer also proposes to go to California ...his week." The rest of the letter is pain-...l reading. It reveals the dissensions ...ithin the organization that were coming ...p on the surface. The references to some ...f the well-known revolutionists are far from complimentary.[21] The organization was in a bad shape, the leadership was being questioned and the prospects of success grew dimmer.

The conclusion becomes almost irresistible from a perusal of these and some other messages that Chakravarty was finding himself unequal to the task. We are told that among others, the new leader had agreed to send an agent to the West India Islands with a view to organising the despatch to India, of as many as possible, of "nearly one hundred thousand Indians" who lived in these islands—all the more because it was considered easier to send Indians back home from there than from the United States. Chakravarty was also required to send an agent to British Guiana with the same object, to despatch a reliable person to Java and Sumatra, and to conduct a vigorous propaganda on behalf of the cause of India with literature that was to be printed secretly in America and circulated from there. Besides, it was also Chakravarty's responsibility to make an effort to carry out the plan of the secret Oriental Mission to Japan.[22] This evidently was to be a continuation of Gupta's attempts in that area. If the contents of the message

19. *Trial records*, Pp. 1842-1843; Sperry, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
20. *Trial records*, Pp. 1843-1844.

21. *Trial records*, p. 1844—
"Gupta is back and we were eager to take him, but he had adopted (a) reprehensible policy. He in conjunction with Freeman and Lala Lajpat Rai made statements before the German Consulate; that Harish Chandra and Tarak Nath Das are suspicious characters, come from London and (are) intimate with Arjun Sing, a spy; and that Harish Chandra took from Freeman's hand last year four thousand dollars; and that Tarak Nath Das asked from Switzerland and received from Von Brincken eight hundred dollars; and (that) he is a fraud and heads this class; (that) I was proved to be crazy. Of course, we defend both of them. Now this is (the) very method by which enmity has been made.
"We shall keep Harish Chandra here until your further instructions. Every helper has hesitated (a) good deal after such an incident."

22. Spellman, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of May 1916 are any indication, very little success in these respects had been gained. We are further told that in a message from Berlin to Chakravarty dated July 13, the latter was told "that the primary objective was to produce revolution in India during the war." It was also suggested that attempts might be made to set up an "Independent Hindustani Republic" provided that did not jeopardize work in India.[23]

Circumstances compelled Chakravarty to lean more on the San Francisco Gadar group and its powerful leader Ram Chandra. The co-operation of the latter was eagerly sought. Ram Chandra agreed to work with the new committee, but with certain reservations. This is borne out by the contents of a telegram from Chakravarty dated September 5, 1916. It says, "Saw Ram Chandra. He is willing to work with the Committee and is ready to do so without party mandates, except to change the name of Gadar to National in his publications. The weakness in Ram Chandra's positi and the disruption within the Gadar Orga zation are then analyzed. "He (Ra Chandra) has no intellectuals with him except one Govind Behari Lal, but he al lacks reflective judgment and seri temperament.

"The Gadar Party is also in the proc of breaking up, as Gurudwara, a Sikh re gious organization, bribed by the British trying to discredit Gadar. Notwithstandi this, Gadar has been receiving one thous dollars monthly from the local Consulate ....".[24] Anyway, there was no appreciab change in the working of the revolutiona programme. Misunderstandings and diffe ences grew apace. The scope of the revol tionary work also became more restricte than before. These developments will b treated in a subsequent chapter.

23. *Ibid*.

24. Sperry, *op. cit.*, p. 52; *Trial record* p. 6550.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN HISTORICAL RELATIONS WITH SOUTHEAST ASIA

S. SWARUP

From early times the inhabitants of India e conscious of the lands lying to the ward.[1] Though no definite date can be d for their first contacts with South- Asia, the knowledge of that area was dy common before the Christian era n. The first relations between the two ns came through trade; Indian[2] chants were attracted by the allure of merce. In pre-Christian days, South- Asia, reputed to possess large quanti- of gold, was known as Suvarnabhumi, ally meaning "land of wealth". The spect of acquiring those riches tempted an traders to explore those previously own territories.[3]

Commercial enterprise merely estab- ed contacts; large scale Indian emigra- to Southeast Asia was the result of forces. Brahman and Buddhist pre- rs moved into that part of Asia and ed there permanently. The pressure of lation and invasions of foreign rulers ded up the movements. When such gration was in process the sub-continent India was divided into innumerable cipalities. A prince, not a direct heir to his father's throne, would migrate to South- east Asia with a band of followers to acquire a new domain. Emigrants went to that area from many parts of the Indian mainland. They proceeded to their destina- tions mainly by two routes: the sea and overland routes. The southerners travelled by boats, the northerners by land routes. Harbours of embarkation for sailings to Southeast Asia were available on the eastern coast of South India. The land route ran through Bengal, Manipore and Assam. Tradesmen with large cargoes often travelled by a third way, half by sea and half by land. They reached Malaya by ship and then proceeded to Siam and Indo-China by roads.[4]

Some emigrants returned to their motherlands; others made Southeast Asian lands their home. After some centuries their settlements developed into colonies. Such establishments included princes, administrators, traders, Brahmans, poets, artists and other commoners. These residents were believers in one of the two faiths of India: Buddhism[5] and Brahman-

1. Ancient India was disunited, being osed of many smaller and larger kingdoms. purposes of this article, however, that country e treated as one geographical entity.

2. On pages 387-391, the term, Indian s exclusively Hindu; for the rest of the article icates all inhabitants of India; Hindu, mmedan or others. In both cases, however, word includes all emigrants from that sub- nent as well as their descendants in Southeast .

3. R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in Far East*. (Calcutta: General Printers and shers Ltd., 1944).

4. *Ibid*., pp. 7-9, 13; K. A. Nilakant Sastri, *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, (Bombay: Hind Kitabs Ltd., 1949), Pp. 123, 126.

5. Buddhism, founded as a branch of Hindu religion, spread in Ceylon and the Far Eastern countries where later it changed its form. In Southeast Asia the cult of Buddha was imported from India in its original form as well as from China and Ceylon in a changed character. The faith of Buddha arriving in Southeast Asian nations from both these sources and of two different kinds, has been regarded here as a part of Hinduism for purposes of discussions in Buddhist art, literature and religion in that area.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ism. Southeast Asians were in a primitive state of civilization. Hinduism, more refined than native beliefs, was readily acceptable to the local populace. Intermarriages were common. Tribal rulers employed newcomers who were in general more energetic than their subjects. The local chiefs embraced imported culture: the Indian princes imposed the new religion on the region's populations. Early in the Christian era small Indian kingdoms became numerous in Southeast Asia. They developed and expanded so that after a few centuries indigenous chieftains became either their vassals or had their domains annexed by them. Most indigenous jurisdictions thus gradually vanished; Indian chiefdoms sprang up in various parts of Southeast Asia.[6] The history of that region from 100 A.D. until the coming of Western powers is largely a description of Indian kingdoms and empires.[7]

Indian Kingdoms in Southeast Asia

Some writers claim that the name Burma[8] is derived from the Buddhist word Brahman which means first inhabitants of the world. This view is not accepted by historians, however. The Burmese relate their ancient kings to numerous tribes of northern India. Their chronicles assert that various kingdoms in Burma, Arakan and Prome were established by numerous waves of Indian immigrants. Such principalities existed only until the ninth century. After that time the only historical source on Burma is a record of its tribal rulers and their wars. It is not known whether any Indian kingdom existed in that country later on.

Larger Indian empires came to be founded in Indonesia especially in Java, Sumatra, Bali and Borneo.[9] Javanese history connects its ancient kings to royal families of northern, central and southern India. These principalities, ruled by Indian immigrants, existed in Java during second and sixth centuries. Sizeable states were also created in this country after the eighth century. The larger kingdom to be newly founded was Mataram, later known to have been ruled by the Kadiri. In 1222 a usurper revolted, defeated the Kadiri forces and laid foundations of the state of Singhasari. The new kingdom included Bali, Sumatra and Pahang. The court of Kadiri henceforth existed only as sovereign of a smaller principality. In 1294 a Singhasari ruler annexed Kadiri dominions and founded still another empire, that of Majapahit, the largest of all Indian states in Indonesia. Its seat was in Java; its

6. It should be observed that the Philippines, Tonkin, and northern parts of Annam remained outside the currents of intense Indian impacts (During fifteenth century a Hindu King is said to have ruled in the Philippine islands. Details about his reign are, however, unknown. See: Sastri, *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, Pp. 144-146.

7. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Pp. 7-8; R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, (Vol. 2, *Suvarnadvipa*, Part I, *Political Theory*, 2 Vols., Dacca: Asoka Kumar Majumdar, 1937), p. 30; Sastri, *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, Pp. 126-129.

8. For details on principalities, founded by Indians in Burma, see: Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Pp. 189-215; Arthur P. Phare, *History of Burma, including Burma Proper, Pegu, Taungu, Tenasserim and Arakan*, (London: Trubner and Co., 1883), Pp. 1-16; *J. G. Scott, Burma from Earliest Times to March 1824, the Beginning of English Conquest*, (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1925), Pp. 1-19; John Leroy Chistian, *Burma and the Japanese Invader*, (Bombay; Thacker and Company Limited, 1945), Pp. 23-24.

9. The standard work on this topic is: Majumdar, *Suvarnadvipa*. Also see: Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Pp. 15-70; K.A. Nilakant Sastri, *History of Sri Vijya*, (Madras: University of Madras, 1949); Sastri, *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, Pp. 101-126.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

uthority extended over Malaya, Borneo, ali, Sumatra and adjacent islands. The ajapahit throne continued until the end fifteenth century. Inscriptions, recently cavated in Java and Malaya give evidence another rule, the Sailendra Empire. Its igin is controversial and it has not been termined whether Java or Sumatra was e centre of its authority.[10] In neighbourod the kingdom of Sri Vijya endured in umatra. In addition numerous smaller tates, established either by Indian immigants or their descendants subsisted from me to time in Bali, Borneo and on the stern coast of Sumatra. Few of them anaged to maintain their independence; thers depended for their existence on owerful neighbouring kingdoms.

In Indo-China foundations were laid for e two Indian kingdoms, Champa and ambuja.[11] Created by an Indian immigant Mara, the possessions of the Champa tate corresponded to present Annam. Most the time it fought for its existence gainst two powerful states, Kambuja and nnam, and was often tributary to the hinese court. Its rule lasted until 1822 when an Annamite conquered its domains. The country of Kambuja, previously a vassal state of still another larger Indian polity, Fu-nan, was founded on the territories of its suzerain after a rebellion in the seventh century. The lords of the new and expanded Kambuja kingdom had to struggle continuously with Champa and Annamese. Its authority began to decline after 1300. During sixteenth century the Siamese threw off its yoke. Three hundred years later, the rulers of Siam had become so much more powerful that a protege of theirs was placed on the Kambujan throne. Siamese transferred their suzerainty over Cambodia to France in 1887. The state of Cambodia, smaller in territorial jurisdiction than its antecedent kingdom, still persists as an entity independent since 1954.

Some scholars believe that the name Siam is related to the Sanskrit word Syama.[12] The principal Indian Kingdom in that country was created after the thirteenth century; only smaller ones were established before that date.[13] The Siamese trace the ancestry of their overlords in Buddhist mythology. After 1300 A.D. their throne changed hands among many royal families, the last shift having occurred in 1688 when a rebel of the house of Chakkri proclaimed himself king. The descendents of that dynasty reign today in Bangkok.

Many smaller principalities, established and administered by Indian immigrants and their successors, existed in Malaya

10. Some writers express the opinion that e territories of Sailendra were vaster than ose of Majapahit and included what is now own as Cambodia, Laos, Indo-China, Malaya, umatra, Java and smaller islands of the region. ch a view is, however, not unanimously cepted by historians.

11. The standard works on the kingdoms Champa and Kambuja are: R. C. ajumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far st*, (Vol. I, *Champa*, 2 Vols., Lahore: The njab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1927); Phanindra ath Bose, *The Hindu Colony of Cambodia*. adras: Theosophical Publishing House, 27); Bijan Raj Chatterji, *Indian Cultural fluence in Cambodia*, (Calcutta: University of alcutta, 1928). Also see: Sastri, *South Indian fluences in the Far East*, Pp. 153, 181; R. C. ajumdar, *Kambuja-Desa or an Ancient Hindu olony in Combodia*, (Madras: University of adras, 1944).

12. Such is the contention of Indian historians. The western scholars deny any connection between these two words.

13. See: Phanindra Nath Bose. *The Indian Colony of Siam*, (Lahore: The Punjab Sanskrit Book Dept, 1927); Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Pp. 225-232; Sastri, *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, Pp. 63-81; W.A.R. Wood, *A History of Siam, from the Earliest Times to the Year A.D. 1781*, (London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., 1926), Pp. 1-126.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

during the fifth century.[14] After 500 A.D. most of the Malayan lands remained under the domination of Fu-nan, Kambuja, Sri Vijya, Sailendra and Siam. During the fifteenth century when those empires with the exception of Siam, disintegrated, Malaya fell into the hands of Mohammedans.

Indian Influence on the Religions of Southeast Asia

Brahmanism, arriving a few centuries before the Christian era, was the first Indian faith to be introduced into Southeast Asia.[15] The incoming cult flourished as Hindu principalities became more numerous; it was voluntarily accepted as well as widely imposed upon the region's masses. The faith of Brahma, favoured in Vaisali (an Indian Chiefdom in early Burma), Siam, Java, Champa and Kambuja was mainly practised in forms of three sects, Bramha, Siva and Vishnu—the so-called Hindu Trinity. Sivaism was the most influential of the three.

Buddhism had entered Southeast Asia with the Brahmanical faith but had not made any headway until the fifth century. After 500 A.D. the cult of Buddha gained popularity in Java, Bali, Champa and Kambuja. Thenceforth the monopoly of the Brahmanical cult as the royal religion of Indian polities ended; the rulers of Burma, Sri Vijya and Sailendra became adherents of Buddhism. Between the fifth and seventh centuries Buddhist concepts continued to make tremendous progress. After 700 A.D. extraordinary ecclesiastical toleration was witnessed; Buddhism and Brahmanism were preached and observed side by side for many centuries in Southeast Asia. Champa, Kambuja and Kadiri remained Brahman; Burma and Sailendra adopted Buddhism. The distinction between the two faiths never disappeared, though they came very close to each other. Temples and shrines contained figures of both cults. In Java, Buddha was regarded as a younger brother of Siva. During the twelfth century, king Jayavarman VII of Kambuja originated a new faith, a mixture of the Buddhist and Sivaist cults.

Indian Impacts on Societies of Southeast Asia

With religion Indian ways of life came into Southeast Asia.[16] The systems of caste, marriage, suttee (where a widow burned herself alive along with her deceased husband) and cremation took hold in Bali, Champa, Kambuja, Java and Siam.

Indian Impress on the Literatures of Southeast Asia

Indian literature arrived in Southeast Asia along with Brahmanism and

14. There has not yet been published any comprehensive work on the early Indian colonies in Malaya. However, the subject has been discussed at some length in: Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Pp. 82-88, 144-148, 181-189, 215-221; Bose, *The Hindu Colony of Siam*, Pp. 111-122; Bose, *The Hindu Colony of Cambodia*, Pp. 182-199, 253-303; Majumdar, *Champa*.

15. Concerning the impacts of Indian religions on Southeast Asia, see: Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Pp. 82-88, 144-148, 181-189, 215-221: Bose, *The Hindu Colony of Siam*, Pp. 111-122; Bose, *The Hindu Colony of Cambodia*, Pp. 182-199, 253-303; Majumdar, *Champa*, Pp. 8, 80, 137, 167-214; Allen Bennet, *The Religion of Burma and other papers*, (Madras: Theosophical Publishing Home, 1929); Kenneth Perry Landon, *Southeast Asia, Crossroad of Religions*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948); H. C. St. Barbe, "Pali Derivations in Burmese," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 48, Part 1, (1879), P. 253.

16. *Ibid*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Buddhism.[17] Sanskrit, the first written language to be introduced, was adopted in Burma, Siam and Indo-China. Popular chiefly among the ruling classes, it disappeared when that segment of population fled to foreign lands upon being attacked. Pali, a later importation than Sanskrit, was mainly used in Java, Bali and Malaya. It developed into a literature for students as well as the medium of speech for the masses—a fact which enabled this language to have longer influence than sanskrit. Indian alphabets, adopted in Burma, Fu-nan and Kambuja, were less influential than languages. Sanskrit and Pali were utilized in Fu-nan, Kambuja, Siam, Champa, Malaya and Java. The literature of Indian origin—especially **Ramayana** and **Mahabharata** epics and legal treatises—also proved quite impressive in Burma, Java, Champa, Kambuja, Fu-nan, and Siam. Burma and Java produced enormous corpuses of prose and poetry, their themes, until recently, having been borrowed from Sanskrit works.

Indian Influence on the Arts of Southeast Asia

The crafts of Southeast Asia are in general offshoots of earlier Indian schools of art.[18] The latter's influence on the artistry of that area was felt through a number of waves: Amravati (200-300 A.D.), Gupta (300-500 A.D.), Pallava (500-800 A.D.), Pala (800-1000 A.D.); of all these tides Gupta and Pala were more significant. The Gupta current left lasting marks on the workmanship of Prome (in Burma), Kedah, Perak and the area later known as Province Welleseley (in Malaya), the kingdoms of Sri Vijya and Sailendra (in Indonesia) and Kambuja. The Pala surge, orginating in Bengal, made its impress on the temples, statues, shrines and images in Burma, Siam and Malaya.

Most arts of Southeast Asia were the concomitants of religion—a fact which was also true of Indian craftmanship. Since Brahmanism and Buddhism co-existed for a considerable period in that area, the objects of workmanship were derived from both faiths. While some temples were devoted to one cult, others were a combination of both. The impacts of the imported craftmanship were, however, not the same in Southeast Asia. Until the eighth century A.D. the regional art was essentially Indian. After 800 A.D. the artistry in countries of the western zone, Burma, Siam, Malaya and Sumatra remained static and gave way to decadence when Indian kingdoms discontinued. The workmanship in states of the eastern part, Java and Indo-China, showed local genius to which foreign influence remained only a stimulus.

Islam enters Southeast Asia

Indian impacts on Southeast Asia until the thirteenth century were already

17. See: Chaterjee, *Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia*, Pp. 237-283; Bose: *The Hindu Colony of Cambodia*, Pp. 303-312; Majumdar, *Champa, Book III, The Inscriptions of Champa*, Pp. 1-227; Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Pp. 78-82, 143-144, 181-189, 215-221, 230-231; Harvey, *History of Burma*, Pp. 14-16; Thomas Stafford Raffles, *The History of Java*, (2 Vols., London: John Murray, Albamarle Street, 1830), Vol. 1, Pp. 77.

18. The standard work on this topic is: H. G. Wells, *The Making of Greater India. A Study in Southeast Asian Cultural Change*, London: Bernard Quartich Ltd., 1951). Also see: Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Pp. 77-97, 149-153, 193; Bose, *The Indian Colony of Siam*, Pp. 96-111; Majumdar, *Champa*, Pp. 135-274; Sastri, *History of Sri Vijya*, 103-110; Bose, *The Hindu Colony of Cambodia*, Pp. 186-211; R. C. Majumdar, *Greater India*, (Bombay: National Information and Publication Ltd., 1948), Pp. 54-56.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Hinduised when Islam penetrated that region.[19] Mohammedanism was first brought by Bengali and Gujrati businessmen who settled on the eastern coast of Sumatra. They converted to their faith the subjects and ruler of the local state of Pasai. Its king persuaded the ruler of Malacca to adopt the cult of Mohammed by giving him his daughter in marriage. From Malacca the Moslem faith spread into Malaya, Java and the southeastern Philippines (the islands of Sulu and Mindanao) through royal marriages, commercial contacts and missionaries. The indigenous Malayans, ninety per cent of the Indonesian population and most citizens of Sulu and Mindanao islands are still believers in Mohammed.[20]

The faith of the Arabic prophet was successful in converting or came to be accepted by more than half the population of Southeast Asia; Moslem political authority did not last as long as that of earlier Hindu princes. In most Mohammedanized countries of the region, notably in Malaya and Indonesia, Islam (Indian and later Arabic) could not replace Hindu influences in such fields as art, language and society. A considerable percentage of words of Sanskrit origin can be observed in the modern vocabulary of both these nations. Numerous royal customs in Malaya today are essentially Hindu; the organization of society on an Aryan pattern still persists in Java. The modern Indonesian outlook on craftmanship—an attitude that art is revelation—is drawn from the Indian schools of art.[21]

It should be repeated that Indian influences in Southeast Asia, however intense they may have been, had their limitations. Certain areas of that region—the Philippines, Tonkin and northern provinces of Annam remained completely outside the orbit of Indian impacts.

Western Rule in South and Southeast Asia

With the exception of Siam, South and Southeast Asia passed under the rule of Western powers during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Britain took possession of India, Burma and Malaya; France took Indo-China; the Netherlands acquired the East Indies; the United States got the Philippines. During the period of Western regimes, Indian contacts with Southeast Asia were limited in political as well as economic spheres. The British Government of India maintained contacts only with Burma and Malaya. After three consecutive wars of 1824, 1854 and 1886 the English finally annexed Burmese possessions to India.[22] It was only in 1937 that Burma was separated forming thereafter a distinct colony in the British Empire.

---

19. For details on the coming of Indian Islam in Southeast Asia, see: Raden Abdulkadir Widiojoatmodjo, "Islam in the Netherlands East Indies," *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. 2, (November, 1942), Pp. 48-57; R. A. Blasdell, "How Islam came to the Malayan Peninsula," The Moslem World, Vol. 32, (April, 1942), p. 114; Brian Harrison, *Southeast Asia, A Short History*, (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1954), Pp. 50-56; Claude L. Pickens, "The Moros of the Sulu Sea," *The Moslem World*, Vol. 31, (January, 1951), Pp. 5-13.

20. The Christian and tribal population must be excluded from such estimates.

21. See: Richard Winsdet, "The Elements of Malayan Civilisation. *The Asiatic Review*, Vol. 37, (April, 1941); J. J. Van Laan, "Art in the N.E.I." *Great Britain and the Far East*, Vol. 57, (November 22, 1954).

22. F.S.V. Donnison, *Public Administration in Burma, A study of Developments during the British connexion*. (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1953), Pp. 1-86, 95-99.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Britain had acquired Penang in 1786, province Welleseley in 1800 and Singapore 1819. All those lands were ruled by British Governor General of India until 67 when their administration was ansferred to Colonial Office in London. e Malayan state, thenceforth, formed separate entity under the Crown.[23]

It should be observed that Indian relations were fairly close with Southeast Asian neighbours in ancient times. Indian influence can be observed on numerous phases of life in Southeast Asia even today.

23. S. W. Jones, *Public Administration in Malaya*, (Bombay : Oxford University Press, 1953), Pp. 1-14.

OPIUM INDUSTRY AND SMUGGLING IN INDIA

Prof. J. C. VARSHNEY

Opium is known as a dangerous drug d its cultivation, production, marketing, port and control is the sole monopoly of e Government of India. Opium is obtain- from the immature fruit of the opium ppy, by incising the opium capsule and llecting the juice.

Opium poppy belongs to the family of paveraceae and is derived by collecting d drying the exuded milky juice. There e more than 100 species of poppy plant und in Central and South Europe and in mperate Asia. Commercial Opium is ssified as Turkish opium, Macedonian ium, Bulgarian opium, Persian opium, dian opium, Chinese opium, and Egyptian ium. About 75% of the world's opium produced in India, and out of this pro- ct about two-thirds comes from the dis- dhya Pradesh.

The cultivation of poppy for the pur- e of production of opium is confined to ch tracts of M.P., U.P., and Rajasthan eas as are notified by the Government of dia in the Gazette ; Poppy can be culti- vated in accordance with the conditions of a licence issued under the Opium Act 1857. Generally, the cultivation of poppy starts in September. The successful cultivation of poppy plant depends upon moderate rainfall and tropical or sub-tropical climate. The poppy can be cultivated profitably, if labour and land are sufficiently cheap and abundant. The mode of cultivation varies from country to country. If a naturally light and rich soil is chosen with improved manure and irrigation, land sloping and well drained, the yield of opium may be higher per hectare. Opium is a rabi crop, and the preparation of land starts from July. Proper selection and storage of seeds are an important aspect for proper germination and healthy growth of the plants. The cultivator is bound to sow the poppy, to lance the capsules, to collect the opium and to deliver the entire product to the Government's weighment centres at a price fixed by the Government from time to time.

After 4 months of sowing the seeds the flowers appear on the plant and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with them appear the capsules. The capsule is tapped for its resin during the day time and it is supposed to be the best time for producing opium more in quantity and quality. An overcast day without sunshine may not produce any resin.

The area under cultivation of poppy in M.P., in 1958-59 was 13,920. 4860 hectares and it increased to 18712.2985 hectares during 1960-61 but later on decreased to 8382.1900 hectares during 1964-65 due to less demand from foreign countries and due to a large stock of balance left unsold during the previous year 1963-64. The area under poppy cultivation and production of opium in M.P. may be mentioned as below :—

Year	Allottment of area in hectares.	Production of opium in Kgs.
1958-59	13920.4860	392302.381
1959-60	18109.3690	308815.240
1960-61	18712.2975	386438.002
1961-62	14609.5421	304356.367
1962-63	9699.4524	304193.554
1963-64	10380.2800	303598.624
1964-65	8382.1900	.....

There has been considerable increase in the average yield per hectare in Mandsaur district especially since 1954-55. But during 1961-62 and onwards the increase in the yield of opium is tremendous. During 1962-63 Mandsaur district accounted for the highest average yield per hectare in the country. In 1963-64 Mandsaur district has broken all the previous records by obtaining an average yield of 33.36 kgs., of opium per hectare. This is presumably the highest yield of opium per hectare anywhere in the world.

The opium is purchased by the Government at a price fixed on a sliding scale. The opium year starts on 1st. of October and ends on 30th September. The price payable ranged from Rs. 34.00 to Rs. 42.00 during 1963-64 and Rs. 32.00 to Rs. 40.00 during 1964-65. The payment made to the culitvators in M.P. during 1959-60 was about 1.40 crores, while it was 1.09 crores during 1962-63. The opium purchased from the cultivators is sent to the Government opium factories situated at Ghazipur (U.P.) and Neemuch, M.P. The opium received in the factories is chemically tested and prepared for export to foreign countries and for internal consumption also. In the year 1933-34 it was decided to start a factory at Neemuch for manufacturing Ball opium, but actually it started its production in 1935-36 and continued it upto 1948-49. From 1949-50 the manufacture of Biscuit opium and Soft Excise opium was also started in this factory and it continued upto 1955-56 only.

In 1956, the All India Narcotics Conference held at Simla, decided to introduce total prohibition of oral consumption of opium by 1959. As a result of this decision further manufacture of opium was stopped in Neemuch factory and the demand also diminished due to this prohibition. It was decided to close the factory and the activities of the factory were also curtailed considerably. The factory thereafter worked as a warehouse for supplying opium to the states of M.P. and Rajasthan. But this factory situated at Ghazipur mainly producing opium for export purposes, could not meet increasing demand of Indian opium in foreign countries and as a result therefrom 1958, it was decided to make use of the idle manufacturing capacity of Neemuch factory as a help to the Ghazipur factory for increasing the manufacture. This factory produced 1209 maunds of opium during 1958-59 and 3009 maunds of opium during 1959-60. In 1959 the extension of the Neemuch factory was taken up and its first phase was completed by the construction of the storage vats to hold 3,000 maunds of opium. During 1960-61, a new platform was also constructed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Government of India sanctioned ther factory for Mandsaur and it started production from 1962. Ever since, it made rapid progress and the rate of ng the opium in the factory is better other factories of Ghazipur and much. There has been a proposal for ing an Alkoloids works in Mandsaur ory with a capacity of 5 tons. Soft se opium, Hard Ball and Biscuit opium ufactured and exported at the Govern- t factory Neemuch during 1959-60 may entioned as below :—

Description	Soft excise opium	Biscuit opium	Hard Ball opium	Export Total (In Mds.)
Opening stock :	179.2142	49.8133	26.3567	255.3842
Receipt :	5.3444	—	—	5.3444
Manufactured :	1520.8083	—	2844.7082	4365.52
Issues during year	1705.8083	—	2499.6593	4205.02
Closing balance :	—	49.8133	26.3567	345.0489
				421.2189

The quantity of opium exported to gn countries during 1959-60 and 1961 be mentioned as below :—

Export of Opium in Mds.

e of the country :	1959-60	1961
U. K.	4433	222515
U. S. A.	3965	194138
Italy	314	25000
France	1528	91445
West Germany.	1788	36000
U.S.S.R.	1015	60000
Argentina	409	4000
Japan	829	15241
Belgium	132	7500
Switzerland	——	199
Sikkim	——	2
Ceylon	——	45
Pakistan	——	2053

of the total export more than half of opium is exported to U.K., U.S.A. ous reputable firms in U.K., U.S.A., France, Italy, West Germany and Japan are our important importers and customers. Some opium was exported to Pakistan also.

Every year excise opium is supplied to the State Governments also for the internal use of the addicts and for scientific and medicinal purposes. The opium collected by the department is sold through official agencies to pharmacies in the country or exported. Due to increased foreign demands of opium for medicinal purposes, the production and export of opium has increased. There is limitation on the manufacture of opium in India. Licences are given to the manufacturer and they are bound to hand over all their products to the Government at the specified and fixed rates. Similarly, there is control relating to factories. At present Government of India Alkaloids works Ghazipur and Opium Factories at Mandsaur and Neemuch are the factories working in India. Ghazipur factory is authorised to manufacture Morphine, Codeine, Dionine, Thebaine, Indian medicinal opium powder for domestic consumption and export. In 1944 the Central Government erected an Alkaloids plant at Ghazipur factory for the manufacture of various alkaloids from the opium; to meet the growing internal demand of the country and to export the surplus quantity if any. The leading registered pharmacists, chemists, vaids, hakims, kavirajs and Government hospitals in India get alkaloids and its derivatives from the Ghazipur factory on the strength of excise

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

permits, issued by the Government for the manufacture of their medicines. The important opium alkaloids and its derivatives manufactured at Ghazipur factory are as—morphine hydrochloride, morphine sulphate, codeine, codeine phosphate, codeine sulphate, hydrochloride, marcotine, thebaine, etc. The Narcotics Commissioner to the Government of India (Gwalior) issues import certificates and export authorisation in respect of dangerous drugs for import to and export from India.

Opium is known as black gold. The Government does not permit private trade in opium and this is where the smugglers come in. Various conceivable methods are being used by the smugglers for becoming rich quickly. Thus in order to make detection and prevention of illicit traffic in narcotics more effective in accordance with the recommendations of the All India Narcotics Conference of 1956, the states have been grouped into 3 zones and various committees have been formed in each zone to co-ordinate the activities against smuggling. In March 1959 an All India Narcotics Conference was held with a view to prohibit the opium consumption totally. An Opium Law (Amendment) Act was passed in 1957 for strengthening the hands of the authorities for stopping the social evils of addiction. This Act includes the sentence of imprisonment also to the offenders apart from fines and other monetary penalties.

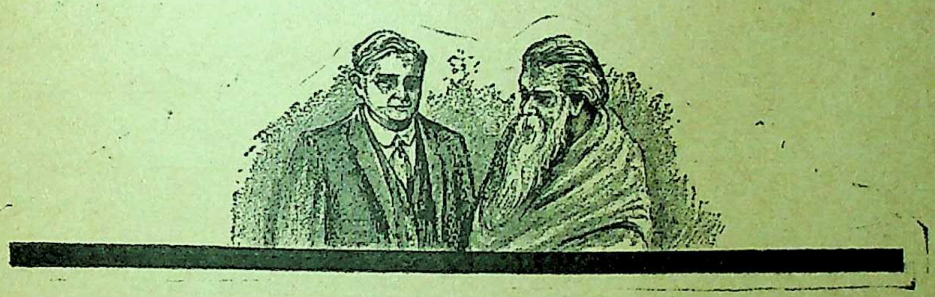
India is one of the major opium producing countries of the world. Opium being an agricultural commodity the illicit traffic is carried on by its diversion from the poppy growing areas. Government of India tries to exercise the strictest control over the cultivation and production of opium. Further, with a view to reduce the scope of smuggling, the Indian Government, consistently limits the area under poppy cultivation so that effective supervision and control could be secured. Similarly, cultivation of poppy is restricted by the terms and conditions of a licence. The licencing principles have been made more rigid. Surprise checks are made on the highways in the poppy growing areas by the officer of the Narcotics Department with the help of the excise and police during the capsule lancing period. The All India Opium Conference of 1959 had decided that the consumption of opium by oral method should be gradually reduced every year, so that it can be prohibited within a period of 10 years. For checking smuggling, intelligence wing and preventive wings have been constituted by the Government. From 1957 Government has strengthened the land customs staff and excise pickets with a view to check the smuggling from neighbouring countries, e.g., Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon etc. Increased attention is being paid to the cars which ply on the highways. Attention is being increased on traffic by air also. Opium Laws Act 1857 has been amended and the offence under the Opium Act 1878 and the Dangerous Drugs Act 1930 have been made cognizable. Police wireless grid is being used for the purpose of eradicating smuggling. Co-operation has been extended in the form of information. Arrangements have been made for the direct exchange of information between Central Narcotic organisations of the various countries. According to the International convention 1931 reports of important cases of illicit trafficking has to be forwarded to the secretariat of the United Nations. Similarly, all important seizures of opium effected at Indian ports and land customs stations are being sent by the Central Narcotics organisation known as Narcotics Intelligence Bureau, to the Secretary General of International Criminal Police Organisation, Paris, through the Intelligence Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Central Narcotics Organisation of Government of India supervise and ordinate all operations which are necesry to prevent offences in regard to illicit ffic in narcotic drugs in all the states the country at the customs ports and ross the various customs frontiers. It eps close liaison with all the agencies gaged in anti-smuggling operations i.e., e excise, the police, the customs, the ntral excise and land customs. Trained gs have been brought into the poppy owing tracts to assist the preventive staff. Checkmate operations are organised on strategic and vulnerable points in collaboration with the excise and police departments, of the states concerned. Watch posts are set up on all important National highways.

Under article 19 of the protocol of 1953, the Government of India has undertaken to prohibit opium smoking except by those who are registered by the appropriate authority on or before 30th September 1953 and not below 21 years of age.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE POETRY OF JAMES JOYCE

PROF. MIHIR KUMAR SEN

James Joyce's reputation generally rests on his novels, short stories, essays in criticism, and letters. The poet in him is less known. In this essay we propose to show and assess him as a poet.

I : *'Shine and Dark'*

Joyce's first published poem was privately printed and circulated in 1891 when he was barely nine. In that poem Joyce cried down Healey and equated him to Brutus and Parnell to Caesar. The final portrait of Parnell as a lofty eagle on the crags appears to anticipate Joyce's description of himself in 'The Holy Office' as a stag on the highest mountain ridges :

"His quaint—perched aerie on the crags
of Time
Where the rude din of this . . . . century
Can trouble him no more."

His first collection of poems was *Moods* which has not survived. His translation of Horace's ode, 'O fans Bandusioe' belongs to this early phase, and in *Finnegans Wake* (p. 280) he refers to it thus ". . . . that fount Bandusian shall play liquick music and after odours sigh of musk."

Paul Verlaine died in 1896. Joyce took a liking to Verlaine and got by heart a number of his lyrics which he used to recite later to girls whom he ran into in Parisian cafes. He translated Verlaine's *Les Sanglots longs* in 1900 and found the job easier than translating Horace. Here is a specimen of Joyce's englishing Verlaine :

"My soul is faint
At the bell's plaint
Ringing deep ;
I think upon
A day bygone
And I weep."

If these verses suggest to a reader a resemblance to the Japanese Hokku or Haiku poems that should be taken as a perfectly normal reaction.

In 1900 Joyce wrote *Dream Stuff*—a verse play—of which the following lines have been preserved, and these lines resemble lines from Eliot's lines in *Sweeney Agonistes*, given below.

"In the soft nightfall
Hear thy lover call,
Hearken the guitar !
Lady, lady fair
Snatch a cloak in haste,
Let thy lover taste
The sweetness of thy hair . . . ."

'Song by Wanchope and Horsfall,'

"Fragments of an Agon," *Sweeney Agonistes*

"And the penguin call
And the sound is the sound of the sea
Under the bam
Under the boo
Under the bamboo tree."

(p. 126)

The young poet lamented his sins in his next collection of poems—*Shine and Dark*. His brother Stanislaus Joyce kept up some of these poems. Ccriously enough, most of these 'preserved' poems are 'dark', the 'shine' poems are few and far between. Here are some lines written in a mood of penitence :

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"I have consorted with vulgarity.
And am indelibly marked with its fell kiss,
Meanly I lived upon casual charity
Eagerly drinking of the dregs of bliss."

He foresees the doom of a sinner in the lowing lines :

"The curse of loneliness broods silent
on thee still,
Doing its utmost will,
And men shall cast thee justly to thy
narrow tomb,
A sad and bitter doom."

. . . . A punch of St. Augustine and Soren rkegaord ; and that, earlier in life than either them !

The mood of "the villanelle of the mptress" in *A Portrait of an Artist as a Young* n can be traced back to this early stage in ce's poetic journeymanship when one reads following lines :

"Faster and faster ! strike the harps in
the hall,
Women, I fear that this dance is dance
of death !
Faster !—ah, I am faint . . . . and,
alas I fall.
The distant music mournfully murmureth
. . . . "

This is a supplication to a woman who ds for temptation and doom. Joyce apparently shed the idea of being overcome ! In contrast, thine' poem reads :

"Let us fling to the winds all moping
and madness,
Play us a jig in the spirit of glandness.
On the creaky old squeaky strings of
the fiddle ;
The why of the world is an answerless
riddle
Puzzlesome, tiresome, hard to unriddle.
To the seventeen devils with sapient sadness.
Tra la, tra la . . . . "

does no credit to the critical faculty of the erary dictators of the day to say that Joyce was not taken seriously as a poet in the early years of the twentieth century. William Archer happened to edit a book of modern verses at that time and Joyce sent him for inclusion in it such poems of his as 'Wanhope', 'Commonplace,' 'The Final Peace,' 'Tenebrae,' etc. Archer's comment on his voluntary contributions was : "There is as yet more temperament than anything else in your work." Joyce himself felt that he could not equal his countryman Yeats as a poet and was not therefore disappointed at the comment.

II : *'Epiphanies'*

But he was quite certain about his prose. So he tried his hand in a kind of prose-poems which he preferred to call 'epiphanies'. 'Epiphany' meant for him neither the manifestation of godhead, nor the showing forth of Christ to the Magi. It was 'the sudden revelation of the whatness of a thing' at a moment in which 'the soul of the commonest object . . . . seems to us radiant.' The artist was charged with such revelations, and he must look for them not among gods but among men in casual, unostentatious moments. There may take place a sudden spiritual manifestation even in a vulgar gesture or speech. Sometimes the epiphanies might even be 'eucharistic,' such as in moments of fulness or passion. Epiphanies, therefore, read sometimes like messages in an unfamiliar language ; often they are clear and lyrically biased. This 'whatness,' however, is traceable to Duns Scotus's idea about the final individualizing form to which he gave the name "thisness" (*haecceitas*).

Poems Pennyeach or *Pomes Penyeach* cost 1 shilling but contained 13 poems, resembling a baker's dozen. Among others the book included 'Tilly' from which we quote below. Shakespeare's "Fear no more the heat of the sun" ('Fidele') is called up in its rhythm.

"He travels after a winter sun,
Urging the cattle along a cold red road,
Calling to them, a voice they know,
He drives his beasts above Cabra.
The voice tells them home is warm,
They moo and make brute music with
their hoofs.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He drives them with a flowering branch
before him,
Smoke pluming their foreheads.

Boor, bond of the herd,
Tonight stretch full by the fire !
Bleed by the black stream
For my torn bough !"

Joyce used to hold that 'when the Bard writes, he intellectualises himself.' One sees how right he had been in this observation of his when one remembers how, after his mother's death, he found a packet of loveletters from his father to her and read them up. His brother Stanislaus asked, 'well ?' to which he replied, 'Nothing'. Not as a son but as a literary critic. Then he summed up his feelings as above. And he wrote in *Ulysses* of "Her secret, old feather fans, tasseled dance cards powdered with musk, a gaud of amber beads in her locked drawer." Thus do events in an artist's life become artistic sources, and literature re-shapes experience. The artist is at once captive and liberator.

The word 'Joyce' comes from French *joyeux*, derived from Latin *jocax* and means the same thing as the German word 'freud,' joy. And Joyce felt that literature should express a holy spirit of joy. This becomes all the more admirable in view of the fact that he wrote out the verses of *Chamber Music* while passing jobless days and dissipated nights. He wrote to Herbert Gorman once, stating that he had written *Chamber Music* 'as a protest against myself.' This is how he memorialized Lady Augusta Gregory in a limerick :

"There was a kind lady called Gregory,
Said, 'Come to me, poets in beggary,'
But found her imprudence
when thousands of students
Cried, 'All, we are in that category.'

It is remarkable how even in the midst of the tornadoed Atlantic of his being, he could still centrally disport in mute calm and write out such breath-taking lyrics as 'Silently she is combing.'

He wanted to revive the gaiety of the Elizabethan era :

"Come out to where youth is met
Under the moon, beside the sea,
And leave your weapons and your net,
Your loom and your embroidery.
Bring back the pleasantness of days
And crystal moonlight on the shore.
Your feet have woven many a maze
In old times on the ivory floor."

—And all these rushes of creative activity in between his bickerings in the family, his drunkenness and sloth ! Moreover, the laxer he lived the more rigorously disciplined grew his art, as if by compensation . . . .

A dream of his youth was to be a bird, both in its song and in its flight. His lyrics were spurts of his birdlike aspiration. 'O sweetheart, hear you' and 'I would in that sweet blossom be' published in *The Speaker* (July and September 1904), and 'My love in a light attire' (*Dian* August 1904) were inspired by Nova Barnacle. In *The Venture* were subsequently published 'what counsel has the hooded moon' and 'Thou leanest to the shell of night.'

Synge's *The Well of the Saints* had probably encouraged Joyce to demonstrate his genuine contempt for the Irish theatre. 'The Holy Office' was his first obvert announcement that he wanted to pursue candour while others pursued beauty. Not merely the Irish theatre, he wanted also to break away from the Irish literary movement. His contemporaries are dismissed as cliquists, time-servers, Mammon's minions. He is on the side of Leviathan.

"But Mammon places under ban
The uses of Leviathan
And that high spirit ever was
On Mammon's countless survitors,
Nor can they ever be exempt
From his taxation of contempt . . . ."

But, however much in his short stories with their grim exactitude Joyce might have broken away from the Irish literary movement, in his poetry he rather belonged to it.

"Myself unto myself will give
This name, Katharsis—Purgative.
I, who disshevelled ways forsook
To hold the poets' grammar-book,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bringing to tavern and to brothel
The mind of witty Aristotle,
Lest bards in their attempts should err
Must here be my interpreter."

his contemporaries, Yeats admitted Joyce's
ility as a "Maker" but he did not see eye to
e with Joyce's attack on the Celtic movement.
thur Symons considered the lyrics in *Chamber*
usic to be "almost Elizabethan in their fresh-
ss but quite personal...." Geoffrey Palmer, an
sh musician set some of its lyrics to tune. Of
urse Joyce himself had no pretensions. About
cking up the 'thirty songs for lovers' in
amber Music he said, "I have never known
y love except the love of God. I do not wish
stand behind my own insincerity and fakery."

In a way similar to that in which Yeats
rned his private pains due to the Maud Gonne
air into public experience, Joyce tried in 'She
eps over Rahoon' to express what he felt to
Nora's thoughts about her dead lover—
chael Bodkin—and her living one—James
yce. Joyce has made use of the 'poetic license'
shift the grave from Oughterard 17 miles
ay to Rahoon.

"Rain on Rahoon falls softly, softly falling
Where my dark lover lies.
Sad is his voice that calls me, sadly calling
At grey moonshine.
Love, hear thou
How soft, how sad his voice is ever calling,
Ever unanswered and the dark rain falling,
Then as now . . . ."

The broadside—'Gas from a Burner'—an
tirely personal invective, was written on the
ay from Flushing to Munich in a train, in 1912.
e butt was Padraic Colum's publisher—Mills
Boon who had turned down his book.

"Ladies and Gents, you are here assembled
To hear why earth and heaven trembled
Because of the black and sinister arts
Of an Irish writer in foreign parts.
He sent me a book ten years ago ;
I read it a hundred times or so,
Backwards and forwards, down and up,
Through both ends of a telescope . . . ."

(Printed in Trieste and distributed in Dublin).

—A new *Dunciad* ? The imaginative absorption of stray material resembles more closely T.S. Eliot's method of composition. Joyce, however, accepted this method, as he said, because it was the only way he could work, although it lacked imagination.

Joyce's poems written during 1912-16 are built round his affair with Signorina Popper who gave his daughter Lucia a flower. Here is 'A Flower ,Given to My Daughter' :

"Frail the white rose and frail are
Her hands that gave
Whose soul is sere and paler
Than time's wan wave.
Rosefrail and fair—yet frailest
A wonder wild
In gentle eyes thou veilest
My blueveined child."

Romantic longing and paternal affection are given vent to in the poem's archaic phrasing and pre-Raphaelite allurements of sere, pale souls and the wan waves of time. The same dream image of Signorina Popper standing next to him at Notre-Dame in Paris is reworked in 'Nightpiece' (1915) :

"Seraphim,
The lost hosts awaken
To service till
In moonless gloom each lapses muted, dim,
Raised when she has and shaken
Her thurible . . . ."

The following lines from 'Watching the Needleboats at San Sabba' (dated 7 September 1913) mourn the lost intensity of youth :

"O hearty, O sighing grasses,
Vainly your loveblown bannerets mourn !
No more will the wild wind that passes
Return, no more return . . . ."

Harping on the same theme of passing of youth comes up 'Tutto e Sciolto' ('All is unloosed') dated July 3., 1914.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"A birdless heaven, seadusk, and lone star
Piercing the west,
As thou, fond heart, love's time, so
faint, so far,
Rememberest . . . ."

This lament compares favourably with his fellow-Irishman Yeats' 'An aged man is a paltry thing . . . .'

III : *Limericks*

Joyce carried on his covert courting of Signorina Popper till 1914 when she carried her umbrella slowly out of his life. She married and lived in Florence as Signorina Risolo. Joyce's failure with her made him write verse once again: but this time in a new form—the 'limerick'. The nomenclature of this form is an example of the linguistic phenomenon—Toponymy—a place-name (Limerick, in Ireland) becoming a word. In 1915 he went through a limerickal prolusion submitted by one of his pupils and turned out two of his own, one of which is given below.

"There's a monarch who knows no repose
For he's dressed in a dual trunk hose
And ever there itches
Some part of his breeches;
How he stands it the Lord only knows."

—A parody, indeed, of the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy!

A Portrait had been favourably received by the critics. Lady Gregory called it a model of 'autobiography'. Pound considered the work 'very great'. Eliot 'approved' of it. Wells reviewed it with eulogies in *The Nation* on 24 February 1917. Clutton-Brock wrote in the *TLS*, "It is wild youth, as wild as Hamlet's, and full of wild music." It was naturally in a happy mood, therefore, that Joyce 'limericked' for Ezra Pound :

"There once was a lounger named Stephen
Whose youth was most odd and uneven
He throve on the smell
Of a horrible hell
That a Hottentot wouldn't believe in."

Round about that time a New York lawyer-cum-publisher John Quinn, expressed his diffidence about the MS of *The Exiles*. This was also grist to his limerick-mill, and he wrote to Claud Sykes:

"There's a donor of lavish largesse
Who once bought a play in MS.
He found out what it meant
By the final instalment.
But poor Scriptor was left in a mess."

Here is an instance when in a frivolous mood of limerick-writing Joyce became a bit too hard on one who had lent him his type-writer :

"A Goldschmidt swam in a Kriegsverein
As wise little Goldschmidts do,
And he loved every scion of the Habsburg
line,
Each arch duke proud, whole jimbang
crowd.
And he felt that they loved him too.
Herr Rosenbaum and Rosenfeld
And every other Feld except Schlachtfeld;
All worked like niggers, totting rows of
crazy figures,
To save Kaiser Karl and Goldschmidt
too . . . ."

(Goldsmith was a Swiss citizen and, therefore, he was not evading military science by the *sinecure*.)

It is possibly England's Prime Minister—David Lloyd George—who is the subject of the following limerick born on the reverse of a post-card :

"There's a George of the Georges named
David
With whose words we are now night and
day fed.
He cries : I'll give small rations
To all the small nations.
Bully God made this world—but I'll save it."

Thus Joyce's limerick-writing went on. And when Arnold Bennett treated Joyce in an uppish manner in course of an interview, Joyce returned the compliment then and there. Bennett pretended to look for something thrown in error into the wastepaper basket. Joyce summed up the encounter in a limerick.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"There's an anthropoid consul called Bennett
With the jowl of a jackass or jennett,
He must muzzle or mask it
In the wastepaper basket,
When he rises to bray in the Senate."

Criticism of Life

In 1917 Joyce had his first attack of Glau-
ma. In the poem—*Bahnhofstrausse*—written in
rich in 1918 he talks about the ageing process
the fading eyesight, the passing youth, and the
possibility of recovering young love. At that
e he was having an uncommitted relationship
h Martha Fleischmann to whom he wrote in
nch asking her to disregard him. He was a
ter in a crucial period of his life. His age
the same as Dante's when the latter began
Divine Comedy. It was at that age that
kespeare had fallen in love with the Dark
dy of the Sonnets. The poem, quoted below,
icates this 'mood'.

"The eyes that mock me sign the way
Whereto I pass at eve of day.
Grey way whose violet signals are
The trysting and the twining star.
Ah star of evil! star of pain!
Highhearted youth comes not again.
Nor old hearts' wisdom yet to know
The signs that mock me as I go."

se eyes do not exactly 'fix' him in a formulat-
phrase (*Eliot's Prufrock*). They are closer
the eyes of Charon (Dante's *Inferno*, Canto
) referred to by Eliot in 'The Hollow Men'.
e Right Man in the Wrong Place' stands in
ect contrast with the mood indicated by the
m just quoted. When Rumbold became amba-
dor to Poland, Joyce sent Sykes this poem for
ir forthcoming production of 'Pippa Passes'.

"The pig's in the barley,
The fat's in the fire.
Old Empire can hardly
Find twopence to buy her.
Jack Spratt's in his office.
Puffed, powdered and curled.
Rumbold's in Warsaw—
All's right with the world."

—The italicised line reminds one of the nursery rhyme beginning with "Jack Sprat can eat no fat". In the last line but two, again, one can hear an echo of "puff, powder and billet-doux" from Pope's 'The Rape of the Lock'.

During the last two years of the Irish fight for independence, the only incident that had stirred his imagination was the hunger strike of Mayor Terence MacSweeney in Cork in October 1920. He linked MacSweeney's fight to his own against English officialdom in Zurich. To his brother Stanislaus he sent the bitter poem, 'The Right Heart in the Wrong Place' which was the fruit of his reaction to contemporary events.

"Of spinach and gammon
Bull's full to the crupper
White lice and black famine
Are the Mayor of Cork's supper;
But the pride of old Ireland
Must be damnably humbled
If a Joyce is found cleaning
The boots of a Rumbold."

In spite of Joyce's distate for Freud's theories, the former took a lot of interest in his own and others' dreams. A dream involved Molly Bloom 'on a hillock under a sky full of moonlit clouds rushing overhead.' This Molly was gradually shading into the Anna Livia Plurabella of *Finnegans Wake*. This is suggested in the parody intended to be sung to the tune of 'Molly Brannigan'.

"Man dear, did you never hear of buxom
Molly Bloom at all
As plump an Irish beauty, Sir, as Annie
Levy Blumenthal,
If she sat in the vice-regal box Tim Healy'd
have no room at all,
But curl up in a corner at a glance from
her eye...."

Molly Bloom (once Marie Tallon), Amalia Popper, and Nora Joyce became the river Liffey. In all his books Joyce makes his characters out of both real and mythical prototypes. Cuckoldry was one of Joyce's favourite themes. In Bog-nor he rewrote the passage dealing with King Mark, Tristam and Iseult. The squawking of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the seagulls on the Bognor strand made him think of imitating their sounds to suggest the derision visited on King Mark.

"—Three quarks for Muster Mark !
Sure he hasn't got much of a bark
And sure any he has it's all beside the
mark....
Hohohoho, moulty Mark !"

Limericks came to him as before. Fed up with John Quinn, he wrote

"Rosy Brook he bought a book
Though he didn't know how to spell it.
Such is the lure of literature
To the lad who can buy it and sell it."

IV : 'Serious' poems

A Prayer (May 1920) combines prayer for mercy with ecstatic self-surrender. That was the first 'serious' poem in six years, written a month after Dr. Borsch had declared a secretion in the conjunctiva of his left eye.

"..... Again!

Together, folded by the night, they lay on earth,
I hear
From far her low word breathe on my
breaking brain.
Come ! I yield. Bend deeper upon me !
I am here.
Subduer, do not leave me ! Only joy, only
anguish,
Take me, save me, soothe me, O spare me!

The italicized line recalls a line from Ernest Dawson's famous *Cynera* poem in its rhythm, though not in its sentiment :

"Nightlong within my arms in love and
sleep she lay;"

Bravely he faced facts. After the sixth operation Joyce noticed 'a very slight return of vision' in the left eye but his right eye still suffered from conjunctivitis. He rhymed Little Jims 'The cottage that was a thatched one' in

"The clinic that was a patched one,
Its outside old as rust,
And every stick beneath that roof
Lay four feet thick in dust."

Dr. Borsch told him that his left eye would need another operation and that he could holiday in the meantime. The Joyces left for Fecamp in Normandy. But bad weather forced them to take refuge in the Hotel de la Poste at Rouen. The mood called for a satire, and this time *The Waste Land* came up for parody. He sent it to Miss Weaver on August 15, 1925. We quote it in full.

"Rouen is the rainiest place getting
(April is the cruellest month, breeding)
Inside all impermeables, wetting
(Lilacs out of the dead land ....
stirring)
Damp marrow in drenched bones.
(Dull roots with spring rain.)
Midwinter soused us coming over Le Mans
(Summer surprised us, coming over the
Starnbergersee)
Our inn at Niort was the Grape of Burgundy
But the winepress of the Lord thundered
over that grape of Burgundy
And we left it in a hurgundy.
(Hurry up, Joyce, it's time!)
(HURRY UP PLEASE ITS TIME)
I heard mosquitoes swarm in old Bordeaux
(A crowd flowed over London Bridge,
so many;)
So many!
I had not thought the earth contained so
many
(I had not thought death had undone so
many)
(Hurry up, Joyce, it's time!)
(HURRY UP PLEASE ITS TIME!)

Mr Anthologos, the local gardener
(Mr. Eugenides, the Smyrna merchant)
Greycapped, with politeness full of cunning
(Unshaven, with a pocket full of currants)
Has made wine these fifty years
And told me in his southern French
(Asked me in demotic French)
Le petit vin is the surest drink to buy
(To luncheon in a Cannon Street hotel.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

For if 'tis bad
Vous ne l'avez pas paye
(Hurry, hurry up, now, now, now!)
(HURRY UP PLEASE ITS TIME)

But we shall have great times
When we return to Clinic, that waste land
O Esculapious!
(Shan't we? shan't we? Shan't we?)
(Shantih Shantih Shantih)"

By that time, thanks to Dr Borsch's prescrip-
s, 'scopolamine' had become for Joyce a sym-
for all medications. He wrote a limerick
it.

"There's a cough mixture scopolamine
And its equal has never been seen
't would make staid Tutankamen
Laugh and leap like a salmon
And his mummy hopskotch on the green."

en, round about the same time, Ezra Pound
at the innovations in *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce
te out in reply :

"E.P. exults in the extra inch
Wherever the ell it's found,
But was't J.J. a son of a binch
To send him an extra pound?"

ost in the same vein Joyce wrote his blurb
Anna Livia Plurabelle'

"Buy a book in brown paper
From Faber and Faber
To see Annie Liffey trip, tumble and caper
Sevensinns in her singthings,
Plurabelle on her prose,
Seashell ebb music wayriver she flows."

e linguistic experiments made later in *Ulysses*
anticipated in such coinage as "Singthings",
yriver" and "sevensinns". It is a pity that
rs of English have not accepted "Singthings"
given the coinage the currency it deserves.
e word-play in the neologism "wayriver" is
remarkable.

On 15 February 1932 Joyce wrote a 'serious'
—'Ecce Puer'—on the occasion of the birth
of a grandson christened after his father. That is a moving poem indeed.

"Of the dark past
A boy is born.
With joy and grief
My heart is torn.

Calm in his cradle
The living lies.
May love and mercy unclose his eyes!
Young life is breathed
Upon the glass,
The world that was not
Comes to pass.

A child is sleeping;
An old man gone.
O, father forsaken,
Forgive your son!"

Joyce always took the rough with the smooth. When told in 1932 that a pirated edition of the Japanese translation of *Ulysses* had seen the light of day, he made merry of that event in 'A Portrait of the Artist as an Ancient Mariner':

"I met with an ancient seribeller
As I scoured the pirate's sea
His sails were alullt at nought comma null
Not raise the wind could he.
The bann of Bull, the sign of Sam
Burned crimson on his brow.
And I rocked at the rig of his bricabrac brig
With k.o. 11* on his prow....."

(*Knock out in the 11th round, i.e., the 11th year since *Ulysses* was published. The press that took over publication of *Ulysses* in Europe was named 'Albatross'.)

In June 1934 'The Rime of Mick Nick and the Maggies' ended with a prayer which summed up Joyce's view of life.

"Lord, heap miseries upon us yet entwine
Our arts with laughter ow!"

He accepted the facts of life, put up a bold front to all incidence, and always kept up a smiling mien.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Joyce never forgot his family. Not to speak of his companionship of Lucia, a daughter who ran after Samuel Beckett, was refused by him and lost her head, even when the prospects of regaining his eyesight were becoming bleaker day by day. His parents and grandparents were always in his mind. His interest in the profligate father may be traced to his own father and to himself. The ghosts in *Hamlet* and in Ibsen's *Ghosts* pointed out the trail of guilt. And, as has been pointed out earlier, Joyce had been a guilt-conscious poet right from his boyhood days. His 'Epilogue to Ibsen's Ghosts' (1934), although a parody, does not show any disrespect for the Norwegian playwright.

"Dear Quick, whose conscience burried deep
The grim old grouser has been salving,
Permit one spectre more to keep.
I am the ghost of Captain Alving...."

By November 13, *Finnegans Wake*—the 'maledetto' book—was finished. Joyce asked of Ruggeiro about the words of a modern Greek love-song which he could not remember. Its plaint for lost love was in keeping with the mood of Anna Livia Plurabelle.

"I walked out all alone on the strand
To remember how we had wept together
When I kiss you, you remember it too
When I kiss you, you remember it too.
Now I love another, a blonde
Much prettier than you.
But at the bottom of the heart
First love keeps its deep roots."

This is a prose-poem at its enjoyable best. It resembles Dowson's *Cynera* poem in its sentiment and Eliot's *Fragment of an Agon* in its rhythm. (Eliot: "I gotta use words when I talk to you . . . . . we all gotta do what we gotta do.")[1]

1. T. S. Eliot did not merely write prefaces or introductions to Joyce's works or collections, he also emulated the word-experimenter, at least in coining the adjective 'Shakespeherian' ('0000 that Shakespeherian rag'— *The Waste Land*). Joyce had earlier explored the possibility of adding to the variants of spelling 'Shakespeare'. He referred in Finnegans Wake to 'Shakhisbeard' in his characteristic fashion.

V : Summing Up

What is Joyce's attitude to life, as revealed in his poetry ? This is a pertinent question. An answer to this question one can only repeat what Joyce told a friend when asked what he thought of life: "I don't think about it."

This utterance should not however be taken at its face value. Less in spite of than because of this statement, a reader of Joyce's poetry ought to size him up as a poet. One does not wonder at his lines as one does at Shakespeare's. Nor does one *reverence* Joyce as one does Milton. Joyce the poet will be, in the eyes of posterity, with poets that are "loved", such as Campbell, Housman, Dowson, Marvell, Goldsmith, Cowper and a handful.

As a guilt-ridden poet, Joyce started his poetic career ; and the 'Shine and Dark' poems will bear this out. The exponent of 'epiphanies' was but another aspect of his genius. 'The sudden revelation of the whatness of a thing' took place at a moment when " the soul of the commonest object" seemed to be "radiant". Joyce, not unoften charged with such revelations, looked for and found them not among gods but among men. These 'epiphanies' were 'prose-poems'. Joyce came back to versifying after his failure with Signorina Popper in 1914.

The touch of satire became unmistakable in his poems of this 'Limerick-period'. It was in May 1920 that Joyce wrote his first 'serious poem', 'A Prayer' that was equalled by a later effort (February 1932) in 'Ecce Puer' on the occasion of the birth of a grandson. Thus Joyce may well be remembered by posterity as a writer of at least two serious poems just as Dr Johnson is remembered as a poet for his 'London' and 'Vanity of Human Wishes'. To those who like to go to poems made in a lighter vein, perhaps James Joyce will hold out an eternal charm as a writer of breezy 'limericks'. Not an easy achievement this !

Books Used

1. Atherton, A.S. : *Books at the Wake*
2. Joyce, J. : *Collected Poems*
3. Joyce, S. : *My Brother's Keeper*
4. Ellmann, R. : *James Joyce*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ALFRED NOBEL

Story of a dedicated life.

NANDA MOOKERJEE

Alfred Nobel, by name the best known rede, was a great benefactor of mankind. s high explosives released a new physical ergy and thereby quickened the indus- al revolution, which in turn raised the ndard of living and reduced poverty.

Alfred Nobel was born of Swedish ents in Stockholm in 1833, the year his her, Immanuel, went into bankruptcy. fter his failure in Stockholm, Immanuel oved to St. Petersburg, the then Capital Russia, where he started an engineering m and rebuilt his fortunes during the imean War. But after the war, he went nkrupt for a second time. Leaving his o sons behind, Immanuel along with fred Nobel came back to Stockholm to uild the family fortunes.

Frail from birth, Nobel was often peni- t of his delicate health. Of himself fred said: "Alfred Nobel, a miserable f-life, ought to have been choked to th by a philanthrophic physician as soon with a howl, he entered life."

Alfred Nobel had no formal education. d yet, he had become, by his late teens, kilful chemist and a notable linguist with mastery of German, French, Russian, glish and Swedish. From his early th he had been a writer and a great der, but many of his poems in Swedish, itten in his youth, he later destroyed. did, however, preserve a long autobio- phical poem in English and occasionally tributed copies of it among his intimate ends. His English style bears traces of e early nineteenth-century trend generally sociated with Byron and Shelley (Alfred's o favourite poets). His deep interest in literature and his life long search for a satisfactory body of philosophic belief made him an introvert. Alfred was, to quote Henrik Schuck, "a prematurely developed, unusually intelligent but sickly, dreamy and introspective youth."

Alfred used to take keen interest in the study of medicine and once he engaged a young Swedish Physiologist in Paris to test his own theories of blood transfusions. But his efforts did not succeed. Failures and difficulties never daunted his spirit. He devoted himself to the study of explosives, especially nitroglycerin which led to the invention of dynamite in 1867. Blasting gelatin was patented in 1875. In 1888 Nobel invented ballistite, the first of the nitroglycerin smokeless powders which later served as a basis for cordite. From the manufacture of dynamite and other explosives and from the exploitation, with his brothers, of the Baku oil fields, Nobel acquired a very big fortune before his death in 1896.

It is unfortunate to note that Nobel's invention of dynamite has created the impression in the public mind that he was mainly interested in creating military weapon. But, in fact, more than ninety per cent of his fortune was acquired from his inventions in the field of explosives for pure civilian uses and these inventions revolutionized mining, road constructions and tunnel blasting. A pioneer in the development of the industrial trust, Nobel witnessed his enterprises grow into a World industry covering countries on five continents.

Nobel led an austere and dedicated life

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized By Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and spent much of his time in travelling in Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, Austria and the United States. He was described as the "wealthiest vagabond in Europe." He would often disappear for long periods without informing anybody where he could be available. He preferred to live "among trees and bushes, silent friends who respect the state of my nerves." Honour did not attract him and he never entertained requests for photographs or biographical information. He once wrote: "I am not aware that I have deserved any notoriety and I have no taste for its buzz." He adopted a cynical attitude towards his friends. He once wrote in a letter: "you refer to my many friends. Where are they? On the muddy bottom of lost illusions, or busy listening to the rattle of saved pennies? Believe me, numerous friends one gains only among dogs which one feeds with the flesh of others, or worms which one feeds with one's own. Grateful stomachs and grateful hearts are twins."

Although, by all accounts, witty, knowledgeable and cosmopolitan, yet he never gained true happiness. He was a lonely man and he remained a bachelor. In the words of Nils K. Stahle "a frustrated love underlay the dejection that plagued him through long periods of his life." In his youth, a romantic admiration for a girl inspired his first literary efforts. In later life, he fell in love with a girl, twenty-three years younger than him, whom he wanted to raise to his own mental and social level. But the whole affair, instead of leading to the happy marriage, ended in a fiasco. This increased his innate melancholy and he ever remained a lonely man.

Benefit of mankind was his constant thought. He once said: "I'd rather take care of the stomachs of the living than the glory of the departed in the form of monuments." On November 27, 1895, a year before his passing away, Nobel signed in Paris the famous will which would translate his thought into a reality in years to come. He stipulated that the major part of his estate, more than 31 million Swedish Kronor, should be converted into a fund and invested. The income from the investments should be "distributed annually in the form of prizes to those who during the preceding year have conferred the greatest benefit on mankind." The fields in which he desired to encourage progress were Physics, Chemistry, Physiology or Medicine, Literature and Fraternity among nations. Much influenced in his youth by Shelley's pacifist views Nobel hated wars between nations. International peace was his great concern, the evidence of which could be found in his extending financial support to his friend Baroness Bertha under whose initiative peace congresses in Rome and Berne were held. He was an universalist. As such, he desired that nationality, race or religion should be of no consequence for the prize decisions.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE PROFESSION OF ENGINEERING

P. C. GHOSH, Dr.-ING

Engineering offers good employment. ow-a-days most middle class families cord engineering probably a first choice llowed by medicine a close second in gher education of their sons. Thus the der prevalent say 20 years ago in profes- onal education has reversed. The reasons re not far too seek. A young engineer can spect quick settlement as a useful and ccessful member of the society. Even a y of just average merit can hope to ac- ire at no great cost foreign education or aining consequent upon his graduation om an engineering college. Graduate gineers with or without foreign qualifica- ns can advance rapidly upto a stage in ivate industries who pay well, or to high sitions in the public sector. They enjoy od attention of the affluent section in atters of social connections. Thus a ung man of 25 gets going with a big rust. By mid thirty he is already a urishing man. But engineering has its nitations as a career. Actually it has not t attained full stature professionally or llectually. Also engineering does not er the glamour a successful physician or yer attains in the metropolis. Of course, ividual engineers have attained eminence. r. R. N. Mukherjee, Mr. Shib Banerjee, harat Ratna Dr. M. Visveswaraya, Mr. A. arsetji, to mention some, are big names in dian engineering. A famous engineer Dr. N. Khosla has been elevated to the posi- n of Governor of Orissa. Engineers have cupied positions of Ministers, Members of anning Commission, Vice-Chancellors, rectors General, Director, Managing rectors. Indian engineers have won nours and awards abroad.

Unlike physicians and lawyers, most gineers work the world over as employees private and public sectors. Industries require whole-time services of engineers to run them. The common man in his day-to-day life may not require personal services of an engineer, who works a little bit in isolation. Twenty-five years ago an engineer was hardly to be met with. I had often been asked whether a student of engineering has to read much or just learn how to run an engine or the like. Certain British Universities confer a conventional title of B.A., M.A., B.Sc., etc., for its engineering courses. Even engineering graduates wondered whether this or that degree comes under engineering! Not altogether strange in those days, for in my own boyhood, I myself would have defined engineering as driving an engine, keeping in view the glamourous sight of the locomotive driver. Not at all an absurd picture, for boys and girls all over the world admire the locoman. Today engineering is of course not obscure. The number of technical institutions conducting degree courses in engineering has increased from 38 in 1947 to 118 at present; the annual admission capacity has risen from less than 3,000 to more than 20,000. Number of graduate engineers is likely to increase further. Before the end of this decade, university enrolment will be around 2 million students; of the total enrolment only about 5% is currently in science and technology, the corresponding figure in U.K. is 15%.

Consulting services of architects and building engineers are coming up; they can also help a lot the private builder and improve quality of buildings. In western countries, quite small offices of practitioner architect engineers do exist and also flourish. However, consulting service is becoming gradually business ventures requiring an investment capital. Still 2 or 3 men of venture can combine together and find a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

lot of scope to practise as building engineers in cities. There is also scope for other types of consultants, since in these days of specialisation their help is needed not only by the lay businessman but also by engineers and engineering organisations. I shall give just one example. The Iron and Steel Research Institute of France which devotes to research, development and consulting engineering in iron and steel employ a staff of about 600. An individual company occupied with routine production and maintenance may not be in a position to muster or spare so many specialists for the stated purpose. Self-employment of engineers is much to be encouraged both for the interest of the profession and the public, since engineer owners may function better compared to financiers. The Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India Ltd., (ICICI) have assisted with finance the establishment of a number of industrial units sponsored by technologists. It is expected that more engineers will become entrepreneurs.

By and large engineers serve as employees and the severest limitation on engineering as a career is imposed in India by this status and by service conditions as employees. An engineering officer serving under the Government may enjoy some reputation for financial stability but an engineer drawing higher salaries from a private Indian concern may not enjoy good status or recognition. A profession is ordinarily taken in India as a free profession so that serving engineers lose their individuality or specialisation in getting labelled 'servant' or 'employees' or 'staff'; a none-too-complimentary designation in India; and in actuality this status did not often entitle an engineer to be treated as a gentleman by those working or serving above him. Some amount of prejudice works against employment in a factory, mine or construction site even though engineers engaged in fields and factories shoulder the toughest jobs. Had there been no engineering production and construction, who would establish an engineering office? Engineering research is quite a serious job but research engineers were regarded in India as retired men or crazy fellows claiming some unemployment benefit. Abroad the best students may opt for research and teaching. How different is the atmosphere of research and academic bodies abroad! But the state of things is definitely improving in India so that the present generation of students will find much better scope for such work than their predecessors had some years ago.

A venerable gentleman once advised me that in the days gone by many pious Indians used to keep their service life out of their own life! This attitude or suggestion may seem ridiculous to persons who have worked abroad as engineers and have thus experienced how common affairs and work of an organisation can be managed nicely and decently bestowing individuality, honour, courtesy and fair play to all participants in the community. A Prussian may still like a little bit of stiff collars in attention, brisk manners and deep bows in places, but the entire system works both ways and once you can drill up to it, this Prussian way becomes not exactly quixotic but really very impressive; it is also not difficult to find that niceties tinge enthusiasm. French way would be a bit different, some sort of art in grace, humility and dignity; and you enjoy calmly your service life as part of your own life.

Engineering is, of course, highly interesting and often fascinating; thus there is joy of work. In certain fields like heavy structures, dam construction, architecture, water ways engineering, production etc. technical standards in India have gone up significantly. Indian engineers today are in a better position to develop through corporate efforts healthy, honourable ways around and above; they should not forget

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

junior partners and workmen. ngineering is actually a cooperative ven-re.

Fortunately, supply of all categories of ained men for different engineering jobs s increased tremendously. The number polytechnics and other diploma institu-ns has risen from about 50 in 1947 to out 250, annual admission growing from ss than 4,000 to nearly 40,000. Trained en together go to create better manage-ent, technical efficiency and professional tus. In the present-day world, engineers y be found at the top of management of dustrial concerns. This trend is already coming evident in India as more engineers ead industries both in public and private ctors. Engineers by habit would be in a tter position to bring forth functional d direct outlook in both management and anning and in fostering proper profe-onal standards.

Initiation of the student engineer to e world of professional men is a tremend-s task as adjustment with the new vironment may call for not only illusionment but also devaluation. How-er, one may expect guidance of teachers d senior members of the profession. k of freedom from want and security the larger community, monopolistic ditions and bitterness of British days—combine together in generating a deep gative attitude to most things and an titude of exclusiveness if not mutual agonism. In certain quarters ideals of ganisation have not developed. Before the ing forces of progress, such deficiencies ll before long be gone with the wind.

The Institution of Engineers (India) ich was founded in 1920 and which ained a Royal Charter in 1935 has quitted itself creditably. Its total mem-rship has risen from 1,472 in 1940 to 6,382 1950 and further to the very big number of 42,887 in 1963. This body is for years functioning with a democratic constitution, conducting recognised examinations, conferring professional titles, publishing journals and information bulletins; arranging meetings, symposia, visits. This Institution should have at important centres good reference libraries which go to serve the profession in its entirety. In this respect this Institution may suffer comparison with foreign institutions. There are also many other professional associations serving this or that branch of engineering; most of them have got their own organs. Actually, this phenomenal growth of engineering profession resulted from the fillip given to it by the development work launched upon since 1952 by the National Government. It is worthy of note that former Prime Minister of India Late Jawaharlal Nehru had lent much personal support and encouragement to the profession. International collaboration in education and practice rendered significant service in the field of engineering development in India. The Indian press and platform have taken very keen interest in success of engineering projects, much interest in engineering research and a little bit in engineering education. Ideals set by men like Sir Asutosh Mookherjee and Acharya Sir P. C. Ray should still be remembered in development of academic and scientific work in engineering. A young professor of an Engineering University told me in Germany that he can not be satisfied just with his personal success; he is concerned with growth of his successors. Everywhere genuine workers and men of good-will profess a little bit of espirit de corps. In advanced countries society tends now-a-days towards a prosperous community of working men and women. I am quite confident that in this free democracy of ours with opportunities mounting daily, Indian engineers will bounce ahead and forge a fine profession comparable to the best anywhere in the world.

CC-0. Prof. Dinesh Chandra Goswami. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RECENT TRENDS IN INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

Dr. BHARAT BHUSAN GUPTA

The British transferred power to the Indians on 14-15 August, 1947 at mid-night. As a consequence, Lord Mountbatten became the constitutional head and responsibilities of administration descended on Indian shoulders. The immediate responsibilities were—improvement in law and order situation, the restoration of communal harmony, the introduction of long-awaited socio-economic reforms and the raising of living standards. The administrative system had to be re-organized and the country had to be placed within the community of nations.

Only a complete overhaul of the administrative system could tackle these many and varied problems. An alien administrative set-up was hardly competent to meet the needs of an emerging state. The first essential was, therefore, the drafting of a fresh constitution. The Constitution inaugurated the Republic of India on 26 January, 1950. It set up a federal structure in the country. Two kinds of governments were envisaged at the Union and State levels based on the Union, State and Concurrent lists.

The constitution had to be continually reviewed. The first concerted effort to stream-line the Indian administration was made by the appointment of A.D. Gorwala. Gorwala submitted his report in the first quarter of 1951.[1] The second important landmark in the administrative scrutiny of the Union and State Governments was the appointment of Dean H. Appleby by the Government of India in September 1952.[2] He submitted his first report in 1953.[3] Appleby made two more visits to India and produced his second report in 1956.[4] The constitution and later administrative probes in Union and State Governments left the District Administration untouched. It was to be organized by State Governments according to individual variations. The Union and State Governments minus district administration meant merely urban administration and touched only 18 per cent of the population.[5] The Union Government, therefore, inaugurated the Community Development Projects and National Extension Service on October 2, 1952. Such an integrated community welfare plan which affected 82 per cent of the rural population could not be carried out without a proper administrative organization. In pursuance of the Finance Minister's Budget Speech for 1956-57, the National Development Council constituted a Committee on Plan Projects with the Union Minister for Home Affairs as Chairman.[6] This Committee, in turn, appointed a Team, headed by Balwantrai G. Mehta, to study and report on the Community Projects and National Extension Service. The Team submitted its report on 24 November 1957. This Report recommended democratic decentralisation at the district level[7] and suggested a three-

1. A. D. Gorwala, *Report on Public Administration*, 1951.

2. Paul H. Appleby, *Public Administration in India, Report of a Survey*, 1953.

4. Paul H. Appleby, *Re-Examination of India's Administrative System with Special Reference to administration of Government's Industrial and Commercial Enterprises*, 1956.

5. *Census of India*, 1961, Paper No. 1 of 1962. p. 331.

6. *Report of the Teams for the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Service Vol. I, Committee on Plan Projects, New Delhi, November* 1957, *Introduction* p. (i).

7. *Ibid*, p. 7.

7. *Ibid*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

system—Zilla Parishad, Panchayat Samiti and Village Panchayat—with variations in different States.[8] Towards the end of 1960, the Planning Commission appointed V. T. Krishnamachari to undertake studies on questions relating to administrative personnel at different levels in States and on issues arising from the introduction of democratic institutions at the district and block levels.[9] This Report was submitted in two parts in August 1962.[10] The second part dealt with the problems of District Administration.[11] In accordance with the Balwantrai Mehta Committee Report, the States of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh have accepted a three-tier system.[12] In all these States, the local bodies at the block and the district levels have been given a statutory and corporate existence.[13] The Democratic Decentralization Committee of the Gujrat State has recommended it.[14] On 1 May, 1960 the Government of Maharashtra set up a Committee on Democratic Decentralization, headed by V. P. Naik, to examine the question in all its aspects.[15] This Committee has recommended a thoroughly democratic structure for the State. A Committee has been appointed in Bihar to consider the same matter.[16] Only in two States, Bengal and Kerala, no action seems to have been taken so far on the Mehta Committee Report.[17]

Administrative Research in India can thus be broadly classified under two heads :—

(I) The two-tier system at the Union and the States' level.

(II) The three-tier system at the district level.

(I)

Administrative research under the first head is being carried out by the Organization and Methods Division and the Special Reorganization Unit of the Finance Ministry. The setting up of an Organization and Management or Public Administration Office under a Minister of the Government of India was recommended by Paul H. Appleby.[18] This body was expected to focus attention on and study proposals concerning the improvement of governmental structure and procedures. The expected organization came into existence under the name of Organization and Methods Division in March 1954 and was located in the Cabinet Secretariat. To begin with, the organization was conceived as a collective and cooperative enterprize in which the main effort was to come from the O and M Cells in the Ministries under the charge of O and M Officers to be designated out of their existing officers and the Central O and M Division was to supply the necessary leadership and guidance. The first Director of the Division chalked out the following programme of the O and M Division in March 1954 :

"to improve administrative efficiency in all branches of government, continuous attention must be paid to the nature and

8. *Ibid*, pp. 33-42.
9. *Report on Indian and State Administrative Services and Problems of District Administration*, August 1962, p. 1.
10. *Ibid*, pp. 2-3.
11. *Report on Indian and State Administration*, August 1962, p. 3.
12. *Report of the Committee on Democratic Decentralization*, Government of Maharashtra, p. 33. Also see *Local Self-Government Administration in States of India*, Government of India, Ministry of Health Publication, 1962.
13. *Report of the Committee on Democratic Decentralization*, Government of Maharashtra, p. 33.
14. *Ibid*, p. 33.
15. *Ibid*, p. 1.
16. *Ibid*, p. 147.
17. *Ibid*, p. 33.
18. Paul H. Appleby, *Public Administration in India, Report of a Survey*, Cabinet Secretariat, and Methods Division, 1957, p. 14.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

volume of work to be done, the speed and quality of performance and the many factors which affect these, e.g., the number quality and mutual relationships of the persons responsible for decision and|or action, flow of work and the workload, simplification and rationalization of procedures, time and labour-saving techniques and appliances, etc."[19]

The number of O and M cells in various Ministries|Departments of the Government of India and the Union Public Service Commission stood at 28 in March 1956.[20] There were 23 O and M cells in the Civil and Defence Expenditure Divisions of the Finance Ministry and 12 O and M units in certain Attached and Subordinate offices working mostly under the supervision of the Senior Officer in charge of Administration and Establishment.[21] In all, there were 63 O and M cells at the beginning of the year 1956-57.[22] The number of cells fell to 58 in 1957-58 and again increased to 60 with the addition of two cells of the Department of Parliamentary Affairs and the Office of Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.[23] The number of internal O and M cells increased to 66 in March 1959.[24] At present the number of O and M cells in Ministries| Departments and major Attached and Subordinate offices is 67.[25] The functions of the O and M Division have been considerably enlarged during the years. The Division, which was formerly under the Cabinet Secretariat, has been replaced by a Department of Administrative Reforms under the Ministry of Home Affairs.[26] The Department is now to take action on the recommendations and conclusions made in the past by various individuals and committees appointed for suggesting reforms and measures for reorganizing Government machinery and for taking initiative generally in promoting administrative improvements in the interest of efficiency, economy and integrity.[27] To avoid unnecessary duplication of effort, the staff of the O and M Division has been transferred from the Department of Cabinet Affairs to the New Department.[28] Not content with these significant changes during the year 1964, Home Minister Nanda announced in the Lok Sabha that a broadbased Commission on the lines of the Hoover Commission in the United States is to be appointed in India.[29]

O and M Divisions have also been appointed in States. West Bengal was the first to set up O and M Division in March 1945.[30] Other States followed. Andhra, Assam, Bihar, Delhi, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tripura and Uttar Pradesh also set up O and M cells in due course.[31]

The main activity of the O and M

19. *Seventh Report of Organization and Methods Division*, Department of Administrative Reforms, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1964, p. 3.

20. *Third Annual Report* (1956-57), Organization and Methods Division, Cabinet Secretariat, p. 1.

21. *Ibid*., p. 1.

22. *Third Annual Report* (1956-57), Organization and Methods Division, Cabinet Secretariat, p. 1.

23. *Fourth Annual Report*, 1957-58 of Organization and Methods Division, Cabinet Secretariat, 1958, p. 1.

24. *Fifth Annual Report*, 1958-59 of Organization and Methods Division, Cabinet Secretariat, p. 1.

25. *Seventh Report of Organization and Methods Division*, 1961-64, Department of Administrative Reforms, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1964, p. 30.

26. *Ibid*. p. 1.

27. *Ibid*. p. 1.

28. *Ibid*. p. 1.

29. *The Hindustan Times*, September, 17, 1964.

30. *Sixth Report of Organization and Methods Division*, Cabinet Secretariat, 1959-61, p. 76.

31. *Ibid*. pp. 66-80.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ision at the Centre during the first years its existence was devoted to such sures as :[32]

(i) Laying down proper procedures for disposal of work.[33]

(ii) Devising aids for quicker and proper disposal of work, e.g., preparation of a Handbook for Establishment Officers, Standing Guard Files.

(iii) Setting up of a control mechanism for keeping a watch over the disposal of receipts and reducing delays (through control charts, weekly arrear statements and monthly tests of pending cases).

(iv) Monthly reviews of progress at O and M meetings.

(v) Prescribing a regular system of quarterly and regular inspections.

(vi) Encouraging the delegation of financial and cognate powers to the Administrative Ministries, Heads of Departments and other subordinate authorities.

(vii) Training of the lower grades of staff.

During the second phase of its activities, Division has successfully carried out grammes of studies of scientific manage- nt of records,[34] simplification of depart- mental rules, simplification of the reports, returns and statements which have to be compiled by various governmental agencies and the organized industries, simplification of procedures and methods of work of the housekeeping sections in Ministries,[35] inter-ministerial problems, and patterns of delegation of financial and administrative powers at various levels in the public sector undertakings to match authority with responsibility, speed up the decision-making processes and eliminate the delays inherent in the centralization of powers at top or near-top levels.[36] Besides, the O and M units in individual Ministries/Offices have taken such special measures as might be necessary to suit their particular needs.[37]

There is a regular exchange of ideas, information and experiences relating to O and M between the States and the Centre. O and M units in States are also functioning with a view to eliminating bottlenecks and delays; reorganization of the secretariat offices, proper staffing, training improvement of office procedure, compilation of manual and case studies to improve the quality and speed of work and to make secretariat machinery more efficient.[38] In many of the O and M units trained personnel is at the helm,[39] in others provision is being made for adequately trained personnel. The O and M Division is also bringing out an O and M Journal entitled

---

32. *Seventh Report of Organization and thods Division*, 1961-64, Department of Administrative Reforms, Ministry of Home Affairs, . p. 3.

33. for details see *Central Secretariat Manual Office Procedure*, Cabinet Secretariat, Organi- n and Methods Division, Fourth Edition, 3.

34. *Seventh Report of Organization and thods Division*, 1961-64. Department of Administrative Reforms, Ministry of Home Affairs, . pp. 13-17. also see *Brochure on Management and Work dy.*

35. also see *Check Lists for Setting up of New Offices and Other Establishment Matters*, Organization and Methods Division, Department of Cabinet Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi, 1962.

36. *Seventh Report of Organization and Methods Division*, 1961-64. Department of Administrative Reforms, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1964. p. 4.

37. *Ibid*. pp. 30-47.

38. *Sixth Report of Organzition and Methods Division*, Cabinet Secretariat, 1959-61, pp. 66-80.

39. *Ibid*. p. 76.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

'Work Improvement' to provide a link between the Centre and the States' O and M units. This is also expected to serve as a forum for the flow of ideas in both directions.

Special Reorganization Unit of the Ministry of Finance has the responsibility of carrying out work studies. The main objectives of work studies are three, namely, methods simplification, work measurement and organizational analysis.[40] This work is complementary to the work of the O and M Division. Since January 1, 1960, this unit has been assigned a three-year programme of work studies covering the entire Secretariat and important offices. Besides, ad hoc assignments of a pressing character are also referred to it.[41] During the year 1960-61, 23 regular and 13 ad hoc assignments were taken up for study by the unit.[42] As a result of these studies several general suggestions have been made which can be listed as follows :

1. Administration and personnel management in the Secretariat and other offices give rise, by and large, to standard types of work. Rationalization in such work, besides securing greater equity among personnel doing equally responsible work, is likely to result in economy.[43]

2. The staffing pattern, at present, is related to the status given to an office, namely whether it is a Secretariat, Attached or Subordinate Office. It is not always linked to the nature and content of work. A great deal of rationalisation is possible and it is a source of fruitful economies.[44]

3. Registration and preparation of documents and communication of decisions is taking, in many cases, more time than the making of decisions. Studies are necessary to determine the minimum work content of any ancillary jobs in relation to main work in order to reduce the time taken to perform them.[45]

4. Several pressures, beyond the control of officials, are distorting the distribution of their time from the major objectives of their jobs. An activity sampling of the senior and middle level jobs is likely to disclose several factors which if taken care of, will lead to better utilization of time in proportion to the importance of the objectives. Important economies can result if senior experienced personnel particularly technical officials can be properly utilized.[46]

5. Meetings also occupy a large part of the time of senior and middle level officials. The cost of meetings relevant to the decisions taken cannot be judged during the course of work studies but a study of their utilization may lead to important results.[47]

As a result of the above investigations by the Special Reorganization Unit, staffing surpluses to the extent of Rs. 17 lakhs (recurring) have been located in interim recommendations made by the unit.[48] Some economies due to revised methods of work are offset by new items of work under the Third Five Year Plan.[49]

40. *Sixth Report of Organization and Methods Division*, Cabinet Secretariat, 1959-61, p. 36.
41. *Ibid*. p. 36.
42. See Appendix VIII to *Sixth Report of Organization and Methods Division*, Cabinet Secretariat, 1959-61. pp. 117-121.
43. *Sixth Report of Organization and Methods Division*, Cabinet Secretariat, 1959-61, p. 37.
44. *Ibid*. p. 37.
45. *Sixth Report of Organization and Methods Division*, Cabinet Secretariat, 1959-61, p. 37.
46. *Ibid*. p. 37.
47. *Ibid*. pp. 37-38.
48. *Ibid*. p. 38.
49. *Ibid*. p. 38.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(II)

The second head of administrative research deals with Plan Projects. A Committee on Plan Projects, a reference to which has already been made, was set up by the National Development Council in September 1956 with the following terms of reference :[50]

(i) to organize investigations, including inspection in the field of important projects, both at the Centre and in the States, through specially selected teams ;

(ii) to initiate studies with the object of evolving suitable forms of organization, methods, standards and techniques for achieving economy, avoiding waste and ensuring efficient execution of projects ;

(iii) to promote the development of suitable machinery for continuous efficient audit in individual projects and in agencies responsible for their execution ;

(iv) to secure the implementation of suggestions made in reports submitted to the Committee on Plan Projects and to make the results of studies and investigations generally available ; and

(v) to undertake such other tasks as the National Development Council may propose for the promotion of economy and efficiency in the execution of the Second Five Year Plan.

The Committee on Plan Projects has organised studies with the following objectives in view :[51]

(a) Efficiency of programming techniques ;

(b) Roadblocks to the progress of projects according to targets ;

(c) Efficiency of cost estimates and development of standard practices and norms in repetitive projects ;

(d) Phasing and relationship of costs and benefits to get the best out of investments made; and

(e) Sufficiency of the programmes.

The economies achieved are the result of studies in efficiency and are a welcome reminder that there is room even in the best-run projects for economy in actual expenditure by subjecting existing methods to systematic and intensive analysis. Another result is the reaching of best experience to the staff engaged on actual implementation of the projects in India. The teams of study have also exposed the project staff to new ideas in technical and managerial practice. Occasionally, experience of outside experts has been made available to the project staff to enrich their experience of field work.[52]

To sum up, the fundamental and statutory law provide the basis to Indian Administration. This is now supplemented by a study into procedures and methods. The quest is for making them simpler and shorter in the interest of efficiency and economy in administration. The O and M Division, the Special Reorganization Unit of the Finance Ministry and the Committee on Plan Projects have done pioneer work in this direction. The emphasis of administrative research has lately shifted to a review of the working of the O and M Division[53] and Evaluation of Plan Projects.[54]

---

50. *Ibid*. p. 57.

51. *Sixth Report of Organization and Methods Division*, Cabinet Secretariat, 1959-61, p. 58.

52. *Sixth Report of Organization and Methods Division*, Cabinet Secretariat, 1959-61, p. 58.

53. See Appendix I to *Sixth Report of Organization and Methods* Division, Cabinet Secretariat, 1959-61, pp. 81-90.

54. *The Hindustan Times*, November 5, 1964.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDUSTRIAL FINANCE CORPORATION'S SIXTEEN YEARS

Dr. MALI RAM AND Prof. R. K. PUROHIT

The R.B.I. framed a bill for the setting up of the Industrial Finance Corporation, which after receiving the assent of the Governor-General on March 27, 1948 was established in the month of July of the same year "for the same purpose of making medium and longterm credits more readily available to industrial concerns in India, particularly in circumstances where normal banking accommodation is inappropriate or recourse to capital issue methods is impracticable."

The Corporation which was established as a lending agency for industry, has expanded in diverse directions during the last sixteen years. Besides providing long-term and medium-term rupee loans, it has been able to make available to its clientele foreign currency loans, apart from underwriting of new issues and direct subscription to capital issues. Moreover the Corporation has been guaranteeing foreign loans and deferred payments for capital equipment.

Lending Operations

From its inception upto June 30, 1964, the Corporation had sanctioned 569 applications for loans (both rupee and foreign currency) for an aggregate gross amount of Rs. 178 crores. Net effective loans sanctioned amounted to Rs. 151.84 crores. The assistance which the IFC of India has provided so far to industrial concerns has been a significant contribution to industrial development in the private and public sectors; but it has not taken the form, principally and unvaryingly, of underwriting of, and direct subscription to share capital of companies.

The gross and nt amount of foreign currency loans sanctioned by the Corporation upto June 30, 1964 which have been acting as a sort of catalyst to the industrial development of the country, aggregated Rs. 18.4 crores and Rs. 16.9 crores respectively. During the period 1963-64 alone the Corporation had sanctioned Rs. 8.04 crores worth of foreign currency as against Rs. 3.04 crores' worth sanctioned in the previous year. They included Rs. 4.49 crores in U.S. dollars, Rs. 3.35 crores in West German marks, Rs. 0.18 crores in French Francs and Rs. 0.06 crores in Japanese yens.

The IFC of India sanctioned guarantees during the year 1963-64 for foreign currency loans from financial institutions abroad. Two applications for guarantee of foreign currency loans were pending at the close of the year ended on 30th June, 1963 and one application for guarantee of a loan in U.S. dollars for an amount equivalent to Rs. 400 lakhs from the Exim Bank, Washington was received during the year under review. Out of the three, two for an aggregate amount equivalent to Rs. 502.43 lakhs were sanctioned. The third application was under examination. Guarantees to the extent of Rs. 314.81 lakhs were actually offered during the year.

A Majority of the loans have financed purchases of capital goods and equipment for new projects, not a few have gone to establish concerns for replacement and modernisation.

Underwriting

As in foreign currency loans in underwriting again, it is possible to see the shift induced by general economic trends.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Upto the end of the June 1964, the rporation had sanctioned 77 applications underwriting. The total value amount- to Rs. 12.30 crores made up of equity ares of Rs. 6.01 crores, preference shares Rs. 3.86 crores and debentures Rs. 2.43 ores. During this period, 52 issues in- lving an aggregate commitment of over 9.48 crores were placed on the market d shares and debentures of Rs. 7.55 crores volved on the Corporation as a result of ese operations. The corporation has pro- ssively been increasing its underwriting ivities and, in a number of cases, under- iting facilities were sanctioned in addi- n to loans and other forms of assistance. en the IFC of India came into being, the pital market boom of 1959-61 was still a ing of the future and so its first few years re marked by active underwriting. Then 959 the tide turned and the boom set in, e public which had held back so far ooped down on most of the issues that the market. Some of these issues, it is teresting to recall, were subscribed 100 es over. Promoters, confident of public sponse, did not feel the need now to ap- ach the IFC of India for underwriting. e kind of issues that did come to the IFC India were of units in industries like ger and electricity in which, because of ce control, profit rates were pegged. The pital market boom tapered off in 1962, d in the stagnation that followed and hich still persists, the IFC of India was gain much sought after to underwrite pital issues.

Guarantees for Deferred Payments

The other major function of the rporation being the sanction of guaran- es for deferred payments, it had nctioned between December 21, 1957 hen the IFC (Amendment) Act 1957 autho- ed the Corporation to guarantee deferred yments and June 30, 1964, 41 applications amounting to Rs. 31.97 crores. The net amount came to Rs. 18.36 crores and the total amount of guarantees actually issued upto June 30, 1964 came to Rs. 13.49 crores.

The Corporation received 6 applications for guarantee of foreign currency loans to be obtained by applicant concerns from foreign banking institutions for amounts totalling Rs. 17.34 crores. Net amount sanctioned amounted to Rs. 2.36 crores.

Contribution to Industrial Progress

The Corporation's contribution to the industrial progress of the country is striking. It has been assisting various projects covering a variety of industries like textiles, metal projects, sugar, glass, basic industrial chemicals, paper, iron and steel, etc. The total number of projects assisted by the Corporation since its inception upto June 30, 1964, was 334 out of which 224 are new undertakings. The total cost of the 334 projects for which the Corporation sanctioned assistance of Rs. 196.78 crores is estimated at Rs. 558 crores.

The Corporation's financial assistance has enabled some of the key industries to increase their production capacity. For instance, in the cement industry the additional capacity created as a result of the assistance is 19,20,000 tons, in sugar, the additional cane crushing capacity amounted to 67,000 tons of sugar-cane per day, in cotton textiles the additional capacity installed is 6,44,000 spindles.

The Corporation's paid-up capital and reserves as on June 30, 1964 amounted to Rs. 11.09 crores, showing an increase of nearly Rs. 2.0 crores over the preceding year and the gross profit recorded an increase of Rs. 60 lakhs. The appropriations to reserves during the year were higher by about Rs. 40 lakhs. There was also increase in loans sanctioned from Rs. 159 crores to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rs. 197 crores and disbursements from Rs. 103 crores to Rs. 125 crores.

Recent Developments

One may usefully draw attention to certain important amendments which the I.D.B.I. Act, 1964 has made to the IFC Act, 1948. The shares held in the Corporation by the R.B.I. and the Central Government have been transferred at par value to the I.D.B.I. and the latter has acquired additional shares so as to bring its total holdings up to 50 per cent of the paid-up capital of the Corporation which now stands at Rs. 834.60 lakhs. Certain changes have been made in the provisions relating to the composition of the Board of Directors and the arrangements for audit of the Corporation. The power of giving policy directives to the Corporation has passed from the Central Government to the Corporation which is to have access to financial assistance from the IDB in certain specified ways.

It is expected that the formation of the IDB and the consequential changes in the IFC Act will enable the Corporation to play a more fruitful role in industrial development by effective lending operations. Now, co-ordination between sister institutions in the field will grow in depth, lacunae in the requirements of industry will be eliminated more easily and very large projects which the Corporation could not handle alone will be assured of comprehensive attention by a consortium of financial institutions.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Food self-sufficiency and Defence Emergency

(Contd. from p. 380)

grains like rice and wheat aggregate approximately 40 million tonnes in an average year—during the last season the quantity was officially estimated to have been well over 45 million tonnes—or, roughly, enough to cover about two-thirds of the gross cereal requirements of the country as a whole. So far there has been no attempt on the part of the Union Food & Agriculture Ministry to place all cereals under any kind of controlled marketing or distribution; only the finer grains, and that on a strictly regional basis, have been sought to be placed under some sort of restrictions,—in large measure ineffectually. And it is obvious that nothing better could be expected so long as the present regionalism in food administration continued to persist. If the present policies in this behalf could be effectively replaced by an integrated national policy to be spelt out and enforced by the Union Government, our food production, though not ample, would nevertheless be found to be just marginally sufficient to meet basic minimum demands. And an essential cornerstone of such a policy will necessariy have to be complete and wholesale elimination of all private trade in food grains. Only by such means is it possible to envisage any kind of a satisfactory solution of the recurrent food crisis in the country. Shri P. C. Sen of West Bengal deserves to be not merely congratulated but also emulated in the matter of his latest decision to wholly nationalise the food grains trade in his State; this will be bound to contain speculative pressures to a large extent and, in corresponding measure, ease the situation. But considering that West Bengal is a deficit State—and as already seen the proportion of deficit for the next year will be somewhere around 40 per cent of total requirements—and in the absence of a national policy ensuring sharing out of the surpluses where they exist and of making up the total deficit allocation by a proportional mixture of fine and coarse grains, the situation in the coming year would be one of considerable gravity. Very similar would be bound to be the situation in other deficit States like Bihar, Kerala etc., but there, under present administrative policies, its gravity may be still more intense.

A Four-Pronged Drive Necessary

Production increases under the crash programme now initiated would, of course, be very welcome and would be a necessary cornerstone in laying the foundations of a sound basis for economic growth. But increased production without a nationally unified and integrated food policy would only help to swell the speculators' advantages. It was originally expected that with the bumper harvest of the 1964-65 season which was estimated to have yielded a gross cereal output of well over 80 million tonnes,—an all time peak —and the increased imports,—during the corresponding period wheat imports from the U.S.A. under PL480 and from Canada and Australia are, together, reported to have been of the order of well over 6 million tonnes—the food crisis of the preceding year would not recur again so soon. That this has done with far greater severity than previously, is ample proof of the fact that this has not been the normal expression of the relations between demand and supply. Scarcity was deliberately engineered by interested parties for private gains at the expense of the community and the nation. The only possible solution to the food problem, therefore, it is obvious, would have to be a simultaneous four-pronged attack on (1) the present regionalism in food administration, (2) the current stagnation in agricultural production, (3) statutory rationing in all urban areas and some measure of a modified system of rationing in rural and deficit areas and (4) total procurement of all food grains production in the country except only what the actual cultivating farmer may be allowed to retain for his family's own consumption requirements. If it is necessary to amend the Constitution to enable the Union Government to assume a dominant role in the spelling out of an integrated national policy in this behalf, there should be no hesitation to do so. Food, one must realise, is as vital for economic gowth as it is for effective national defence and we cannot afford to continue our present policy of drift—what else can it be called when we find that even the Prime Minister of India goes on alternately issuing dire threats to the speculating trade and go all out to cajole

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and flirt with it—without imperilling the sovereign integrity of the nation. This is a basic truth that one must clearly realise without delay or subterfuge.

Aid Without Strings

It was heartening to notice in a newspaper report published as we go to press, that a U.S. Government spokesman in Washington was reported to have stated that every attempt was being made to speed up delivery of the balance of the wheat due under the PL 480 agreement for 1965 and that there was no question of any political conditions or diplomatic pressures being involved in the process. He was, further, reported to have stated that as for the coming year, he did not know of any reason why it should not be possible to conclude fresh agreements to continue wheat exports to India in 1966 under PL 480. His Government, the spokesman was reported to have added, was very glad that India had been intensifying her efforts, under newly formulated crash programmes, to achieve self-sufficiency in food grains production. But so long as India had to continue to depend upon imported food grains, there was no reason why the U.S. should not continue to come to her aid in this matter as in the past. There was no question, the spokesman was reported to have reiterated, of any kind of political or diplomatic strings being attached to such aid.

It is encouraging to read such a report, purporting as it did, to come from an accredited source. This would help to ease the burdens of the Union Food Ministry to a certain extent, especially in the context of the recently formulated undertaking to introduce a system of statutory rationing in all towns in the country with populations of 300,000 and more with effect from the new year and its gradual extension, next year, to all urban areas with populations of upto 100,000. It would, however, be foolish on our part if by placing too great a reliance upon such assurances as we have been wont to do in the past, there were to be any relaxation in the determination to intensify food production in the country towards self-sufficiency in the immediate future. Apart from the diplomatic and other pressures that are being brought to bear upon India by the aid-giving countries of the West to enable Pakistan to emerge from the mess of her own making with out the least possible damage and in which assistance in the matter of food and finance may easily be sought to be made instruments of pressure, a base of surplus agricultural production, especially food production, is one of the primary essentials of the foundations upon which alone the structure of rapid economic growth can be built. For one reason and another agriculture has been given a comparatively low priority in Plan allocations in the Second and Third Plans and implementation has been even far less satisfactory. One of the reasons may have been the anxiety to expedite the process of arriving at the stage of take-off in the development of our industrial base and infra-structure and in social overheads especially in the context of the terms on which large quantities of wheat exports to India were agreed to be made by the U.S.A. The possible effects of a virtual situation of only marginal food grains supply in a developing economy were obviously not visualized. And, even apart from the emergency created by the escalation of armed Indo-Pakistani conflict, the country, as a result of her neglect of agricultural progress, had already been inevitably heading towards a crisis in her economic development. The present emergency has only helped to develop an awareness of the urgency of the matter and which might have been made very much more acute if, as it was recently apprehended, U.S. wheat imports had to stop on account of political pressures that might have obtruded on the process.

We should be very clear in our realization of the fact that although large measures of financial assistance have been flowing into India for purposes of development, most Western democracies have a definite anti-Indian slant where Pakistan is concerned. Although with the exception of a few opinionated news-magazines and periodicals the U.S. press as a whole does not appear to have been definitely anti-Indian, its pro-Pakistan slant has not been any too well concealed. In Britain both the Labour Government, especially the Prime Minister and the press as a whole have been anti-Indian and overtly pro-Pakistani. The British Prime Minister has, however, sought to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

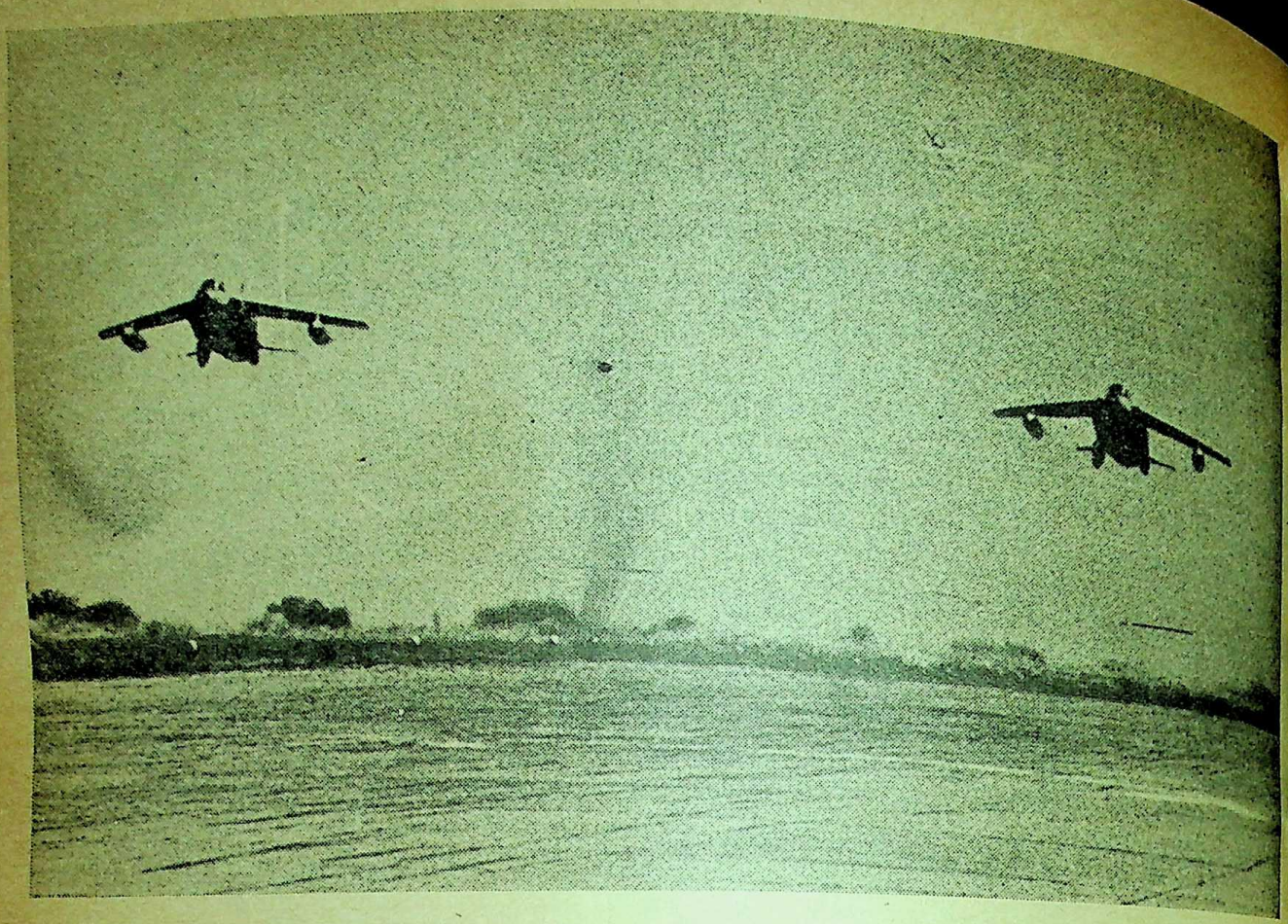
make some amends later but the attitude of the British politicians would seem to be persistently anti-Indian. From the reports of a proceedings in the British House of Lords under date line October 28, Lord Blyton, a Labour Peer was reported have asked Lord Walston, Foreign Under Secretary, to take note that "there had been terrible anxiety in Pakistan that favouritism was shown to India because of the terrific lobby here and that they are left on the shelf." This in connection with the recently concluded agreement for a £10 million interest-free loan between India and Britain. Lord Barnby, a Conservative Peer was reputed to have asked "....Is it to be understood that the U.K. representative at the U.N. is to support the motion there requesting India to institute a plebiscite in Kashmir and bringing about of an affirmative answer?" Lord Blyton was further reported to have stated: "I do not object to loans to poorer nations without interest, but I am afraid we shall have to consider on loans to India that Pakistan has been a faithful ally of this country in CENTO and SEATO....."

These are symptomatic of the points of view of the British politician, whether of the Tory or the Socialist School. Lord Blyton has accused India of having a "terrific lobby" in Britain; any impartial observer with any regard for truth, could not fail to observe Pakistan's anti-Indian lobby in both Britain and the U.S.A. and, inspite of the work of the Indian Prime Minister's personal envoys in Bonn and Paris, also in these two important Western Capitals. Indeed, both Britain and the U.S. must have been tacitly condoning Pakistan's recent attack upon India when they allowed Turkey and Iran to transport to Pakistan modern arms from their CENTO arsenals. Feeble warnings no doubt have been publicly issued by both countries, but one would have to be extremely gullible to believe that either Turkey or Iran would have the temerity to give part of their CENTO arms, which ultimately came from the U.S. herself, if the U.S. Government were really concerned that they should not reach Pakistan.

All these little incidents are additional facts, if any were needed, that so far as her Western friends are concerned, India, it seems likely, will largely have to go it alone. This is an object lesson which India cannot afford to ignore and the current crash food production programme should be followed up in other directions to enable the country to achieve that measure of self-reliance which alone will compel respect from the so-called Western allies of Pakistan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Two gnats taking off on a reconoissance patrol

I BALED OUT IN ENEMY TERRITORY

Fg. Off. D. P. CHINOY

As long as I live, I will always remember the day. It was September 10, 1965. I was piloting a Mystere aircraft on a daylight bombing sortie in Pakistan. With me there were two other planes bound on the same mission. We reached the target, and overflew it to ascertain and reconnoitre. As we circled over the target at 50 feet the enemy's anti-aircraft guns boomed. I suddenly felt my aeroplane shake. There was also a severe thud. I knew the plane had been hit. Whatever doubts I had were soon dispelled when the cockpit was filled with smoke and the fire warning light on the panel lit up. Immediately I pulled up to gain height and contacted the leader of the flight on R|T to tell him that my aircraft had been hit and was on fire. While I was doing this I throttled the engine back and started turning northwards. My leader in reply told me to steer 090 or in other words towards the East and get out of the area. The plane's power generator had failed, and the radio telephone faded out, I was therefore cut off from the outside world.

By now, I could neither see the horizon nor the instruments in front of me because of the thick smoke. My eyes were smarting and I found it difficult even to breathe. I knew that staying in the aircraft was out of the question and I must soon bale out. I therefore jettisoned the canopy. The fresh air cleared the smoke from the cockpit somewhat. Peering at the altimeter, I found that my height was 3,000 feet and the airspeed had fallen to almost zero. I pulled the ejection lever and with a mighty

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



(Top) Airmen Technicians busy making planes ready for short notice strikes
(Bottom) Ground Crew of a mystere squadron before loading a H. E. bomb

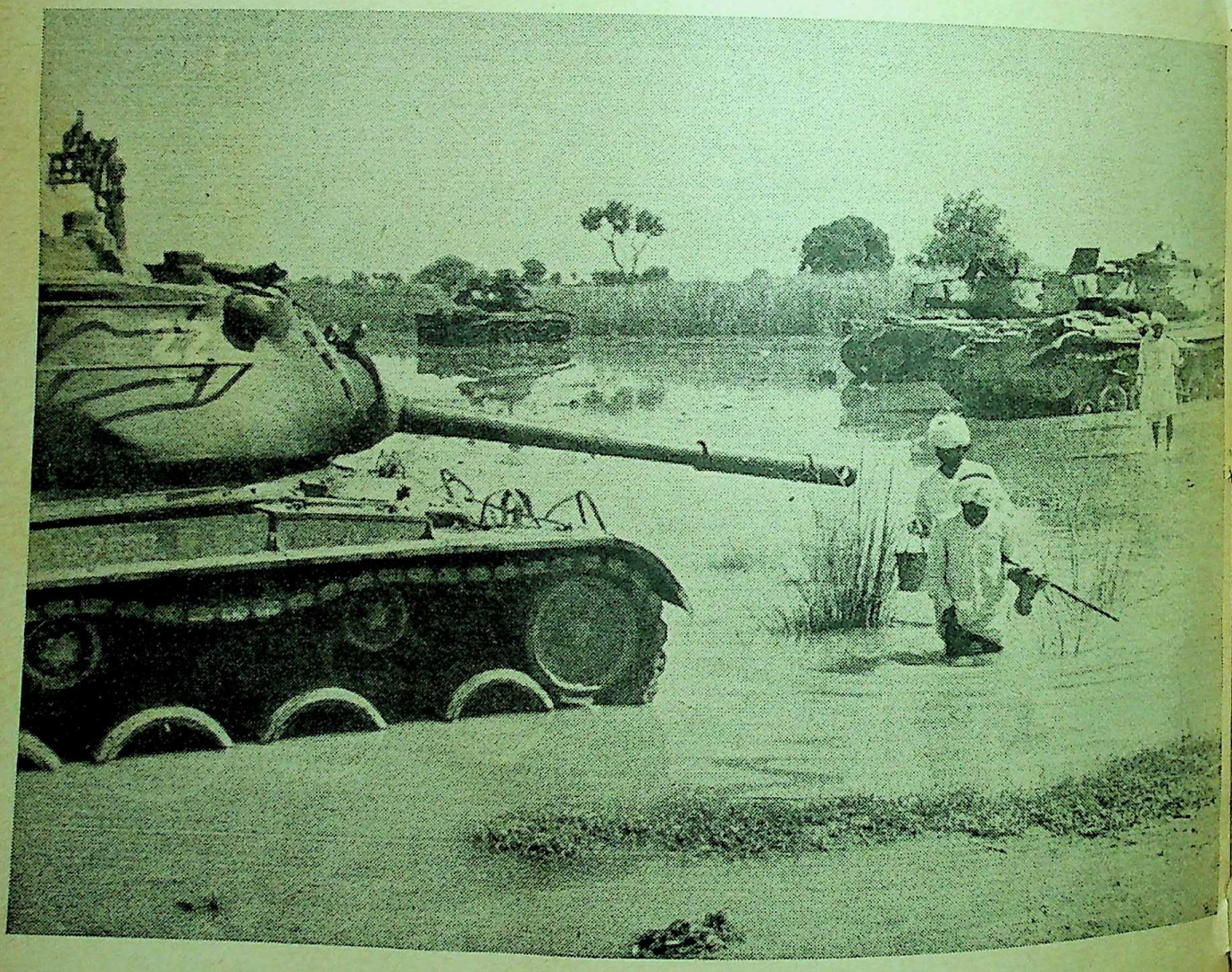
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

heave I was catapulted out of the aircraft which I knew would soon be a wreckage. I felt sorry for the plane but knew this was no time for it because as I descended I could hear the booming of the heavy guns and the pinging of small arms fire whizzing past me. I was being shot at from the ground. The parachute gave me safety but also made me an easy helpless target. I only hoped I would land safely.

As soon as I touched the ground, I released myself from the parachute and survival pack and took cover in the high grass around me. I kept running and crawling from one grassy patch to another. The declining sun was my guide and by keeping it to my left I could be sure that I was heading north. Slowly the sound of gun fire became weaker and I knew I was going away from it. I rested and with the cigarette lighter, which I always carry during flying, burnt the confidential papers that I had on me. I however retained my map with me so as to assist me in getting out of the enemy territory. As I was burning the papers I heard rifle shots again and this time they were quite close. It became necessary for me to move away because I never knew if my little bonfire had been noticed by the enemy and he was coming for me.

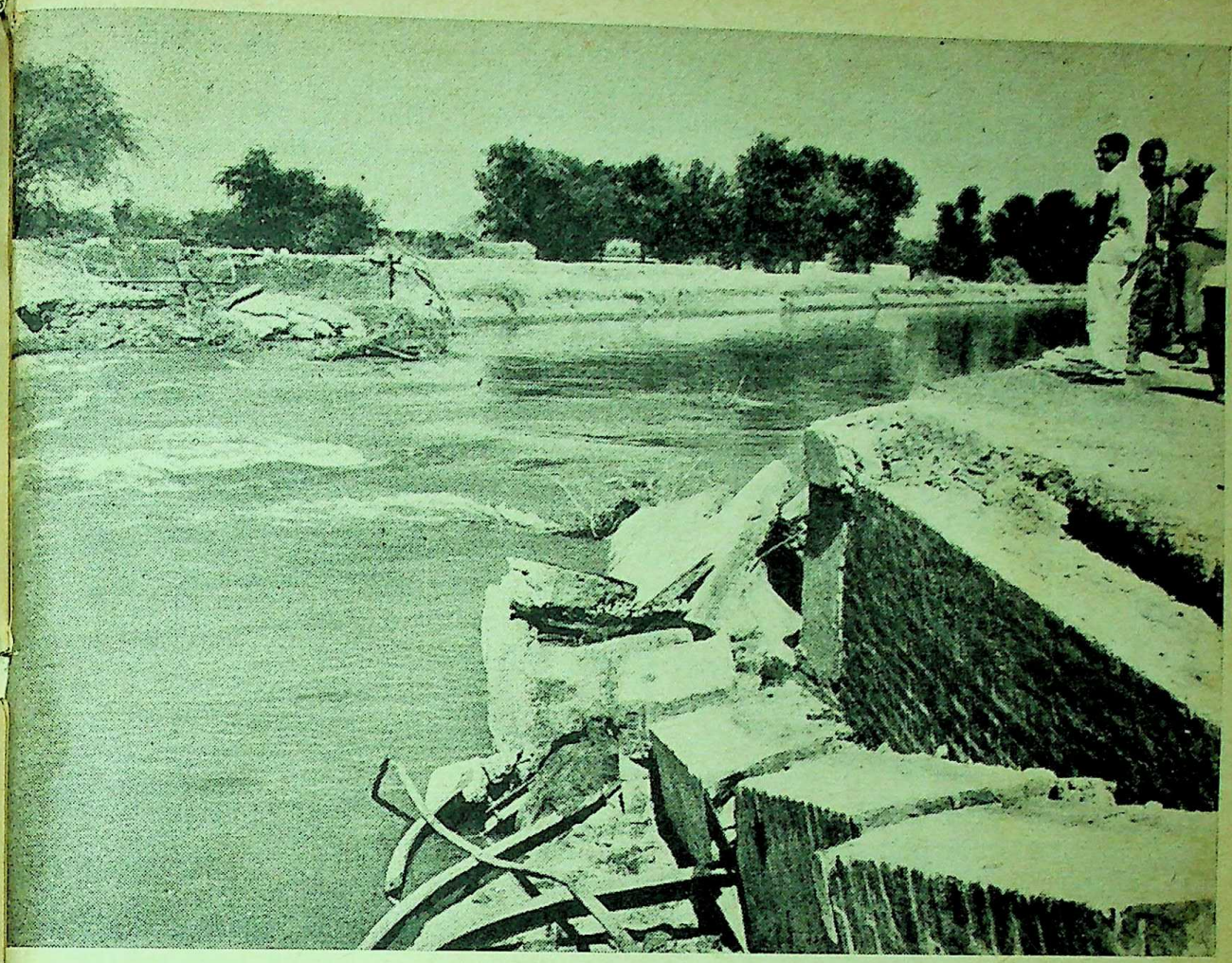
I fled again, leaving behind some of the unnecessary flying clothing and equipment I had on me. Running and walking and always taking shelter behind the tall grass patches I came across a village. Nearby



A graveyard of the much boosted Pakistani Pattons

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Bridge blown up across Ichhogil Canal near Burki

there was a built-up area surrounded by sand bags. These I avoided like poison.

But my troubles were not over. After about an hour of running and walking, I saw a villager very near me. For a moment I thought all was lost. He was so near. Fortunately though I had seen him he was blissfully ignorant of my presence. I ducked into the tall grass and hid there. I knew that in the bright sun the grass gave me insufficient cover. But I had no way out. I could not risk meeting the villager because that would have meant my capture and being handed over to the enemy. With bated breath I waited. I heaved a sigh of relief as I saw the villager move away. I had however learnt my lesson. Moving about in the daylight was too dangerous and I must wait for the sun to set.

As night descended, I covered my face and hands with mud. I also took off all shining objects from my person which could reflect light and give me away. By then the moon had risen. So I started again keeping the moon in front of me. This I knew would take me east. I ran and walked for nearly five hours avoiding all villages, all human beings and above all dogs.

After about five hours of cross-country running in which I went over fields, waded through streams and made my way through

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

grass, I saw a road ahead. I calculated that by now I must be on the main road leading to Amritsar. I started moving along the road, but very cautiously. Soon I saw the welcome sight of a well and helped my self to some water actually drinking almost a bucketful. I rested a bit next to the well and then I heard some noises on the other side of the road. At first I froze, but then estimating the distance I had covered during the five hours of running and walking I was certain that the noises were being made by our own troops. However, I listened anxiously and what I heard reassured me. The language in which the men spoke was South Indian and I knew these could not be Pakistanis. Cautiously, I made my way to them and saw some Army vehicles. The men were astounded at seeing me. I put my hands up and told the Jawans my name and asked them to take me to their officer. At first they would not believe me. But after about two hours of close interrogation they were satisfied about my identity. Then of course I was at once given some food and water and as they put me into a jeep the physical and mental strain of the past ten hours or more caught up with me and I flaked out.

As the jeep moved I knew my ordeal was over. The feeling of security was too much for my tired body which had undergone a lot during the brief spell of a few hours. My nerves found the sense of security overpowering. Soon, I was fast asleep. Hours later I woke up, stretched my limbs and reassured myself that I was with friends and ready to fight again.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE 33RD CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEN-CLUB ORGANISATION

FELIKS PASIC

"All of us, when we meet, usually ppear in a different attire. Solitary and nnoticed, we are mystifyingly facing the uestion of life and death, of its meaning nd meaninglessness ; facing each other we eek some sort of an answer, pride and oubt, various masks of security. But, if o doubts existed, there would have been o literature, and the writer is only that ember of humanity who dares to shiver n public, to express boldly his or her feelngs, and this boldness can sometimes be a hallenger to one's own insignificance and othingness. As I see PEN-Club, it provides an opportunity for people of different ationality and opposing ideology to get to know one another in a way which is not secured anywhere else. I have no illusions whatsoever about the PEN-Club, i.e., that it can solve grave economic and political problems of our times, and I do not expect ny supernatural peace to be established in he world in consequence of our mutual alks. But, in point of fact, as compared with the greater closeness in the world, which has been brought about by a rapid development of transport and communications, our intellectual provincialism grows both important and discouraging. It s one thing to write an essay about another country, or have one's own opinion of it, but it is completely another thing to face it directly and to meet its citizens face to face. The real confusion of the existence, he nuances of reality, and finally the awareness of the common human substance of those nuances can be grasped only in terms of an increasingly extensive mutual understanding," said Arthur Miller at the closing of the 33rd World Congress of the International Association of PEN-Clubs that took place on July 7, 1965 at Bled, Yugoslavia.

Delegates and guests from 58 countries from all parts of the world, prominent writers and contributors to the field of literature, welcomed the words of the newly-elected President of this organisation, finding in that statement the deepest meaning of the Bled meeting and talks.

The Congress has been wound up, so that, instead of a conclusion in general terms, we shall herewith quote the opinion of one of the participants : the meeting at Bled has shown how small has become the world of literature and how indispensable is the establishment of spiritual co-existence between nations, between writers, from all countries of this world as a whole.

The Hungarian writer Istvan Soter, taking the floor during the closing session, described the six days of talks in Bled as an example of the confirmed desire that writers meet and talk in an atmosphere of friendship and tolerance. "The role of literature changes in front of our eyes. In a world which is itself going through constant change," Soter went on, "the role of national literatures also changes. The literatures of individual nations cannot exist on their own, separated by barriers created on account of state boundaries and different languages, since the objectives are held in common."

A little while earlier, from that same rostrum, the Congress was addressed by the Macedonian writer Milan Djurcinov, who

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

said that "there is no difference between developed and underdeveloped literatures," that "one particular literature can be judged only in terms of its impact on human mind, on the human being in all his or her complexity, to influence people on a permanent basis, to confront them with the vital conditions of their existence and, finally, to be necessarily engaged in the search for the settlement of the numerous troubles and punishments in which the human being is constantly involved."

All cultures should develop in all their rich aspects, and not according to the general vision of a poet, but in a manner securing that the specific values of each nation become common property.

The Congress expressed that desire for closer ties between cultures and literatures in the sense of a community within the community of nations in the form of a protest which won unanimous support.

Acknowledging the recent events in which once again representatives of the Spanish, Catalonian, and Portuguese literatures were victimized, the participants in the Bled meeting raised their voices "against indescribable measures to which the three Iberian literatures have been constantly exposed: one professional association, the Association of Portuguese Writers, has been dissolved merely because it wanted to use its right to give a prize to one literary work; one language, the Catalonian one, has been prevented from being perfected through normal publications and criticism; Spanish professors have been in poverty, and the writers, whose works are banned, are deprived of their passports if they are in the country, or they are refused visas if they are abroad. The last mentioned was the case of Jose Bergamin, honorary guest at the Congress. The same applies to seven other writers who have also been invited to attend."

The International PEN-Club, the text of this brief resolution reads, expresses its full solidarity with the literatures of Castile, Catalonia and Portugal, the ones which have remained faithful to the principles of the freedom of expression and back their writers' constant efforts to persuade their respective governments to grant them the right of free expression to which they are entitled.

Unanimous applause also indicated the approval of the Congress of a letter from two great writers of Latin America—Pablo Neruda and Miguel Anhel Asturias. "Since Mr. Juan Bosch, a prominent Latin American writer, who is very famous in the Spanish speaking areas, is now practically under arrest in Puerto Rico, his freedom of movement being restricted, we want to make the following suggestion: it is our desire that the International PEN-Club should apply to the UN Commission for Human Rights, so as to make it possible for Juan Bosch to return to his country as its President, elected according to the Constitution and in a democratic manner."

With regard to the spirit which prevailed at the Congress, the talks held at various round tables are no less important. Those meetings had one and the same topic: "The Writer and the Contemporary Society," and, according to general agreement, the writers proved to be ready to answer the questions which do not affect them solely, i.e., which are not purely professional problems, but also questions concerned with the society in which we live, to solve them jointly, with full respect for national and personal views and the specific characteristics of a given society. The participation of Soviet writers in these talks and their presence at the Congress in general have been interpreted as the beginning of a fruitful co-operation of representatives of a great literature in the Association of PEN-Clubs.

To some extent the Bled meeting has also provided an opportunity for a rapprochement between the literatures of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ast and the West; it was an effort within he framework of the general and generous spiration for overcoming the barriers reated by ideological and other differences nd that literatures become really the ommon and general benefit of humanity. he very fact that representatives of so any countries and of so many different teratures have held a meeting at Bled is ot only proof of the desire for better mutual acquaintance, since it is also and at the same time a fact which describes in brief the character and significance of the Congress.

The Congress ended with the recitation of a poem by the Slovene poet Presern which was read by a contemporary Slovene writer, Matej Bor, and that this was the only but the most beautiful ceremony in the Bled festival hall.

NATIONAL SAVINGS AND NATIONAL DEFENCE

ILA PALCHOUDHURI

ACED with aggression from Pakistan, which we e combating effectively, Indians feel that they nnot rest till the enemy has been driven from r soil. Our thoughts naturally turn to two pects :

(1) Our burning admiration for and pride in our Jawans, who have proved their gallantry, and are offering the utmost sacrifice to save India's freedom.

(2) What the people can do to support this defence effort ?

National Savings is a potent medium of tional defence effort.

As people queue up in hundreds and thousands give their drops of blood for the Jawans to e their lives—when they are being treated from ury, the small drops of savings will also go to pply amenities, medical aid, arms and munitions for our defence efforts.

In National Savings there is no age limit. e school children can buy the Savings Stamps 25 Paisa, and as soon as the card shews . 5, a Certificate carrying interest is available. e housewife can save her little mite, the college students can also join this savings campaign. There is scope for saving in this scheme for the factory workers, agriculturists, artisans and the domestic workers.

Every person, even with the lowest income, can participate in the defence effort. Herein lies the satisfaction of National Savings. It is possible to make this Scheme—a total participation scheme.

Now is the time to respond to National Savings. There are many kinds of investments in National Savings to suit all pockets and all incomes, and every information is available at all Post Offices.

As it is, National Savings have made a good impact on the resources of the Government. To make this scheme more acceptable, I would suggest the following for consideration of the relevant authorities :

The Banks have now all revised their interest rates. The rates for varying periods of deposits range from 4 per cent per annum on Savings Bank Accounts to 7½ per cent on fixed deposits for 5 years (compound).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Thus, a completely new circle of clientele has been able to be attracted for deposits with Banks.

After some time, (practically a period of 2 months), the rates of Post office Savings Bank deposits were enhanced to 4 per cent per annum. 8 per cent per annum interest was also offered on the new 10 Year National Savings Certificates —which were on sale on 1st June, 1965. This gap of two months reduced the chances of this very effective deposit, for people had already put their money in Banks. Moreover, this 10 Year National Savings Certificate will attract the average rate of income tax calculated on the taxable income of the investor in the year of encashment, including the interest on the Certificates.

To make these 10 Year National Savings Certificates truly popular, the following would be desirable measures :

(a) The Certificate could have a tax free 7½ per cent simple interest, with all other facilities that are there for the National Defence Certificates. This would simplify accounting and be a real incentive to invest. If the income tax structure is calculated, it will be found that 7.55 per cent is what the investor is getting now, hence a simpler system would benefit the Government.

(b) The National Savings Organisation could have short-term Security Certificates for say, 1 Year, 3 Years or 5 Years.

(c) The authorised Agents should be given a better incentive than their existing commission. Everything has become dearer, and mobility, the mainstay of an Agent, has become more expensive.

In these days of emergency, any concessions for Agents would not be justified, had it not been for a national effort. It is the Agent who will make the people thrift-conscious. It is the Agent who, provided he can move about unhampered, will be able to enhance the sales of the National Savings Schemes.

National Savings—means National effort—that is really constructive.

Women, in paricular, can invest in and sponsor National Savings.

Let all the women take up this work, for the country's defence. It has so much scope, even when taken up as a part-time activity.

It is their efforts that will touch our Jawans, supply amenities, keep industry and development going at full speed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IN A DEFENSIVE MOOD

A. K. MOITRA

There is complete agreement that the Defence of India is of paramount importance. "Breathes there the man with soul so dead" as to dispute this ? Politicians of all shades of opinions (and in our country politicians are also of paramount importance so much so, that confusion often arises as to what is the ultimate objective, the good of the country or the good of the politicians) have given free and frequent expression to this sentiment—sincerely by a few, vociferously by many and hypocritically by others. However, it is by no means clear as to what our defence is threatened with. Is it some outside enemy (with the passage of time, it is to be remembered as a lesson of history, friends and foes change sides with sickening rapidity) is it an emasculated philosophy of life, is it corruption, is it greed to make money even at the expense of independence, is it foreign aid with invisible strings ? Or is it a combined offence of an axis in which all these factors have entered into an alliance ?

How are the great masses of people giving their daily verdict on this, is difficult to ascertain in the absence of any tested apparatus to measure it. However, it can be taken for granted that a vague general feeling exists that it is better to be misgoverned by one's own nationals than to be governed by aliens—for good or bad.

Thus any measure that the Government in power may take to strengthen our national security should evoke our unequivocal support. The Government on the other hand, being democratic in character in theory, is expected to take the people into confidence so that they clearly understand the methods and the purpose of the Government and the mechanism, the pattern and the working of the measures the Government is adopting to achieve the desired objective. Simply by transmitting some noble message from time to time, from a raised platform, in imitation of the divine messages that the air-borne Gods were credited with in the 'Puranas', national conscience and solidarity cannot be forged now—the link with divinity has been irretrievably cut off.

The Government must take the people into confidence, in word and deed, to enlist its unstinted and unflagging co-operation and support. Taking into account the emotional make up of our people, support may be unstinted in the beginning but it may peter out in the long run. Thus every means must be employed to ensure that it does not dessicate under the scorching influence of governmental (bureaucratic) formalities. It is the duty of the ruling politicians, more than the executive officers, to achieve the peoples' participation in the defence efforts. It is they who must set the example and call the people to imitate them. If the action of the ruling politicians precipitates towards making inflammatory speeches only, the passions of the people will be inflamed but the energy will not be harnessed to constructive activity.

By its action, by its devotion to the cause, by upholding the truth, things which appear to be lamentably lacking, the government must captivate the co-operation of the people. Unless this is done, the situation is likely to remain fraught with grave danger. The Government may not get the full co-operation of the people it

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

so righteously expects and the people, lacking proper enlightenment as to aims and achievements of the Government may remain dubious and uncertain. Knowledge of the true state of affairs is the most important, vital and permanent link that binds the Government with the people and if this is withheld, spontaneous response from the people may not be forthcoming. There will be a few exceptional cases, where it is prudent to withhold knowledge from the people for the time being, but it must be borne in mind that such secrecy must be purely of a temporary nature and any tendency to impart to it a semblance of permanence will arouse the suspicion that motives other than those of the security of the country, are the major reasons. Such permanent concealment is clearly detrimental to the nation's larger interests and would breed tyranny and oppression, corruption and injustice, which in the process of time will recoil not only on the ruling politicians but more severely on the people as a whole. After all, Government is for the people and if the people lose and those who run the Government gain, it is a net loss and it will be a race towards disintegration.

Defence of India must have the unqualified support of all right thinking people and as thinking is an important ingredient of the subject, the actions taken for such defence must withstand at least a cursory scrutiny. As a matter of fact, it must be capable of bearing the most incisive test. In promulgating our theory of defence, we cannot beat a hasty retreat, we have to take the offensive and to hold our own.

How do circumstances reveal themselves in the light of what has been said above ? It has been stated that the method, purpose and the working of the measures taken, have to be made clear. Cases have come up before trying magistrates in which charges have been framed by the police under the Defence of India Rules against ordinary humdrum people who by the wildest stretch of the imagination cannot be conceived as putting the defence of India out of gear. If one is to take seriously the view that these people are capable of putting the defence of India in jeopardy, as the authorities seem to do, then surely it is in a terrible mess. A shopkeeper who had two kilograms of mustard oil without licence was alleged to have been arrested under the D.I. Rules. Another day-labourer who, to provide food to his hungry family, had bought two kilograms of rice from an unauthorised vendor was arrested under the D.I. Rules. The magistrate let off the accused in one such case with caustic comments against the police. People are left to wonder whether conventional criminal and anti-social activities are at such a low ebb that the police had to fritter away their energy in such a manner. If they have nothing else in their hand it may be suggested that they may be more usefully employed in checking the traffic violations by taxis, lorries, buses and particularly State Buses. If they do that, many lives may be saved. Or is it that the overall food situation has assumed such complexity that the authorities are completely out of their depth and they are in a frantic search for scape-goats. Do the authorities know that in and around Calcutta, to pick up one instance, there is a large force of floating labour without any ration cards and if they know, what provisions have been made for them ? If they set about procuring food they will be criminals in the eyes of the law. Many of these labourers are engaged in house and road building projects sponsored by the Government. Is one to arrive at the conclusion that the Government has to depend on criminals to carry through its projects ? Or is it that the police has found an easy

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

way out by the application of the D.I. Rules to write up its monthly reports of activities and to keep up the statistics ?

We do not know why the D. I. Rules were to be invoked in such petty cases and the authorities do not seem to care whether people are properly enlightened. In the process of enlightenment, it is the truth that is of paramount importance and not party propaganda. At this critical juncture, it is time to realise that our country is much more important than the interests of any party whatever its connotation may be. The broadcasting system is a powerful instrument of scattering information far and wide. It seems strange that the All India Radio is engaged totally in dispersing ideas held by the Government alone so that its news items emit a stale odour. The question arises why it should be made a carrier of the Government's views to the exclusion of everything else. It smacks of totalitarianism. As a national institution, may we not legitimately expect that points of view, though these may differ from the Government's may find adequate expression through the broadcasting system. Such diversity of views not only will stimulate the listeners but may have the salutory effect of sharpening the wits of spokesmen on behalf of the Government—ordinarily such spokesman are apt to be pompous and complacent. Preventing the people from making an intelligent and realistic appraisal of the situation will not serve the purpose of defence.

Some of the acts of commission of the D.I. Rules may seem strange—stranger may seem some of the acts of omission.

No exemplary action under the D. I. Rules appears ever to have been taken against so-called black money. It has been openly admitted by the Government that an incredibly large amount is freely circulating, the extent of circulation is such as to upset the planned economic development of the country. Yet no systematic action has been taken against the leading operators. On the other hand these people are being coaxed and cajoled in the manner that nurses employ in making recalcitrant babies drink milk. Is there some tangible connection between black money and blackmailing, i.e., if too much fuss is made, is the Government likely to get into hot water ?

Black money implies that trade is not being run in proper channels. It means goods are being sold at prices far higher than the seller can legitimately issue or bill for. Black money thus can flourish only in a black market. In India, Government is the biggest buyer and amongst Government Departments, Defence is one of the biggest. Thus the biggest blow falls on the Government and it is bearing the onslaught with an equanimity and accommodation of spirit that saints may aspire for in vain. But so much forbearance may disrupt defence, though its spiritual merit may be very great. Modern defence is built up on and around machine and machinery which consist of thousands of parts, small and big. For one small part a machine-gun may remain out of commission. If these parts go underground, just imagine what price the Government has to pay to keep its machines in fighting fitness. Battles might have been lost for a horse-shoe ; but wars will definitely be lost for lack of spare parts. We have become reconciled to adulterated foods (I will revert to it later) but what would happen if gun-powder is adulterated ?

India was a land of magic, the tradition is not lost. Very often we witness feats of the most astounding vanishing tricks—tricks performed not with rabbits or pigeons but in respect of essential foodstuffs, e.g., rice, pulse, oil, vanaspati, etc. The magicians who have specialised in these matters have a roaring practice, I wonder why they do not tour Europe and America to show their feats, abroad. Their head would perhaps be so much in demand there that possibly

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

they would have to come back without it. This is a contingency that comes entirely under the realm of speculation and however pleasant the dream may appear to some, no definite opinion on the subject can be given. Whatever, it may, such indulgence in these vanishing tricks weakens our defensive system. These are cases of scarcity amidst plenty. It results in waste of foreign exchange (food is imported) which could have been utilised in buying more effective war-equipment; it results in frustration amongst the civil population who form the second line of defence. It may be remembered in this context that it is struggle carried on by the civil population that, more than anything else, brought freedom to India and lack of resistance on their part may have serious consequences. Again no really sensational cases against these precious magicians under the D. I. Rules have come to light. It appears that D. I. Rules are ineffective in these spheres also. These spheres enshroud amongst others baby-food and important drugs. Reactions in the fish market are also patently fishy.

One comes to the conclusion, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that the D. I. Rules are incapable of doing anything really effective and big. To use a Bengali phrase it kills moles and in so doing it stinks. The sharks forage freely. D. I. Rules must be applied at the proper place on the proper occasion and in the proper time. If its propriety, impartiality and timeliness is violated, it may defeat defence itself.

The Defence of India is a very big thing. We must not suddenly wake up with a start to the idea of defence only when the enemy is at the door-step. The history of India has many instances of our volatileness. We start with great pomp and determination and then suddenly everything melts away. We have to fight against this historical trend as a first step in defence and this is no easy matter. We have to think of defence in peacetime. It must engage our attention all the time and all our activities in all other spheres are to be so co-ordinated that total effect is the strengthening of defence. Even our five-year plans must be subservient to it; because if it does not make us strong in our defence, it serves a very hollow purpose. A re-orientation of our outlook must take place and it must be remembered that major anti-social activities in the long run turn out anti-defensive in nature and the more anti-defensive the more heinous such activities are. This provides us with a yardstick for measurement of anti-social activities. In the context of the tame, timorous non-interfering and amorphous character of our society, it is rather a difficult conception. Sudden eruptions of violence do not bespeak a social force; social force is that integrated feeling which acts persistently, systematically and potently against the evils which have penetrated into our society and this is what we patently and precisely lack.

It is the duty of leadership to inspire the whole nation not only into wooing the professed ideals but into doing what the ideals plainly call for. The leadership must not only show the way but follow it. This is shouldering a responsibility and holding a trust from which there is no getting away. If the leadership makes a mistake (mistakes may take place occasionally) as a result of which any section of the people suffers, but this suffering is not visibly reflected in the leadership, then it is to be concluded that between the leadership and the people there is an alien layer of division that may be fraught with grave danger.

Inflammatory speeches on the eve of any crisis inciting an easily swayed people into an emotional frenzy of a momentary nature do not serve the cause of defence; these result in irreparable injury. Calm

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

judgment, clear reasoning, sound knowledge, deep conviction and strong determination should be the mainspring of our actions. Speeches will be judged not by the fireworks and rhetorics but by the deeds that follow. Speeches our people must clearly recognise, are a betrayal of intellectual ability unless these are supported by deeds. Our country has had enough of speeches, what is needed is action in conformity with speeches.

Another aspect that has all the ingredients of a major muddle is that why it is necessary to mobilise all our resources to ward off the petty border skirmishes into which we have been inveigled by Pakistan. Pakistan occupies a low rank among the powers of the world. During the British regime, there were also endless border skirmishes. In spite of these, life went on then very much the same way. But now, these small-scale attacks that Pakistan are making will continue in a planned manner and have an upsetting effect on our economy which cannot be tolerated in any way. These are flea-bites and there is no reason why our internal economic balance will be unhinged. Does our defence need so much nursing and is our economy so unstable, that at each such provocative action taken by Pakistan, disorganisation of daily life will overtake us and the prices of daily necessities will go sky-rocketting. I wonder whether we will be able to send a rocket in outer space but surely, if things go on at the present rate, the prices of our commodities will be the first to hit the moon. If this happens when Pakistan is involved what will happen should we, God forbid, be called up to face a really powerful nation, say Russia, the U.S.A. or the U.K. My words may seem very strange today, but history has many examples of friends turning enemies and vice-versa. Diplomatic somersaults are disturbingly frequent in history, the status-quo today may not be the same ten years hence.

In modern war perhaps, the most important single aspect is the morale of the people. Morale is a compound of faith and confidence in future. Faith that what one is fighting for is intrinsically just, confidence that what sacrifices are being made and hardship endured now will ensure a better future for the coming generation as a whole and not for a particularly small section of the privileged. If there is no hope that our struggles will not result in increased facilities as regards food, housing, education, medical care and employment, the spirit of fighting and resisting to the last does not survive and history has provided ample evidence that the common people of India did not care as to who won battles and who became the king. If we are successfully to wage a long and hard war, the character of our people would require to be drastically changed, for, on one hand we have to fight against the enemy and on the other the die-hard traditions. War brings out the real character of the people. By corrupting discipline, black marketing equipment and adulterating essentials, wars can not be won. To win wars are required deadly honesty, unwavering determination and a deep sense of oneness. Modern weapons are also necessary but on the foundation of the characteristics mentioned above. If the foundation is lacking, the best weapons will not be of any avail.

Lastly on the policy of national defence, one consideration must be given the most unflagging thought. India must not be made the battle ground for other contending nations to settle their issues. France and Germany were the scenes of two of the most devastating wars in human history. Japan was the scene of the greatest crime on humanity, though U.S.A. later have tried hard to atone for it. Indications are that the next war may flare up in the so-called backward countries of South East Asia. India is much too close to this area to maintain a complacent attitude. India must

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

clearly guard against the possibility of war finding a lodgment on its soil. India is being tugged in two different directions—warfare and welfare—by two great communist countries—China and Russia. Both are very powerful. It is hoped these powers will not decide to stage a trial of strength, on the Indian issue. Affiliation of India with any of the communist powers will vastly strengthen the position of the successful candidate and it cannot be reasonably expected that the other power blocs headed by the U.S.A. will view such a situation without any uneasiness. Balance of power in the international sphere may change with dramatic unpredictability. Indian leaders need to be very careful today, or tomorrow India may run into the danger of being converted into a battle ground of the next global war with consequences far graver than anything the history of India has so far witnessed.

(This article was received before the Pakistani invasion. Ed. M. R.)

THE STORY OF LOK BHARATI

GLADYS EBY

When Manubhai R. Pancholi, Director of Lok Bharati, an institution for rural higher education in Gujarat, recently addressed the 1965 graduating class, he advocated a three-point goal.

"Resolve first of all," he urged, to dedicate some of your creative years to India; then set an example of simplicity in your living, despite an educational advantage you may now have over many of the villagers and farmers with whom you will labor; and last, in your personal life, do some useful, daily, constructive work."

In the receptive audience facing Director Pancholi were not only the latest crop of graduates but the remainder of a carefully selected student body numbering 325 young men and women, plus a tall Canadian agricultural graduate serving Lok Bharati through the Canadian University Service Overseas, and two members of the American Peace Corps stationed at the 99-acre site for 21 months.

Backing the director on this auspicious occasion were the 30-member faculty, about a third of whom have been with the pioneer college since its inception in 1953. Several of the others are distinguished alumni.

And because they continue as a stabilizing influence on Lok Bharati's future, references were made to pronouncements of the late Nanabhai Bhatt, progressive educator from Bhavnagar, Gujarat who, although past the age of 70 in 1953, undertook the prodigious task of carrying out a unique rural higher education program in India.

"Rural people are illiterate," wrote Mr. Bhatt, "but it is wrong to believe that they are not cultured. Culture is lying dormant in the life of the poorest of villagers. Lok Bharati aims at awakening them to this culture through the unflickering lamp of fundamental education."

The khadi-clothed graduates left the large assembly room, packed their simple belongings, and left their alma mater for assignments which could help to change the face and improve the fortunes of India, especially the 82 per cent of its population

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which eke out an existence in villages throughout India.

Lok Bharati does not cater to urban astes. These it leaves to the numerous tate universities and colleges of India. Nor does it necessarily aim at sophisticated gricultural futures for its alumni. This it equeaths to India's traditional agricultural olleges.

Dr. V. S. Jha, one of a 15-man team currently studying the entire educational etup of India through its Education Commission, in commenting on the Lok Bharati experiment stated, "If education must aim at ameliorating and improving he economic and cultural conditions of he surrounding area, it should be a fruitful nd rewarding experiment. The quality of n experiment can be assessed by its apability of being repeated in varying ypes. When the experiment becomes ormal, it dies—fait accompli."

A temporary change in college nrollees was noted in 1965 by Jyotibhai Desai, Deputy Director of the institution, nd a graduate of London's Institute of Education.

"We usually draw the great majority f our students from a ring of 32 post-basic esident schools in Gujarat, because village-orn students of such schools, where train-ng covers the student's every waking moment, have an admirable 'know-how' in he ways, works, and life of the farmer and illager. Students who lack this back-round and its attendant work and life abits need additional attention and in act, a special kind of dedication to their uture plans.

"This year there were no post-basic chool graduates because of the new educa-onal requirement that they must extend heir education through the 11th grade ather than the 10th, in order to obtain a econdary School Certificate (SSC).

"Consequently, this year we were rced to recruit from the traditional high school, and the response was overwhelming. Out of 478 applicants this June, we could accommodate only 137. We wish the time were at hand when every Indian boy and girl who wishes for higher education could find his or her niche somewhere. We had to turn away almost a hundred applicants from the major three and one-half year course—Lok Seva Maha Vidyalaya (people's service college); 69 from the Rural Institute (two-year certificate course in agricultural science); and more than three times as many women as the 50 we could accommodate in our two-year Basic Primary Teachers' Training College."

It is felt at Lok Bharati that these figures reveal what could become an educational gap between those wanting higher education and the institutions which can provide it through technical, vocational, rural, or general academic schools.

Mr. Desai added that priority has been given to Lok Bharati's number one problem —development of new leadership for village areas. "Village people must have leaders from their own soil for agriculture and dairy development, co-operatives, and local self-government."

Lok Bharati's beautiful, well-ordered campus and productive farm lands, set against a backdrop of low-lying hills, are a fitting testimonial to the man who began, back in 1910, to do something specific about his educational aims for Indian youth.

Motivated by the great Indian saint, Natthuran Sharma, Mr. Bhatt opened the doors of his newly formed Daxinamoorti, a national educational institute in Bhavnagar, which is now a city of about 200,000 some 30 miles southeast of Lok Bharati. One of his faculty members in 1935 was Mr. Pancholi, who subsequently married a Daxinamoorti pupil, the former Vijayaben Patel.

When Gandhi urged a more thorough emphasis on development of the whole man in the natural environment of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

villager, Mr. Bhatt in 1938 moved to a 40-acre site at Ambla, a tiny village 21 miles north of Bhavnagar. The Pancholis were his able assistants in establishing a Gram Daxinamoorti, resident school for young people ages 11 to 17.

In 1950 Mr. Bhatt came across a pamphlet written by an American, Arthur E. Morgan, first chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority Project, former president of Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, and a member of India's Universities Commission in 1949.

Morgan had concluded, "The Indian village is obsolete. Almost every young person who leaves a typical village and gets an education under favourable conditions, feels revulsion for the dirt, filth, and squalor he left behind, and refuses to return. Yet the village has been and must continue to be the life of India . . . . Only as the village prospers can India prosper. The Indian village can be made a beautiful and attractive place in which to live, with wide variety of economic opportunity far superior to the Indian city.

"The villages are a vast reservoir of human energy, intelligence, and aspiration, now wasting in futility. Indian boys and girls start out in life alert, curious, eager to live and to learn. The dull hopelessness of their environment kills this spirit in many, so that as men and women they are conservative and unchanging. Give the Indian villager a picture of a good life, with health, cleanliness, variety of occupation, place and time for recreation, and a feeling that his hopes may be fulfilled, and the energies of the people will make a new rural India, a fit and fine dwelling place for a great people."

In the meantime, Nanabhai Bhatt had given much thought to the urgent need for an institution of rural higher education in which his well-trained post-basic students could continue their grooming for life work in the villages.

Through the then Government of Saurashtra, a 99-acre grant was made in 1953 to establish Lok Bharati one-half mile from the village of Sanosara, which at that time had a population of about 1,500, and has since grown to 3,600.

The Indian Government, in asking Morgan to join their Universities Commission, had as one of its goals the bringing together of western technology and Gandhi's educational policies based on community life and industry. Subsequently, the Shrimali Report urged inauguration of a limited number of Rural Institutes throughout India.

And so Lok Bharati, with three years' experience behind it, was selected in 1956 as one of ten pilot Rural Institutes. In modified form, the Rural Institute is still a part of the college curriculum.

Professional guidance and interest continued to come from across the seas. In 1958 Dr. Louis Smith, Dean of Berea College, Berea, Kentucky, was a Ford Foundation Consultant on Rural Education with the Government of India. His observations were incorporated into the **Report on Rural Institutes** published by the Government of India's Committee on Plan Projects in April 1963. Dr. Smith returned in 1959 and 1960 as a consultant furnished by the International Co-operation Administration (which became U.S. AID). Dr. Luther M. Ambrose, also of Berea, came to India under ICA sponsorship in 1960. That year Lok Bharati shared in the $40,000 grant for equipment which the United States of America made to two of India's Rural Institutes.

Mr. Jayant M. Shah, Lok Bharati professor of Economics, Politics, and Co-operation, and honorary deputy director of the Rural Institute Section, with Mr. Ratilal M. Andharia, one of Mr. Bhatt's original co-workers, were two of a delegation of 20 Indian educators to complete a year's training in 1960 at Berea College and the Uni-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

versity of Kentucky under the U. S. AID program (then ICA) .

Mr. J. D. Dawson in 1960, on a sabbatical leave from Antioch College, prepared a report for India's Ministry of Education and Rural Institutes, following three months' study. As a result of Dawson's visit to Lok Bharati, the institution improved its "earn-while-learn" plan.

In this "earn-while-learn" plan, a Lok Bharati student pays no part of his Rs. 65 tuition fee, but contributes 400 hours of labor a year—approximately one-fourth of his school year—in a well-organized work program.

This is not just "busy work." Projects demonstrate the importance of productive manual labor as an integral part of normal human life, while they help in the learning situation.

For instance, a Rural Institute student during the course of a school year will have worked in the college dairy; he will have helped plant and harvest the multitudinous vegetable, fruit, and grain crops supervised by Farm Manager Vallabhai Patel; he will have taken responsibilities for menu planning and food preparation in the hostel kitchens; he might have helped begin the foundation for a new Rs. 80,000 hostel to house an additional 40 students; or bind books in the 20,000-volume library; or work in the administrative office.

A Lok Seva Maha Vidyalaya student, during his or her three and one-half year stay, will have shared work in a variety of fields, depending upon whether the major effort is in Gram Nirman Snatak (village reconstruction); Krishi Snatak (agriculture); or Lok Shikshan Snatak (teaching and social work).

An energetic extension program assures that no student ever has a dull moment. Field work embraces the teaching of night school in villages Sanosara, Gadhula, Krishnapura, and Sandhida, all within cycling range of Lok Bharati. Personal talks with farmers in adjoining areas lead to better methods of farming, fertilizing, and soil conservation. Week-long demonstration camps, village fairs, and extended educational tours, all add to the maturation of Lok Bharati's future alumni, while spreading the gospel of progress to the humblest villager and farmer.

It can and does happen that these planned projects help to steer a student into one or another line of work. Nagjibhai Desai, a graduate of Lok Shikshan, class of 1958, after one such field trip, felt impelled to take on the responsibilities of an orphanage at Surendra Nagar, where he and his wife are teachers and kindly overseers.

Hansraj Parvadia, a 1962 Krishi (agriculture) graduate, showed during college training a missionary zeal in working with under-privileged members of the Adiwasi tribe. For three years—ever since the Chinese invasion—he has been working with aboriginal tribes in the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA).

A recent survey of 299 alumni who had taken either the Lok Seva Maha Vidyalaya three-and-one-half year course, or the Krishi Snatak Agriculture Course, which embodies a third year beyond Rural Institute, revealed that 134 had entered the educational field; 7 are serving under the Sarvodaya Scheme of Gujarat, branching out into lines of either agriculture, dairying, co-operatives, or school teaching; 39 are in Gram Vikas as agriculture extension officers for rural development; 17 have begun independent operations as farmers, etc; 16 are associated with reconstructive institutes, many of the Ashram type, working on one or all 18 of the Gandhi-inspired programs of khadi-making, Hindu-Muslim unity, prohibition, basic education, adult education, sanitation, etc.; 24 are in Intensive Area Schemes under the auspices of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission; 7 are active in co-operative societies; 2 have joined Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan (land-gift)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

movement; 29 are taking further study, many at graduate basic training colleges (GBTC) such as at Mangrol, Rajpipla, and Ahmedabad; 24 have become agriculture and dairy managers.

Ninety per cent of those not attending school are working directly with villagers and farmers, while ten per cent are headquartered in rural areas where some of them can still concentrate their efforts on improvement of the villagers' income and lot in life.

It takes scientific planning, some trial and error, and no lack of lakhs for an experiment of Lok Bharati's scope to flourish. Financial aid has been forthcoming from all over the world. India is, of course, the prime contributor through the Central Government, which partially supports the Rural Institute, including the Research and Extension Branches, to the extent of Rs. 30,000. The State Government of Gujarat contributes yearly Rs. 12,000 to the Basic Primary Teachers' Training College; Rs. 60,000 to Lok Seva Maha Vidyalaya, and Rs. 10,000 for the Rural Institute section.

Through its able and energetic 43-year-old Farm Manager Patel, whose education dates back to Gram Daxinamoorti days at Ambla, Lok Bharati oversees, through four highly productive farms, crops which bring in an annual net income of Rs. 42,000, with a hoped-for return by 1973 of one full lakh net profit. In addition to the campus and adjoining farms, orchards, and gardens, Lok Bharati operates 20 acres a few miles away at Krishnapara; 50 acres 30 miles southeast in Maidhar near Politana; and 50 acres at Aranej and Navargam near the Arabian Sea, donated by a former trustee of the institution, Jivanlal Sheth.

Farmers adjoining all these holdings are among the first to buy Lok Bharati's improved cotton seed, mango graftings, Anabeshahi grape cuttings, wheat seeds which produce more than 50 bushels per acre, and Keser mangoes which this year grossed Rs. 46,000 on 50 acres.

Recently the people of Australia have taken interest in developing through their Community Aid Abroad program, a much-needed fifth well on the Lok Bharati campus grounds. Their generous contribution of Rs. 11,000 has helped in the drilling to a depth of 70 feet.

Part of Lok Bharati's teaching program at the adult level is the Panchayati Raj Training Centre, conducted by Mr. Dulsukh Patel and his staff of two. Mr. Patel returned in 1960 from an eight-month tour of farms in the United States through auspices of the National 4-H Clubs of America. In a building set aside for the purpose, Mr. Patel greets and houses each year (except during the busy monsoon season) some thousand Sarpanches, Upsarpanches, and non-official members of Panchayati Raj throughout Saurashtra and Cutch for a concentrated eight-day course in village leadership and problem-solving.

In appraising the dozen years of Lok Bharati's educational impact, Manubhai Pancholi reiterates a basic idea of Gandhi's; "The village should not produce simply raw materials. It must have a share in producing finished goods. They, and then only, will village people find stimulation in the village area and not drift to cities.

"Right around this area small industries could be developed for making bricks and processing sugarcane on a large scale. This area abounds in colored soils which are now shipped to Bombay by the ton for conversion to dyes and paints."

Mr. Pancholi feels, however, in assessing not only the full impact of Lok Bharati on the nearest village, Sanosara, but on a majority of the villages in which his alumni are stationed, that graduates of this rural institute can accomplish their best work in a village of 1,000 or less. It takes a particular talent, a rare combination of skill, experience, perseverance, and personality,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to convince a heterogeneous population of small agriculturists, big landlords, traders, and small-scale industrialists to merge their conflicting interests for the good of the whole community.

Through co-operation, progress is being made. For example, Jayavantsinh Jadeja, age 30, who completed Lok Bharati's Lok Shikshan course in 1958, is doing a remarkably able job as organizer for the Intensive Area Scheme. Stationed at Manar, 30 miles south of Bhavnagar, he feels that the Khadi and Village Industries Commission's annual token grant of Rs. 8,000 can be waived within the next five years.

In the little village of Paniari, population 700, the Woollen Weavers Co-Operative Society had little work because of a lack of technical knowledge and necessary capital. Jayavantsinh has helped these few families of weavers produce woollen cloth worth Rs. 125,000.

Jayavantsinh draws a salary of only Rs. 215 a month, and there have been times when, to help a good cause along, he took only Rs. 140 monthly. His activities comprise the whole gamut of co-operatives: sugarcane, milk, and manure; home spinning and weaving; construction of a new high school; and a workshop for production of clay and coloring meterials for dyes.

Intensive work with inhabitants of 24 villages, and diffused help to 108 other villages, have resulted not only in almost total elimination of unemployment through self-help by the villagers, but a net income of Rs. 18,000 to the area scheme for ongoing development.

Jayavantsinh's story is but one of countless examples of creative leadership focused on the needs of India's own "bold peasantry, the country's pride." Village and farm impact, response, and renovation are goals which Lok Bharati's faculty believe can be achieved through rural education that is thoroughly correlated with Indian life.

———

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujrati :

Authors and publishers of Gujrati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

TAKE MY HANDS—By Dorothy Clarke Wilson. Published by Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., St. Pauls House, Warwicke Lane, London, E. C. 4 Price 21 Sh. Net. Published in 1964. Pp. 217.

This book is the biography of Mary Verghese, the daughter of a plantation owner in South India, who overcame a devastating physical handicap, due to an accident which made Mary a paraplegic shortly after her graduation. It is the life story of extra-ordinary Christian faith and devotion born of intense and prolonged suffering shared with people in many parts of the world.

Mary Varghese decided early in life that she would obtain an advanced education to make herself as useful as possible to her newly independent country and this led her to the Christian Medical College at Vellore (founded by the famous Dr. Ida Scudder). She became a Surgeon and then shortly after, an accident made Mary a paraplegic. The book vividly describes how Mary reconstructed her life, how she learned to perform delicate hand and face operations sitting on her wheel chair and how she became a fully qualified Rehabilitation Specialist—which India is so much in need of.

After the accident Mary thought herself utterly helpless and dependent on others—but she found courage and the key to her new useful life in the words of an old hymn :

Take my life and let it be
Consecrated Lord to thee.
Take my hands and let them move
At the impulse of thy love.....

In her paraplegic stage Mary went to the United States as both patient and Physician-in-training at Dr. Howard Rusk's renowned Institute of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, where she learned all about the delicately *intricate* problems of rehabilitation and the paths of their practical solution. Currently she is the head of the newly established department of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation at the Vellore Christian Medical College. About herself Mary says—"Without the accident, I might have been only an ordinary doctor. Now I have been shown the way to help patients whose needs, in India, were unmet before." This is more than true.

This is a valuable book—not only as a testimony of moving faith in God's plan but a biography that will inspire growing numbers of people who, all over the world, are dedicated to the rehabilitation of the handicapped, There is scarcely a dull page in the book, which reads more interesting than a most thrilling romance. We consider the work a must-reading for medical people who are interested in rehabilitation of the handicapped the number of whom is countless in India. The book will also be found profitable and interesting reading to a general class of readers.

C. K. H.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indian Periodicals

The Language Problem

Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, writing in the **Science and Culture** in its issue of August, 1965 endeavours to demonstrate that the problem of a "national" or "official" language vis-a-vis national integration, Comparisons with conditions in Europe with her population of 533 millions and an area of over 3.9 million square miles, against India's 439 millions spread over 1.2 million square miles, do not hold good in any respect :

"It is useful, while considering the problem of national integration in India to remember that we have a population of 439 millions spread over an area of 1,232,561 square miles. In contrast, the whole of Europe has an area of 3,900,000 square miles, with an estimated population of 533 millions. In Europe, there are many languages, and no single state. In spite of the Council of Europe and European Economic Community, and the war-time proposal of Winston Churchill to unify the British and the French empires no one considers that the states of Europe would combine into one within any reasonable measure of time, except under the stress of war.

"From this point of view, India has the advantage of, at least, being a federation of states in which there is only one common citizenship. If there are tensions now and then between one section of the population and another, one need not be very much surprised.

"This is particularly so because different parts of the country have been unequally influenced by the forces of economic and social change in the recent past. Thus, West Bengal lost much of its dependence on land earlier than East Bengal. Orissa, Assam, Madhya Pradesh have lain outside the orbit of severe changes in their internal economy until after the advent of independence. It is only now, under the increasing strain of establishing an economy after the socialist model, that it is being discovered that the amount of even social changes undergone by different states has been very unequal.

"A part of these changes was initiated even before independence, under the influence of provincial autonomy according to the Reform Act of 1935. At least, it led in provinces like Bihar to the rise of a middle class which shook off its dependence on land, turned to the salaried professions, or to business under the patronage of the Provincial Government (see Bose 1962, 213). This tendency was also in evidence in Orissa and Assam within a short time; and as a result of the same kind of political change.

"When India has a population equal to that of Europe minus Russia, and living upon a space which is less than two-thirds of that area, why should we assume that the problem of national integration should be simple ? Why should we moreover use Switzerland or Canada or the Scandinavian countries as our model when they have the population of one of the larger districts of India, or perhaps of one of the many states which go to make up our land ?

"Let us begin with the assurance that, in spite of our linguistic or even communal disturbances, we are not worse than most European nations who have fought bitterly against one another, sometimes for trade

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and empire, sometimes over religious belief, and sometimes over difference in political ideology."

Prof. Bose goes on to try to put his fingers on "our own sorrows and our own problems" and to analyse the causes which stand in the way of national integration one of which, we admit, is the problem of a "national" language. The writer endeavours to assess the functions of the "national" or "official" language; the function of English and those of regional languages vis-a-vis either Hindi or English. It appears that Prof. Bose believes that regional languages, Hindi and English, have clear-cut and complimentary functions and the sense of hurt derived from the privileged position of a "national" language accorded to Hindi under the Constitution arises from a misapprehension of these functions. Prof. Bose endeavours to bring a show of dispassionate scientific reasoning to the assessment of a problem which appears to have been very much obscured under stresses of parochial emotions and regional passions. Prof. Bose's presentation would appear to merit serious study if not for anything else, at least for its apparent scientific and historical plausibility:

"It is, however, no consolation for us that we are no worse than other people. The point is that we have to attend to our own sorrows and our own problems as best we can, even if the problems seem to be too small and too insignificant to many of our internationally minded statesmen.

"One such problem harassing us today is the problem of a 'national language.' While we are likely to become excited over recent happenings in South India, it would perhaps be best to begin to think a little more clearly about what we really want. What is going to be the function of 'national' or 'official' language? What should, again be the function of English which has so long served the purpose of inter-communication between the western-educated people all over India? How do the regional languages stand in relation to either Hindi or English?

"Let us go back once more to a little of history. There is no doubt about the fact that the concept of political nationalism came into India in the wake of British rule. Before that, India had already established a cultural unification in various ways. Production in India for many centuries in the past was organized on the basis of caste; although there were several important regional varieties of the same system. All India was under a common law of inheritance, namely, the Mitakshara, although Bengal and its immediate neighbourhood was under the Dayabhaga. But that too was derived from the Smritis. Various religious sects were not confined to any province, but extended their influence for centuries across linguistic and political barriers.

"It is interesting that in the Kumbha Mela when thousands of sadhus and pilgrims gather together periodically either at Allahabad, Hardwar, Nasik or Ujjain, the learned converse with one another in Sanskrit, if necessary, while the major communication between either sadhus or pilgrims from various parts of India is through a broken form of Hindi.

"Now, when the western-educated people of India began to feel deeply the need of unified political action, they spoke to one another in the English language. British administration was also carried through the English language; and people seeking office in any part of India therefore, found themselves using the English tongue as a ready means of communication.

"English also exercised considerable influence upon he vernacular literatures of India. Thus, as Bengal's language and literature entered a vigorous period of growth, Bengali writers did not hesitate

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to absorb ideas or even form and style from the West. The point is that the use of a foreign tongue for certain purposes did not hinder the growth of local languages.

"It has already been said that the political concept of nationalism was the result of India's contact with the West. Naturally, English became the language of nationalistic organizations of an all-India character. There were, however, smaller organizations which employed the regional vernaculars; while, in literature, ideas of secular nationalism or of patriotism began to filter down among the common people mainly through the medium of the local languages.

"It was at this stage that a certain amount of re-thinking seems to have been done by some of our national leaders. Some of them felt that unless the message of nationalism or patriotism could be carried from one part of India to another by means of a common Indian language, the vast number of common people would never be drawn into a common political enterprise. At least, English would fail to serve that purpose.

"In 1874, Keshab Chandra Sen proposed that a simple form of Hindi should be used for this purpose. In 1879, Rajnarayan Basu made a similar proposal; and in 1886, he published a tract entitled **Briddha Hindur Asha** in which he made a strong plea for national unity through an extensive use of the Hindi language. Bhudev Chandra Mukherjee did the same in 1892 (Das 1959, 5-6). And it should be remembered that each of these three were stalwarts in their own fields of activity, and also writers of distinction in the Bengali language. They never felt that the interest of the local regional language was likely to be jeopardised by the use of Hindi for the special purpose of inter-provincial communication.

"The point we are trying to make out is that if different languages are used for specific and separate purposes there should be no reason why they should do harm to one another. Today the conflict arises because Hindi has been made the sole official language of India under the Constitution. The complaint is often heard that the Central Government spends more on its propagation than is justified. By contrast, it spends proportionately much less than is fair upon the development of the regional languages.

"If many of the regional languages of India are spoken by populations of the size of Spain or Poland, for instance, and if the Indian Constitution has given fourteen such languages the status of national languages, the question of neglecting some at the expense of others should never arise. It is inequality which hurts; and it hurts more if it is felt, rightly or wrongly, that one particular language is being ousted by another by means of an unfair distribution of patronage.

"The readers' attention is here drawn to a statement issued by Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and others, reproduced at the end of this note. The signatories have made a strong appeal for the statutory retention of English for inter-state and international communication, and for conducting public service examinations for employment by the Government."

From the problem of language, the writer here passes on to a consideration of the problem of a common script for all India. He appears to relate the question to that of the more urgent problem of more 'widespread and rapid' education for the people which, he quite rightly avers, can never be given . . . . either by Hindi or English:

"We have, however, to remember that the problem of languages is not the only one which besets India today. There is, in addition, the problem of scripts, nearly twenty of which are in either extensive or restricted use all over the country. The frequency of compound letters in many of them renders it difficult to adopt any, in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

their present unreformed state, for purposes of fast mechanical transcription.

"In the past, the need of a common script for all-India languages was raised as early as 1834 A.D. (see Das, **ibid.**, 4 and Bandopadhyay 1356 B.S., 206-214). This also became an important concern of nationalist Bengal in the first quarter of the present century. An educationist and religious leader, Satischandra Mukherjee, founder of the Dawn Society, gave support to the idea anew; while Justice Sarada Charan Mitra established in 1907 a society named **Ek-Lipi Vistar Parisad,** or Society for the Propagation of a Common Script, which ran a journal named **Devanagara** for several years (see Bose, 1959, 81; also Mukherjee and Mukherjee 1957, 372-38). Much later on, in 1951, Phanindra Nath Sett established in Calcutta a society named **Romak Lipi Samiti** or Society for (the propagation of the) Roman Script; but this ceased to function after about a decade.

"The greatest problem which appears to us to confront the nation today is the problem of universal education. Even now, more than 70 per cent of the people are illiterate. Widespread and rapid education in the arts and sciences can best to given to children and grown-ups alike in the mother-tongue. If books are not yet available in the fourteen languages of the Republic to convey to children and adults alike the best of knowledge with which their minds ought to be nourished, everything should be done to help in the production of suitable literature for the purpose. If books cannot be produced fast enough, then the aid of tape-recorded speeches, and the radio can be utilized efficiently for the same purpose. In any case, the need for extensive development of the regional languages cannot be over-emphasized.

"And let us also say that such universal education can never be given efficiently and adequately in either Hindi or English where the majority speak other languages. Both Hindi and English have their uses; but for special purposes.

"At the present moment, the new Hindi has not reached a creative level. Authors who try to weed out words in common use by Sanskritic equivalents just because they are derived from either Urdu or English are not doing any service to the language but grave dis-service. Language grows from a people's needs of communication and if these needs are already satisfied there is not much sense in introducing artificial equivalents in order to satisfy a sentiment of chauvinism or of abstract purism.

"Today, English serves a definite purpose in regard to the technical and scientific requirements of the Indian nation. In contrast, Japan's entire education is in Japanese. But this has been done through hard labour, and not by means of resolutions alone. Japanese scientists have not closed their minds to either English German, French or Spainish language. They learn these well enough to keep in touch with all that is happening in the world today. But when they have to make it their own, they do it from school to the highest levels of university education in the Japanese language. And the Japanese have not, on that account, fallen behind any other nation in either technogical, scientific or artistic achievement. In fact, they have succeeded in becoming creative because science has come to them through the language of daily use.

"Perhaps it would be uncharitable to compare Japan with India. Yet, we cannot desist from pointing out that although in India, instruction in the sciences has been in the international English language for over a hundred years, yet the total amount of work done has been less than that of Japan over an equivalent period. Moreover,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the intimate relation established between technology and society which we see in Japan is far above the level of what we have attained in our country through the use of English as the exclusive medium of instruction in sciences in all the 47 universities of India. In India, science has remained largely divorced from contact with the common needs of our daily life. It is pursued either in the abstract, or even when it is applied to use, it ignores the needs of the common villager—his housing, his agriculture and cattle, his problems of nutrition, health and disease, his changing society—and quite often scientists remain satisfied if they can satisfy the needs of a class of wealthy patrons.

"But that apart, we have tried to make it clear that the mother-tongue, Hindi and English have all their places; but in different spheres. And if we keep clearly in mind the function which each is to perform, and if due encouragement is given to each to function more efficiently in its particular sphere, there is no reason why the problem of language or languages cannot be solved satisfactorily. The question has to be approached from a practical point of view, with no economic, political or emotional overtones added to it."



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

110899 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Foreign Periodicals

RUNNING THE SHOW

Writing Editorially under the above legend, what the *Observer* of London has to say about the need to refurbish the bureaucratic organization of the administration in the U.K. may appear to be relevant also to current conditions in the Indian administrative organization :

"One of the paradoxes of our system of government is that it gives least prominence to the men who actually make the machine run. Most people can name some, if not all, of the twenty-three members of the Cabinet. But they would be hard put to it to name any of the 2,600 members of the Administrative Civil Service ; the mandarins of Whitehall who form the top decision-making echelon of the bureaucracy. Yet in the long run the efficiency of the British government probably depends at least as much on this anonymous band as on the politicians. If we as a nation are going to adapt to new circumstances, a great deal will depend on the 2,600.

"Hence the importance of the last week's report by the Select Committee of Estimates—a watch-dog body of M.P.s who sniff round the corridors of power—on the civil service. For this shows quite clearly that all is not well with the Administrative Civil Service. The service is not getting as many recruits as it needs. While the University population has shot up, the number of candidates offering themselves for the Civil Service has remained stationary. Despite all efforts to broaden its appeal, Whitehall remains largely dependent on a narrow segment of Oxbridge arts graduates.

"This may merely reflect the fact that there are many new competing demands for graduates, which grow even faster than do our expanding universities. But it is difficult to escape the impression that the problem goes deeper than that. Not only is the whole nature of government changing in response to new requirements; but so is society and the Civil Service, although it is adapting itself fast, has yet to catch up with all these changes.

"The main changes have been in the scale of Government activities and the nature of government decisions. This is the era of positive government ; the Administration not only spends two-fifths of the nation's income but also constantly intervenes in areas which previously were left to private citizens. At the same time, the time-span and the complexity of its decisions have altered out of all recognition. Policy decisions taken today—about town planning, transport, education and so on—will take years, perhaps even decades, to work themselves through. Moreover, they are often highly technological in character, reflecting assumptions, for example, about the cost of nuclear power in the seventies."

* * *

The whole attitude towards the currently fast expanding areas of Government's administrative responsibilities and, necessarily, also of prerogatives, would appear to have made it urgent that the administrative machinery is appropriately geared to and coordi-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

nated with these widening areas of its obligations and powers and for the personnel to be appropriately equipped to fulfil these functions in the context of the currently emerging mobile society.

"The other change is social. We are gradually moving—hesitantly and probably far too slowly—towards a mobile society. A double mobility is involved. The first is a readiness to move from place to place; the other is a readiness to acquire new skills. Education is no longer something which ends when you leave schools or universities.

"The Civil Service—and, indeed, the whole machinery of government—has failed to adapt itself sufficiently quickly to these trends. Certainly, it is moving faster than many suppose. More outsiders are being brought into the service. There is an increasing awareness of the need to recruit men with specialised skills, such as economists. Nevertheless, the overwhelming impression left by the Civil Service remains that of a close caste of men whose prime expertise lies in dealing with one another and with their political masters.

"But is this a sufficient qualification these days? The increasing complexity of government means that the doctrine of Ministerial responsibility is becoming a myth. Ministers no longer resign when their departments have blundered—understandably so, since they probably didn't have the faintest idea of what was going on. Yet at the same time the people really responsible, the Civil Servants, cannot be called to account."

The Civil Service of the future, to conform to the emerging needs of a fast changing society and the changing concepts of Government that go with it, may have to emerge as a more positive factor in Government's public relations than hitherto. This may create fresh problems some of which can be visualized even now. Nevertheless, that the present concepts of a faceless bureaucratic machine will gradually have to acquire a positive identity and thereby assume responsibilities so long borne by politicians only is inevitable.

"Indeed, this system is already fraying at the edges. A recent security enquiry actually named civil servants responsible for lapses. And if the recent recommendation for more specialised committees of M.P.s to enquire into the work of Government departments is accepted more and more civil servants will find themselves being cross examined.

"Again the new emphasis on mobility may mean that the Civil Service will have to accept as it does to some extent already that it will be able to recruit sufficient talent and specialised skills only by abandoning the idea that a man enters the bureaucracy at 21 and stays until 60. The main obstacle to allowing more mobility is not so much conservatism as the lack of a national pension scheme. That would not only allow managers and academics to move in and out of the Civil Service but would also permit the civil servants themselves to move into other professions.

* * *

"The Civil Service of the future may therefore not only be less "faceless" than the present one to the extent that civil servants have to defend their own actions, they are bound to become less anonymous. If temporary officials, like Dr. Balogh and the various industrialists brought into government by the Department of Economic Affairs, become a regular part of the White-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

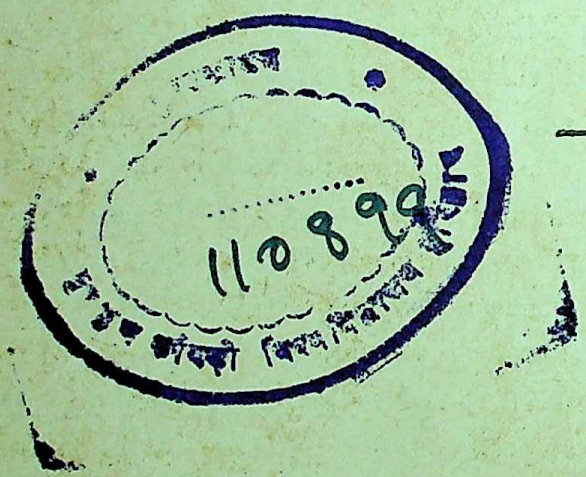
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

hall scene, this will have a radical effect on the character of the service. New Governments will, as in the United States, mean new men.

"There are obvious risks about such developments. The anonymity of the civil servants also ensure the flexibility of the system. They may fight the ideas of their Ministers but, once the decision has been taken, they will carry it out loyally and skilfully. If the civil servants could give interviews or appear on television, this might be much more difficult.

"There are other problems too. How can tycoon administrators like Dr Beeching be fitted into the government machine? How is it possible to reconcile the need for long-range, sometimes unpopular, decisions with the short-term political pressures which inevitably affect Ministerial minds? Every one would concede that the elected representatives of the public, namely the Ministers, should continue to have the last word. But how can the experts be both kept in their place and kept from becoming frustrated?

"It would be rash to pretend to have ready answers to these very complex questions. But unless they can be answered, we are going to be left with a machinery of government which is going to look increasingly inadequate. The Select Committee which examined the Civil Service recommended the setting up of a private inquiry into its structure to be followed perhaps by a Royal Commission. But if there ever was a case for a Royal Commission, it is surely for one which will examine our entire system of government without further delay. Otherwise we may be in danger of making scapegoats of our civil servants for failing to operate a machine which no longer meets the needs of today far less those of tomorrow."



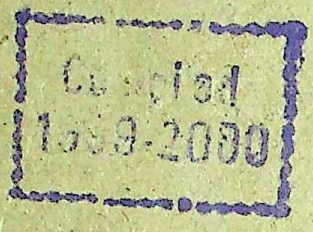
Editor—Ashoke Chatterjee
Printed and Published by Kalyan Das Gupta, Prabasi Press Private Limited,
77/2/1, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri